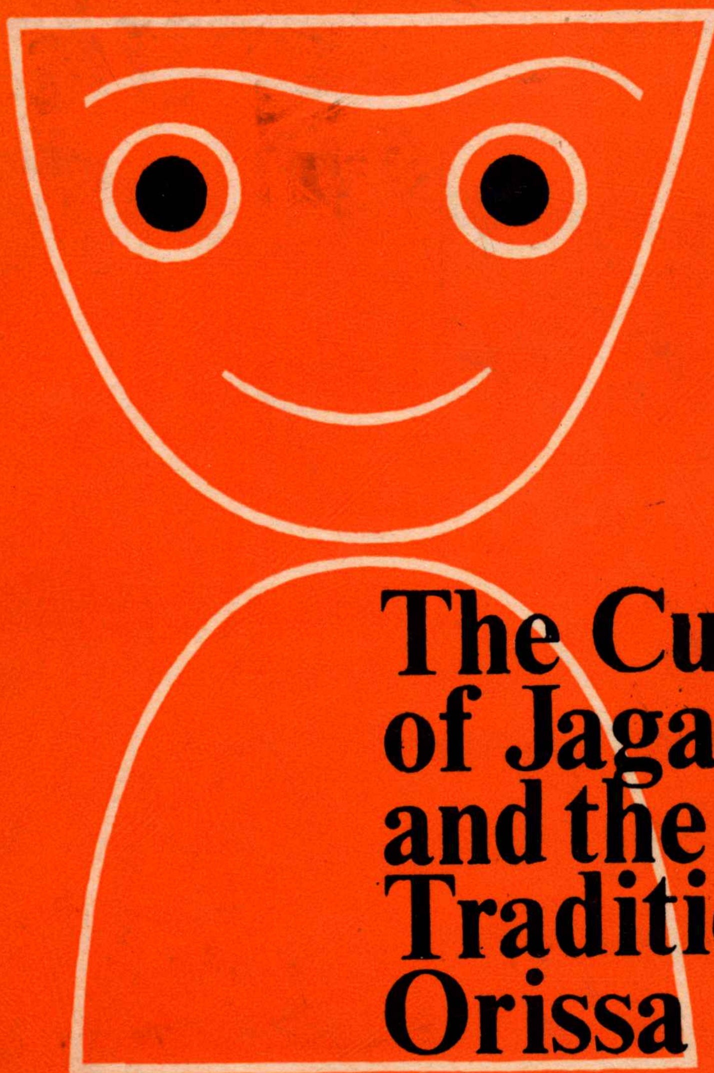
SOUTH ASIA INTERDISCIPLINARY REGIONAL RESEARCH PROGRAMME

Orissa Research Project



The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa

Edited By

Anncharlott Eschmann

Hermann Kulke

Gaya Charan Tripathi



THE CULT OF JAGANNATH
AND THE
REGIONAL TRADITION OF ORISSA

SOUTH ASIA INSTITUTE
NEW DELHI BRANCH
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MANOHAR
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Dedicated to the memory of our dear colleague
ANNCHARLOTT ESCHMANN
who died in Delhi on 6 April 1977
while conducting research on the
religious traditions of Orissa



IN MEMORIAM

Anncharlott Eschmann

(1941—1977)

The publication of the proceedings of the Orissa Research Project is overshadowed by the tragic death of its co-editor Dr. (Miss) Anncharlott Eschmann on the 6th of April, 1977. She died in Delhi of a serious illness which had befallen her during a study tour through Orissa which she had undertaken with a view to collect further material on the links between tribal cults and the Jagannātha cult, the central theme of her outstanding contributions to this book.

Anncharlott Eschmann was born in Munich on 24th September 1941 as the first daughter of Professor Ernst Wilhelm Eschmann, a renowned author, scholar and publicist, and Charlott Eschmann, *née* Behn, member of an old Hanseatic family of Hamburg. She spent a considerable part of her childhood in Ticino, the Italian speaking part of Switzerland. These years already seem to have deeply influenced her. Born and educated as a Protestant Christian she grew up in Roman Catholic Ticino where her parents' house was a meeting place of members of the Eranos Society, a group of leading European Scholars of Comparative Religion. Her interest in philosophical and religious problems deepened during the following years. After finishing her High School in Munich in 1961 she studied Protestant Theology, Comparative Religion and Indology in Munich, Marburg and finally in Heidelberg. Here she turned more and more towards Indology, though her doctoral thesis in 1969 dealt with the "Idea of History in Aztec Religion".

Soon after, she joined the Orissa Research Project at the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg and was among the first members who started work in Orissa in autumn 1970. It took her only a few weeks to begin her actual field work on the Mahimā Dharma, a hitherto rather unknown autochthonous Hindu reform movement in the hinterland of Jagannātha. Thanks to her personal charm and her enthusiastic interest she soon won the full support for her research by Visvanath Baba, Head of the Mahimā Dharma Sect.

In the course of her study of this regional sect which has its roots both in Orissa's great medieval philosophical tradition as well as in Orissa's villages of the tribal Hindu hinterland, Anncharlott Eschmann widened her research to the more general questions of mutual relationship beween tribal and folk culture and the

Brahmanic Hindu traditions, problems of Hinduization, tribalization etc. It was in this connection that she took up her intensive studies on Narasiṃha's relation to tribal deities and the Jagannātha cult during her second stay in Orissa in 1974. Whereas problems of Hinduization or tribalization have often been dealt with rather one-sidedly, Anncharlott Eschmann very successfully proved the existence of an uninterrupted continuum which leads from the uniconic tribal cults via village shrines, sub-regional Hindu temples to the great all-India centres of Hindu pilgrimage. It was rather the interrelation of the extreme points of this continuum than their antagonism that determined her approach to this problem. During her research she developed her own interdisciplinary method, combining socio-ethnological methods of interviewing priests and ritual functionaries with an intensive study of their oral and literary tradition. Through this approach she succeeded for the first time in verifying by research the often presumed tribal influence on the Jagannātha cult. Her planned monograph on Narasiṃha would have again thrown considerable new light on movements within Hinduism and opened new approach to their study.

In autumn 1975 Anncharlott Eschmann was appointed Representative of the South Asia Institute at Delhi. Till April 1977 she intensified her studies by frequent visits to Orissa and several lecture tours in India which gave her the opportunity to discuss thoroughly the results of her studies with Indian scholars. In Delhi she quickly won a number of friends whom she used to entertain with her generous hospitality in her tastefully furnished and decorated flat as she had done before in Heidelberg.

The last editorial meeting with Anncharlott Eschmann took place in Heidelberg in September 1976 when she was on her way back to India from the International Orientalists Congress in Mexico where she had presented a paper on the tribal affiliation of the Liṅgarāja Temple at Bhubaneswar. During these last days in Heidelberg the final concept of the present volume was drafted. The editorial work was finished in December 1976.

The only major alteration after her death was the inclusion of the translation of her article on the Mahimā Dharma which she had originally written in German for the first Report of the Orissa Research Project in 1972. Originally it was meant as the nucleus of a separate monograph which she had planned to publish after the edition of the present work. But now this article contains her final words about the Mahimā Dharmins who had accepted her as their sister and through whom she had received her "initiation" into her most intensive yet so short period of research in India.

H. Kulke
G.C. Tripathi

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PREFACE

The present volume is an anthology of research articles written by members of the Orissa Research Project, sponsored by the German Research Council (DFG), Bonn. The Project was part of the South Asia Interdisciplinary Regional Research Programme (SFB 16) at the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg. The scholars who have participated in the Research Project belonged to different disciplines and were attached to the Universities of Heidelberg, Freiburg and Tübingen in Germany as well as to the Universities of Udaipur, Bhubaneswar and Śantiniketan in India.

The idea to study temple cities in Orissa arose amongst the members of the Department of Indology at the University of Freiburg working under Prof. U. Schneider, after one of the present editors had completed his Ph.D. thesis on Chidambaram in South India in the year 1967. A pilot study was sanctioned by the German Research Council and carried out in Orissa from March to May 1969 by H. Kulke and G.C. Tripathi. It was followed by a second phase of a more thorough study of one of the most significant ceremonies of the replacement of the wooden images ("Navakalevara") which fortunately was to take place in 1969 after an interval of 19 years. This study was carried out in the month of July 1969 by G.C. Tripathi and M.M. Mahapatra. Based on the reports of these two studies a comprehensive interdisciplinary research scheme was worked out jointly by members of the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg and the Dept. of Indology, Freiburg which was finally integrated into the South Asia Interdisciplinary Research Programme in spring 1970.

In September 1970 the first group of scholars consisting of A. Eschmann, H. Kulke, U. Schneider, H v. Stietencron and G.C. Tripathi arrived in Orissa to take up field work. In October and November they had an intensive course in Oriya with G.N. Dash who later also joined the Project as a member and proceeded to Germany in summer 1971 and stayed here till January 1972 and later once more in July 1975 to work on the final report of the Project till January 1976.

Besides the pursuit of their individual researches in the field of Indology, History of Religion and History of Orissa etc., a major task of the members of the first group was to trace and make available the manifold sources of various museums, archives and government institutions. In this connection a decaying palmleaf collection containing daily entries of the Jagannātha Temple from the late 18th to the 20th century was procured from the private possession of the *Deula Karaṇa*

("Temple Accountant") in Puri. Due to some unfortunate events, however, only about one third of it—roughly 6,000 leaves—could be copied and preserved. When the field work in Orissa terminated the whole collection was donated to the Orissa State Museum in August 1974.

The socio-ethnological research began stepwise in the next phase with M. Mahapatra, J. Rösel, C. Sigrist (Münster) and G. Pfeffer taking up their studies in Puri in January, May, July and September 1971 respectively. C. Sigrist unfortunately had to leave India soon because of ill health. At the same time the Indological work was steadily continued by G.C. Tripathi in Bhubaneswar (up to April 1972), R. Geib in Puri (Sept. 1971—April 1972) and by J. Lütt, the then representative of the Indian branch of the South Asia Institute in Delhi, who visited the Project for several weeks in 1971 and 1972.

Though the substantial part of the research thenceforward was carried out in Germany, yet members of the Project continued to re-visit India in order to collect fresh material and to check, complement and corroborate the findings of their previous field studies. U. Schneider once re-visited India in the beginning of the year 1972 (Feb.-April) and H.v. Stietencron continued his research in Orissa in October 1972 and returned to Germany in March 1973.

G.C. Tripathi who had come to Germany in May 1972 re-visited India for five months in the year 1973 (Aug.-Dec.) primarily to collect some more material on the rituals of the South Indian Temples. E. Hein who analysed the socio-economic aspect of the Temple could leave for India only in the beginning of 1974. E. Eschmann and H. Kulke also re-visited Orissa in summer 1974 and collected valuable material for their research work. They also officially wound up the work of the Project in Bhubaneswar in August 1974.

During the years 1972-74, when the majority of the members were generally present in Germany, a number of interdisciplinary Seminars were held in which, apart from the members of the Project, D. Conrad (SAI) and G. Sontheimer (SAI) also usually took part and contributed substantially to the methodological and theoretical discussions.

It is our pleasant duty at this place to record our sincere gratefulness to the following institutions without whose constructive help and support this volume could not have come into being. These are: The Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; The Board of Revenue, Cuttack; The State Archives, Bhubaneswar; The Religious Endowment Commission, Bhubaneswar; Śrī Jagannātha Temple Administration Office, Puri; The Indian National Library, Calcutta; The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

We also feel a deep sense of gratitude towards the following scholars who have constantly encouraged and actively helped the Project members by giving them valuable advices and who sacrificed a great deal of their precious time in discussing with them their research problems: Padmashri S.N. Rajaguru, D. Litt. (Gov. Epigraphist), Shri K.N. Mahapatra (Retd. Supdt. of Archaeology, Orissa), Prof. P. Mukherjee (Retd. Reader in History, Utkal Univ.), Prof. P. Pradhan (former

Professor of Sanskrit, Utkal Univ.), Prof. M.N. Das (Professor of History, Utkal Univ.), Prof. A. Swain (present Professor of Sanskrit, Utkal Univ.), Prof. L.K. Mahapatra (Professor of Anthropology), Prof. G. Mishra (Professor of Philosophy, Utkal Univ.), and others in Orissa (e.g. Pt. K.C. Rajaguru, the preceptor of the royal family of Puri) as well as Prof. V. Raghavan (Retd. Professor of Sanskrit, Madras Univ.) and Mr. R.N. Sampath (Curator of the Govt. Or. Manuscript Library, Madras), Mr. S. Chaudhury (Librarian of the Asiatic Society), and towards many others, especially towards our Research Assistants, P.C. Mishra, Sureswari Mishra, R.P. Mishra, A.T. Sarangi, G.R. Das, H.K. Rana, K.C. Rautray, Pandit Jatadhari Mishra and the Secretary and the Accountant of the Project in Orissa, M. Sharma Biswas and S.K. Pradhan who have rendered indispensable service to the Project.

The Orissa Research Project was financed by the German Research Council in Bonn. We gratefully acknowledge its generous financial support which enabled us to carry out our research in Orissa and to print this volume.

Furthermore we would like to thank Prof. B. Knall and Prof. D. Rothermund for their painstaking work as the speakers of the South Asia Interdisciplinary Regional Research Programme. We are grateful to the authorities of the Central Government of India and the Government of Orissa for having supported this research.

Since it is not possible to determine the individual amount of labour that each editor has put-in in bringing the present work to this form, we have decided to follow the international practice of giving our names uniformally in alphabetical order.

A.E., Delhi
H.K., Heidelberg
G.C.T., Freiburg

DECEMBER 1976

INTRODUCTION

During the last one and a half century, Indology, both in India and in western countries, has produced innumerable contributions to our knowledge of the great all-Indian Sanskrit tradition. Social anthropologists, on the other hand, have concentrated their painstaking field work on India's villages, tribes and, more recently, on urban problems of modern India. Both disciplines thus have mainly concentrated their research on the "outer portions" of the continual spectrum of India's tradition, *i.e.* its local and all-Indian aspects. Till recently both disciplines have tended to avoid the various *regional traditions* of the South Asian subcontinent, although they form not only literally the "central portion" of India's tradition, but also the true melting pot of the local and the all-Indian tradition.

This trend may be partly due to the vague feeling that the regional traditions represent neither the "unspoiled" Sanskrit tradition nor the pure village life, but a distorted "provincial" variant of both. The neglect of India's regional traditions has also been due to a certain bias and the fact that they obviously had fallen between the chairs of the sociological and philological disciplines. This has further been caused by a *gap* in the chronological order between the respective fields of research of the two disciplines. Whereas the Indological field had seldom transgressed the post-Gupta period, the sources of research of the social anthropologists and sociologists usually do not go back beyond the nineteenth century. However, it was exactly this period of about one millennium, roughly between the eighth and the eighteenth century, during which the regional traditions of India developed their distinct pre-modern characteristics. The present state of our knowledge about these traditions is, therefore, still quite contrary to their actual importance for the cultural development of India.

For the last nearly thirty years two concepts have contributed substantially towards a more differentiated analysis of the social organization of Indian tradition, *i.e.* Redfield's concepts of "the great and the little tradition" and Srinivas' concept of "Sanskritization". Redfield's concept has been of great heuristic importance for an analysis of the structure of the Indian civilization. Srinivas' concept opened a new approach to the study of social change and mobility in the Indian society. From the point of view of Indology and History the main merit of Srinivas' theory lies in the conceptual framework which helps to link research on the "little communities" of

India's villages with the traditional field of Indology, the great all-Indian Sanskritic tradition. "Sanskritization" thus became a helpful transmission belt between history-oriented and social anthropological research. It also helped to destroy the myth of India's villages being an "isolated whole" (Srinivas/Shah).

But soon some disadvantages of these thought-provoking concepts became obvious. On the one hand, they still tended to distinguish too dichotomically the all-Indian great tradition from the little tradition of India's villages and, on the other hand, sometimes overemphasized the all-Indian Brahmanical model of Sanskritization in the context of social change in traditional India. A thorough reflection on, and critical analysis of, both concepts, therefore, led to their further conceptual development. The rather static concept of "the great and the little tradition" has been modified by several new approaches and methods. Sociologists emphasized a continuous process of "universalization" and "parochialization" (MacKim Mariott) and an uninterrupted tribe-caste continuum (Bailey, Sinha) and accepted the all-Indian Brahmanical model of the society as the basis of the local and regional caste system (Dumont). Furthermore, problems of state formation were discussed by historians in the conceptual framework of "nuclear areas" of intensive Hinduization (Stein) and "regional centres" (Rothermund). In tribal central India state formation has been linked with social change according to the Rajput model ("Rajputization", Sinha). The results of this study confirm the supposition that Sanskrit has never been the only medium through which Sanskritization developed and that its agents were not at all always Brahmins (Staal). Regional languages and regional variants (*deśācāra*) of the all-Indian Dharmaśāstra law books often played a much more important role in the process of Sanskritization.

In this context, the problems of mutual influence of the various levels of Indian culture became a central subject for the analysis of its social organization. Questions of the networks and centres in the integration of Indian civilization (Cohn/Marriot), methods of popular instruction (V. Raghavan), and the channels of cultural transmission (Marriot) were thoroughly discussed. Other scholars emphasized in this context the role of sacred complexes (Vidyarthi, Jha), e.g. places of pilgrimage and temple cities, of sacred specialist, e.g. priests, mendicant *saṃnyāsins* and pilgrim guides, and of sacred performances, e.g. Rāma Līlā or Rādhā Kṛṣṇa bhajana (Singer) and termed pilgrimage as one of the main unifying forces in Hinduism (Ensink).

It is this context in which the Orissa Research Project analysed in a comprehensive and interdisciplinary research scheme the "sacred complex" of Puri in order to contribute to the knowledge about the origin, development, and organisation of a regional cult and its role in the formation of one of India's least known and yet most vivid regional traditions.

Orissa, lying at the northeastern coast of the Bay of Bengal with a site of 60,172 square miles and a population of about 20 millions, certainly provides an excellent field for the study of a regional tradition. With a fertile alluvial belt along its coast of 300 miles (between 17°48′ and 22°34′ north latitude), surrounded by semicircular rugged tracts, dotted with jungle-clad blue hills of the Eastern Ghats and

broken by ravines and deep valleys, Orissa, on the one hand, throughout its history formed a geographical unit with its distinct cultural and political history; on the other, it has three major geographical outlets which connected her with the neighbouring regions.

The northeastern and southern influences met in Orissa via the sea-coast and it was also in direct contact with Central and North India through the Mahanadi valley. Although quite secluded, Orissa was thus not at all excluded from the developments outside its natural borders.

A further advantage for a study of the regional tradition of Orissa is its rather unbroken cultural development. Perhaps due to its geographical location it was able, at least partly, to withstand the Muslim conquest till 1568, more than three centuries longer than most other parts of North and Central India. And even during the heyday of Muslim rule in India under the Moghuls, the distance from Delhi allowed Orissa to preserve her tradition till 1803, when the British East India Company defeated the Marathas who had ruled Orissa since 1751.

Another outstanding feature of Orissa is the persistent existence of a strong tribal element throughout its history. Even at present 25 per cent of its population consists of tribal people; in other words, one out of every four Oriyas is still a tribal and Orissa's tribes constitute about 15 per cent of the total tribal population of India. On the other hand, the coastal belt and the river valleys possess various archaeological sites (see Map 3), several of which belong to the most impressive achievements of India's early cultural development.

Orissa therefore has often been regarded as an excellent example of Hindu-tribal *dichotomy* in India. At a superficial level this characterization might be correct. But a more scrutinizing analysis reveals to what an extent the regional tradition of Orissa is characterized by an uninterrupted tribal-Hindu *continuum*. This characteristic feature of the culture of Orissa still finds its lasting manifestation in the Jagannātha cult of Puri. The archaic iconography of the cult images on the one hand and their highest Hindu iconology on the other as well as the existence of former tribals (*daitas*) and Vedic Brahmins amongst its priests are by no means an antithesis, but a splendid regional synthesis of the local and the all-Indian tradition.

The Orissa Research Project attempts a comprehensive study of the origin and development of the Jagannātha cult, the temple city and pilgrim centre of Puri and their role in the formation of the regional tradition of Orissa. It is thus a contribution to the study of India's "neglected" regional cults, their sacred places (*tīrtha*), and their religious and socio-economic networks. The sacred places are at the same time a nucleus of the regional tradition as well as the "transmission belts" between the local and all-Indian tradition.

The present volume contains contributions mainly on the origin and development of the cult and the mutual relationship between the religious and the political developments in Eastern India. Two separate sociological and anthropological monographs are under preparation by G. Pfeffer and J. Rösel (see bibliography). Part I deals with the formative period of the Jagannātha cult. Its first and third chapters

trace the advent of Viṣṇuism in Orissa and give an outline of its history from the Gupta period up to 1135 A.D. when the construction of the present monumental Jagannātha temple began. It turned out that nothing is known from archaeological and epigraphical sources about the Jagannātha cult before the 10th century A.D., when it was first mentioned in an inscription in Central India as an already famous place of pilgrimage. Several of the following articles, therefore, try to throw light on the possible pre-10th century development in Puri and coastal Orissa on the basis of literary and historical evidence from outside Central Orissa and on the basis of an analysis of various contemporary cults in the tribal and partly Hinduized hinterland of Puri. These more general studies begin with an analysis of the development of the philosophical concept of Puruṣottama (Jagannātha's predecessor) in the all-Indian Sanskrit texts which emphasize the erotic aspect of Puruṣottama and its relationship with Viṣṇu's incarnation Narasiṃha. Two further articles (ch. 4, 5) then scrutinise the problems of Hinduization of tribal deities at the village level as well as at the level of bigger Hindu temples. Inscriptional and archaeological evidence and the contemporary rituals in the hinterland of Puri and within the Jagannātha cult also give Narasiṃha (the fierceful and erotic man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, see figs. 53-56) a dominant role in the Vaiṣṇava typology of Hinduization and consequently in the early development of the Jagannātha cult. In a rejoinder (ch. 6) the Śaiva component in the early evolution of Jagannātha is emphasised and Narasiṃha's role as a predecessor of Jagannātha is contested with reference to the Ekapāda Bhairava (see figs. 57-58). Two of the following articles then (ch. 7, 8) analyse the role of the royal temple policy in the formation and consolidation of the medieval Hindu kingdoms. The political function of royal patronage of Hinduized tribal deities and the construction of huge temple was to legitimize hierarchical Hindu royal power in the Hindu-tribal frontier within a more equalitarian tribal society and to cope with feudal forces of the regional Hindu kingdoms. In Orissa, this development culminated in the construction of the present temple at Puri after 1135 A.D. and the dedication of the whole Orissan empire to its deity Jagannātha ("Lord of the World") in 1230 A.D., under whose overlordship (*sāmrājya*) and orders the Hindu Rājāṣ of Orissa thenceforward pretended to rule their *prajā* (people). Two more contributions (ch. 9, 12) deal with the socio-political role of the Jagannātha cult. Whereas the previous ones (ch 7, 8) took a look at these problems mainly from the royal point of view, these two chapters now investigate the evolution of priestly power in Puri. The struggle of the priests clearly reveal their ambivalent position. On the one hand they depended on the royal protection and economic patronage and on the other, they always tried to keep at least the rituals as their dominion and main basis of power free from direct royal interference. If necessary, they did not hesitate to use the "will" of the state deity Jagannātha against his own earthly representative, the Rājā of Orissa. Chapter 9 deals with this struggle during the early phase on the basis of legendary accounts and chapter 12 elaborates this subject mainly on the basis of epigraphical and literary sources of the later Gajapati kings of the 14th-16th centuries.

On the basis of the outlines indicated above the final chapter (10) of Part I

is an attempt to offer a hypothesis for the development of the Jagannātha cult from its very beginning up to the establishment of the present triad in 1230 A.D. This chapter "is the result of constant discussions over years, and represents their latest state, but certainly not the final one". However, it is an attempt to throw light on a problem which, till recently, was apparently "shrowded in mystery"

Part II of the volume describes the climax and the crisis of the Jagannātha cult under the imperial Gajapati kings of Orissa (till 1568) and Muslim (till 1751) and Maratha rule (till 1803). Two articles (ch. 11, 17) again deal with the political aspect of the cult of Puri, pointing out its different function for the imperial kings of Orissa and their weak successors on the Khurda throne after 1590 A.D. whereas the former threatened their opponents with the wrath of Jagannātha, the later Khurda Rājās tried to win the support of the feudal Hindu lords of Orissa by "sharing" their own position in the Jagannātha cult. Two further articles (ch. 13, 14) describe the unique Navakalevara ceremony of the replacement of the Jagannātha images in Puri and prototypes of this ceremony in the Hinduized tribal hinterland of Puri, a hitherto unknown clue to the origin of the Jagannātha cult. The Navakalevara festival which occurs only once in about 11-19 years is perhaps the greatest Hindu festival of Eastern India, but its ritual has been one of the most Zealously guarded secret of India's places of pilgrimage. This analysis is completed by a study of the daily *pūjā* ceremonies of the Jagannātha temple which is based on close observation and on a comparison with hitherto unknown palmleaf manuscripts (ch. 15). The influence of Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava saint of Bengal, on the Jagannātha cult in the early 16th century is described in chapter 14. It was partly through him and his followers that the Jagannātha cult changed more and more from a royal cult to a cult of the people of Orissa.

Part III deals with the Jagannātha cult in the 19th and 20th centuries. Whereas the British East India Company initially had tried to take over fully the administration of the temple (because "in a political light its value is incalculable"), the missionary propaganda forced the British Government to sever its relations with "Juggernaut" —a fact which led to the ascent of the Rājās of Puri (ch. 18) and, at least, indirectly to a great resurgence of the cult as a symbol of Oriya Nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (ch. 19). After these chapters about the resurgence of the Jagannātha cult in the 19th and 20th centuries an article (ch. 20) is devoted to the reaction of the hinterland against Puri's religious and ideological dominance. This dominance was particularly felt during the late 19th century when former semi-tribal chiefs introduced the Jagannātha cult in their "capitals" as a symbol of their newly acquired full grown Hindu kingship in accordance with the example of the Gajapati kings. The Mahimā Dharma sect, an autochthonous Hindu reform movement of the hinterland made its first spectacular appearance in 1881 when a few followers of the new sect tried to force their way into the temple of Puri in order to burn the "old" statue of Jagannātha with the claim to be the adherents of the new and future Jagannātha. Mahimā Dharma is an example for the emergence of a traditional regional reform movement whose appearance, in contrast to the so-called

neo-Hindu movements, till now has hardly received any attention. The influence of the Jagannātha cult upon the language centred Oriya Nationalism which led to the establishment of a separate Province of Orissa in 1936 is dealt with in a separate chapter (ch. 19). It shows to what extent the Oriya Nationalism was linked with the regional tradition of Orissa, based on the Oriya language and the Orissan cult of Jagannātha. The regional and even all-Indian political importance of Puri and its Jagannātha cult is further analysed (in chapter 21) in a study of the Śaṅkarācāryas of Puri, who trace back their institution to the great reformer Śaṅkara (ca. 800 A.D.). Paradoxically, however, in Puri itself they never gained religious leadership, obviously because Jagannātha and his earthly deputy, the Hindu rājā of Orissa, were too dominant. The hold of the Jagannātha temple over its hinterland for centuries has been guaranteed by Brahmin villages, attached to the temple and royal court and by a vast landed property. In two chapters the change and continuity in these traditional institutions are traced (ch. 22, 23). It has been shown that the representatives of the traditional intellectual elite of Orissa, hailing from these royal Śāsana Brahmin villages, were on the whole able to retain their influence in the administration of the State of Orissa till today because of their traditional intellectual training and because their "traditional moderation made them less vulnerable to the modern challenges of egalitarian character". More incisive, however, is the loss of most of the landed property of the temple through several Zamindari Abolition Acts after 1947. In lieu of the revenue drawn from this landed property the temple is now receiving a fixed amount of payment which makes the cult very much dependent on the Government of Orissa, restoring in a way the situation which existed under the powerful kings of the former Orissan empire. The present network of religious economy which links temple, town, and hinterland depends now to a larger extent on the pilgrims, the traditional integrators of the Indian civilization. The last but one chapter (24) describes the spread of the Jagannātha cult from Puri to its hinterland on the basis of the distribution of the Jagannātha temples in contemporary Orissa. The concluding chapter (25) deals with the evolution of the concept of Jagannātha as a deity and depicts how Jagannātha has been interpreted or re-interpreted in different ages till, starting from a rather modest stage of a simple divinity of local importance, he has become the supreme 'Lord of the Universe' of all-India importance. This article thus provides an interesting insight into the well known process of "continuity and change" in Hinduism, i.e. into the flexibility and the dynamic of this religion which almost never discards a cult or a cult-object, but modifies continuously its substance and gives it a new meaning in order to make it suitable to the prevailing conditions and the needs of the time.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Ā'īn-i-Akbarī
Account	Account of the Gaṅgavaṃśa
AN	Akbarnāma
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
CP	Cakoḍā Pothi
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
DK	Deula Karaṇa
EI	Epigraphia Indica
GOMLM	Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras
HCIP	History and Culture of the Indian People
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IHRC	Indian Historical Records Commission
IO	Inscriptions of Orissa
JAHRS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JAS, Lett.	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JK	Jagannātha Kaifiat [=Qaifiat]
JKHRS	Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)
JSV	Jagannātha Sthalavṛttāntamu
JTC	Jagannātha Temple Correspondence
KD	Kramadīpikā
LR	Local Records
MP	Mādaḷā Pāñji
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research Journal

ORP	Orissa Research Project
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
Pur. Māh. (Skd.P.)	Puruṣottama Māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa (contained in the Utkalakhaṇḍam of its Viṣṇukhaṇḍa)
Pur. Māh. (VR)	Puruṣottama Māhātmya according to the Viṣṇurahasya (also called Mahāpuraṣavidyā)
RR	Record of Rights
SAI	South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
ŚT	Śaradātilaka
VNV (NV)	Vanayāgavidhi, ascribed to Narasiṃha Vājapeyin
VYV (KP)	Vanayāgavidhi, discovered in Kendrapārā

PART I

The Formative Period

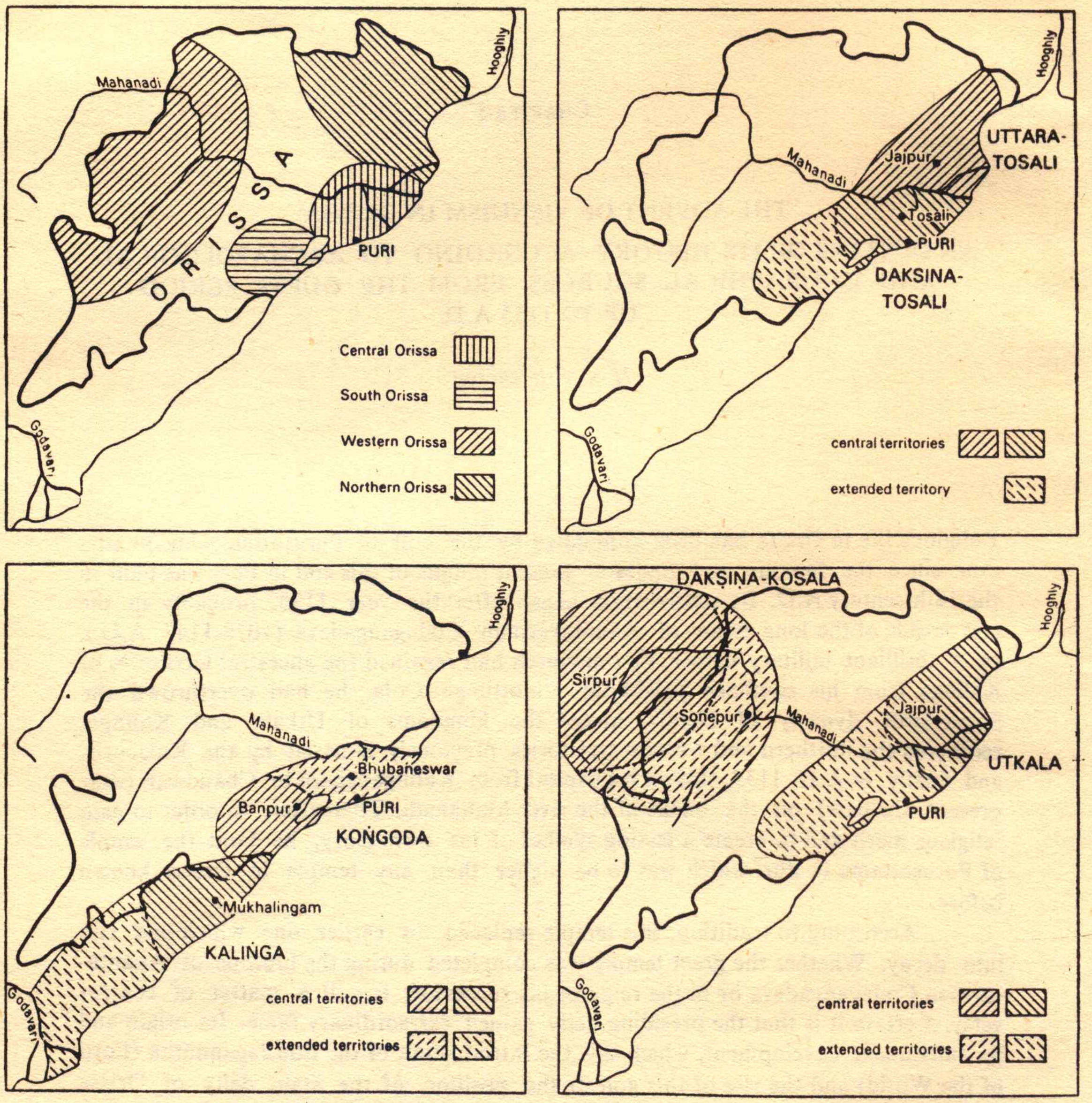
CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF VIṢṆUISM IN ORISSA: AN OUTLINE OF ITS HISTORY ACCORDING TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES FROM THE GUPTA PERIOD UP TO 1135 A.D.

H. v. Stietencron

Religious life in Orissa has been dominated by the cult of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha ever since the famous and majestic present temple of this god in Puri was built in the 12th century A.D. Its construction began after the year 1135, probably in the last decade of the long reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva (1078-1147 A.D.). In a brilliant military career, this monarch had regained the ancestral territories of Kaliṅga from his southern neighbour Kulottuṅga Cōḷa, he had overthrown the Somavāṃśī dynasty of Utkala, united the kingdoms of Utkala and Kaliṅga, recovered the northern and western territories previously annexed by the Kalacuris, and finally, in A.D. 1135, shifted his capital from Kaliṅganagara to Chaudwar (near present Cuttack) on the banks of the river Mahanadi. Thereafter, in order to gain religious merit and to create a lasting symbol of his own glory, he built the temple of Puruṣottama in Puri which was to be higher than any temple in Orissa known before.

According to tradition, this temple replaced an earlier one which had run into decay. Whether the great temple was completed during the lifetime of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva or in the reign of his successors is still a matter of controversy. Certain it is that the presiding deity gained extraordinary fame. Its origin and its subsequent development, which saw the introduction of the title Jagannātha (Lord of the World) and the rise of this god to the position of the state deity of Orissa and even to the most important Vaiṣṇava deity in Eastern India, will be discussed in other chapters of this book. The present chapter is devoted to a survey of the development of Viṣṇuism in that region prior to the construction of the great Jagannātha temple. It is based primarily on archaeological and epigraphical sources.



The Geographical Terms of Reference

The early literary references to Puruṣottama and Jagannātha have been extensively dealt with in an article by K.N. Mahapatra[1] whose findings were repeated by K.C. Mishra—[2] We shall refer to these references with a more cautious attitude. To what extent some of them can be relied upon as historical documents will depend on the results of further textcritical analysis (See also G.C. Tripathi, Chapter 2). From archaeological remains and inscriptions available at present, it appears that up to the 10th century Viṣṇuism occupied a relatively subordinate position. It existed on a narrow basis in parts of the area of present Orissa, but did not enjoy particular royal favour and patronage. The active support of Viṣṇuism by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva and the construction of the Jagannātha temple, therefore, marked a decisive change in the religious history of Orissa.

TERMS OF REFERENCE AND GENERAL REMARKS

The geographical terms used in the following pages do not take full account of the shifting boundaries of each region in the course of history. For practical purposes they are reduced to some of the major ancient regional names and to one set of schematical divisions as given in the four diagrams of map No. 1. For easy reference to the districts of Orissa and to historical places the reader is advised to open the folding-maps Nos. 3-5 at the end of this book. The spelling of place names and district names follows the English form contained in all available maps. Only historical places are given in transcript with diacritical marks.

The dates proposed for the rulers and events in Kaliṅga, Koṅgoḍa and Dakṣiṇa Kosala are controversial and may require corrections after further research. They differ in many cases from the dates proposed by senior scholars like V.V. Mirashi, D.C. Sircar, S.N. Rajaguru and others. The detailed studies of inscriptions and monuments on which they are based will be published in due time.

The term "*Vaiṣṇava*" for those devotees who adore the god Viṣṇu in one of his names or forms is of relatively late origin. It was developed in the 5th century A.D. as a general or inclusive term to provide a common denominator for, and an announcement of underlying unity between, several religious groups, the most important being the Bhāgavata and Pāñcarātra sects. Accordingly, I am using the term "Vaiṣṇava" in the following pages to denote all the different groups of devotees of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa, singly or combined, and the modern term "*Viṣṇuism*" to refer to their creed and socio-religious movements.

The fortune of such religious movements in Orissa, as elsewhere, depended largely on the patronage they received from the rulers of the country and from the wealthy class of the people. Low-class religion is rarely traceable in archaeological remains and inscriptions. Therefore, the very sources used for this survey imply that religion is treated here in its relation to political power. Both its dependence

[1] K.N. Mahapatra, 1954.
[2] K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 34 ff.

on the vicissitudes of dynastic history and its influence on the ruling class or educated population, together with its effect on art and architecture are reflected in this type of sources. The religious feelings of the poorest strata of society remain unrecorded. Yet this applies to all religious movements. Therefore, in order to place the account of Viṣṇuism into proper perspective, a brief glance at the rise and decline of other religious movements in Orissa as reflected in the same sources is called for, before Viṣṇuism can be treated in detail.

THE MAJOR RELIGIONS IN ORISSA

In the pre-Christian period *Jainism* was the most important non-indigenous religion in Orissa. Although it lost royal support in the 1st century A.D. after the downfall of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty, its roots in the population were deep and in Kaliṅga it retained its dominant position up to the end of the 7th century. The Jain community continued to be respected throughout coastal Orissa and to get support down to the 12th century. It ceased to have any importance in the 16th century but was revived again about 1800 when Jain merchants settled in Cuttack.

Buddhism, after an unsuccessful attempt in the time of Aśoka, started to gain ground in Orissa from the 1st century A.D. onwards. It was flourishing about 641 A.D. when Hiuen Tsiang visited the country. In its Vajrayāna form it reached the hight of prosperity under the Bhauma-Kara rulers in the 8th-10th centuries. Thereafter, Buddhism gradually declined, but not as quickly as in other parts of India. The last ruler known to have supported Buddhist religious establishments was Gajapati Mukundadeva in the 16th century, and even thereafter the Buddhist community was never completely extinguished.

Śaivism is traceable from the 4th-5th century onwards. In the post-Gupta period it became the strongest Hindu sectarian movement in Orissa. It was the dominating religion in central Orissa from the 6th century onwards and reached the peak of its glory during the Somavaṃśī rule in the 10th and 11th centuries. Although it experienced a serious setback when the Jagannātha temple was built in the 12th centuiy and the Gaṅga Kings fully turned towards Viṣṇuism in the early 13th century, it remained the religion of the majority of the people of Orissa down to the 17th century.

Śāktism was closely related to Saivism, although its traces may reach back to an even more distant past. Its extremely powerful hold on the population has continued to the present day and female deities worshipped by the lower strata of society continue to be subject to a process of Hinduization. None of the other religions could establish themselves firmly in this region without coming to terms with Śāktism. The adherents of Śaivism and Buddhism did so at an early date, but also Viṣṇuism and Jainism could not resist this process. The period when the Śāktas gained their greatest influence and were most generously supported by the rulers of Orissa extended from the 8th to the 11th centuries. They later witnessed an important revival in the 16th century.

Viṣṇuism was by far the latest major Indian religion to reach central Orissa, the area where today Jagannātha dominates the religious scene. Nowhere in the whole region of Orissa and Kaliṅga is Viṣṇuism traceable prior to the Gupta period. It advanced towards Orissa from the south and from the west. But its progress was slow and came to a stop outside the borders of Orissa in the post Gupta period, when Śaivism and Śāktism rose to a prominent position. The absence of early traces of Viṣṇuism is all the more remarkable as the Vaiṣṇavas had crossed the Vindhya range and settled in the western Dekkan as early as the 1st century B.C.[3] They reached the Krishna valley in south-western Andhra Pradesh by the end of the 2nd century A.D.[4] But they do not seem to have been able to advance along the east coast. Of course an argument *e silentio* cannot be conclusive. But in view of the extraordinary wealth of archaeological remains in Kaliṅga and Orissa, the absence of early Vaiṣṇava remains is striking. It should be carefully registered before drawing conclusions which are based on other sources.

VIṢṆUISM IN THE SOUTH

Shortly after Samudragupta's military expedition to the south, the so-called Pitṛbhaktas and Māṭharas[5] established an independent rule in Kaliṅga south of the Mahendra mountain. During their rule which lasted about 180 years (ca. 364-540 A.D.), Viṣṇuism advanced into Kaliṅga where it enjoyed royal protection from the time of Anantaśaktivarman onwards. Anantaśaktivarman was the successor of Umāvarman who, at the end of a long reign of at least 30 years, had raised the fortunes of his family by expanding his kingdom and assuming the title of Lord of Kaliṅga (*kaliṅgādhipati*). The personal religious conviction of Umāvarman is unknown to us. But Anantaśaktivarman whose capital was Siṃhapura (Singupura near Chicacole) issued a charter in his 14th regnal year in which he described himself as a devotee at the feet of Nārāyaṇasvāmin.[6] As in the same family Caṇḍavarman was a devotee of Viṣṇu (*parama-bhāgavata*,[7] Nandaprabhañjanavarman was a *parama-bhāgavata*[8] and Prabhañjanavarman (who may possibly be identified with the former) worshipped

[3] Nānāghāṭ inscription of queen Nāyanikā. D.C. Sircar 1942, p. 186sq. The inscription contains an invocation of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva.

[4] An inscription of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī (ca 174-203 A.D.), dated in his 27th year and beginning with an invocation of Bhagavat Vāsudeva was found in the village Chinna in the Krishnā district of Andhra Pradesh. Names of Vaiṣṇava origin occur in inscriptions of Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. See S. Jaiswal, 1967, p. 179.

[5] They probably belong to the same royal dynasty. The Vāsiṣṭhīputras of Piṣṭapura seem to be a branch of the same family.

[6] *Nārāyaṇa/svāminaḥ pādabhaktaḥ*; Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman, EI, vol. 28, pp. 175-179; IO, vol. I/2, p. 13sq.

[7] Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman, IO, vol. I/2, p. 25sq.

[8] Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman, IA, vol. 13, p. 48ff; IO, vol. I/2, p. 40sq.

Bhagavatsvāmī Nārāyaṇa[9] there is clear evidence that Viṣṇuism enjoyed royal protection in Kaliṅga over a considerable period of time and could firmly establish itself in the Chicacole District. Only one of the rulers of this period, Anantavarman, was a declared devotee of Śiva.[10]

Towards the end of this period, in the beginning of the 6th century, ambition induced the rulers of Kaliṅga to expand their kingdom towards the north-east. Thus Nandaprabhañjanavarman and Prabhañjanavarman (he may have been identical with the former) could adopt the glorious title of "Lord of the entire Kaliṅga" (*sakala-kaliṅgādhipati*). At this time the kingdom included at least the Ganjam District of Orissa and possibly extended up to the Mahanadi river. For a very short time this opened up a chance for Viṣṇuism to penetrate into Ganjam and Central Orissa. But Prabhañjanavarman was unable to keep control over his recently expanded realm. The kingdom collapsed and its ruling dynasty disappeared from the scene of history.

For the Vaiṣṇavas, the fall of the dynasty was a serious setback. They lost their former royal support in Kaliṅga. All the following dynasties for more than 550 years to come were inclined towards Śaivism. The rulers were devout worshippers of Śiva and called themselves *paramamāheśvara*. They also continued to support Jainism which had a strong traditional base among the people of Kaliṅga. There is no evidence to suggest that the Vaiṣṇavas experienced persecution in Kaliṅga as they did in the 11th-12th century in the Coḷa country. They simply did not receive much support from the ruling or wealthy classes of society. In one single instance, the god Nārāyaṇa, residing in a temple in the village Rohanaka (Ronanki in Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh) and described in an inscription as the "Only Lord of the Seven Worlds, sleeping on the seven Oceans", received a grant of land for the continuation of his worship including offerings to the god (*bali*), oblations to the manes (*caru*) and feeding of pilgrims (*sattra*), as well as for repairs of the temple.[11] But the general trend of the time went against the Vaiṣṇavas. It had shifted markedly in favour of Śaivism and Śāktism, both of which gained wide popularity in the post-Gupta period.

In the following centuries we come across a few Vaiṣṇava names among the donees and officers mentioned in the grants of Kaliṅga and southern Orissa. They afford no proof that all the bearers of these names were in fact Vaiṣṇavas. Nevertheless they indicate the survival of the Vaiṣṇava tradition in Kaliṅga and the tendency of Brahmins to migrate and settle near the new centres of worldly power in Koṅgoda. The policy applied for many centuries by the rulers throughout Orissa to invite Brahmins for settlement and to offer them considerable economic incentives in the form of tax-free income from donated villages shows that the Hindu

[9] *Bhagavatsvāmi-nārāyaṇa-pādānudhyātaḥ*, Niṅgoṇḍi grant of Prabhañjanavarman, EI, vol. 30, p. 112sq; IO, vol. I/2, p. 44sq.

[10] Siripuram and Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman, IO, vol. I/2, p. 31sq. and p. 35sq.

[11] Narasiṃhapalli plates of Hastivarman, dated in Gaṅga Era 79 and issued from Kaliṅganagara. IO, vol. II, p. 14sq.

upper class had to be strengthened and the rulers felt the need for more educated people to promote their cultural ambitions. (See also Ch. 3). To judge from the names and gotras, the influx of "non-local" upper-class people was in its majority either Vedic-orthodox or Śaiva-Śākta, but Sauras and Vaiṣṇavas also entered the country. Three out of 37 Brahmin donees mentioned in the Patiakella plate of Sivarāja in such connection bear Vaisṇava names[12] and again three out of 23 in the Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavavarman.[13] Thus there was possibly a small scale immigration of Vaiṣṇavas into Southern and Central Orissa in the Śailodbhava period (7th to 8th century) though the names, as mentioned before, are no reliable indication of their bearers' religious persuasion.

The immigrating Śaivas belonged largely tô the Pāśupata sect which promoted as a characteristic feature the syncretistic Hari-Hara concept: Śiva, the great god, included all other divinities, particularly Viṣṇu who was but part of himself and in theology was subsequently equated with Śiva's Energy (*śakti*). As a consequence, the Pāśupatas included themes of the Viṣṇu mythology and representations from the great epics among the carvings of their temples with a view to manifest the all-inclusiveness of Śiva. There are many such works of art related to Viṣṇu on the early temples of Bhubaneswar and other places of Central Orissa. But they should not be mistaken as Vaiṣṇava images. They are distinctly Śaiva, although their appreciation presupposes an acquaintance of the educated viewer with the Viṣṇu mythology.

VIṢṆUISM IN THE NORTH

The Hūṇa invasions of the 6th century and the rapid decay of the Gupta empire caused serious unrest in the Brahmin communities of Northern India. This continued even after the accession of Harṣavardhana in the early 7th century because the struggle for hegemony between Harṣa, Śaśāṅka and Pulakeśin II did not serve to produce a feeling of political stability and security, and possibly also because of Harṣa's leaning towards Buddhism. As a consequence, Orissa witnessed towards the end of the 6th century and in the first half of the 7th century an immigration of Brahmins of various gotras and caraṇas from Northern India. In inscriptions from Uttara Tosali and Dakṣiṇa Tosali[14] we find traces of these immigrants who

12 IO. vol. I/2, No. 24.

13 IO, vol. I/2, No. 37.

14 Sumaṇḍala plates of Dharmarāja of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha, IO, vol. I/2, pp. 113-116; EI, vol. 28, pp. 79-85;
Kanās plates of Śrī Lokavigraha, EI, vol. 28, p. 331; IO, vol. I/2, pp. 120-123;
Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, EI, vol. 9, pp. 285-288; IO, vol. I/2, pp. 124-127;
Balasore copperplate inscription of Śrī Bhānu, IHQ, vol. 11, pp. 611-618; IO, vol. I/2, pp. 128-130;
The Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavavarman, EI, vol. 24, p. 148-153; IO, vol. I/2, pp. 186-190;
Parikud plates of Madhyamarājadeva, EI, vol. II, pp. 281-287; IO, vol. I/2, pp. 199-205, etc.

received donations of tax-free villages in order to settle down permanently in Orissa. Some of these villages are in the Balasore district. In one case a group of 37 brahmins, out of whom 6 bear Vaiṣṇava names, are mentioned as settling in a village in Dakṣina Tosali.[15]

The infiltration of North Indian traditions gradually turned out to be an important cultural factor in the subsequent period, especially during the Śailodbhava rule in Orissa which gave rise to a flourishing cultural epoch dominated largely by Śaivism. But the existence of a small group of devotees of Viṣṇu in Northern Orissa and in the Prācī valley of Puri District is attested by a few Vaiṣṇava images of this period. Two of these images are in the Bhadrak subdivision of Balasore district: A Narasiṃha image at Kaupur attributed to the 8th century[16] and the fragment of an image with broken arms at Dolasahi which has been tentatively identified as an image of Viṣṇu.[17] The most important and best preserved image is that of a four-armed Viṣṇu with large halo, holding rosary and conch in his front hands while the other two hands rest on his companions *cakrapuruṣa* and *gadādevī* (Fig. 48a). This image may belong to the 7th century. It is known as Mudgala-Mādhava and is still worshipped in Mudugala village in the Kakatpur taluq of Puri district, together with a second beautiful image of the same name belonging to the Somavaṃśī period of ca. 11th century.

Stylistically the old Mudgala-Mādhava image is clearly linked to the above-mentioned fragment of a Viṣṇu image at Dolasahi (Balasore district), and advanced stages of the same style may be seen at Monastery I of Ratnagiri (8th century).

The original Mudgala-Mādhava image is noteworthy for its antiquity, its unusual representation with akṣamālā[18] and for its name. The latter makes it possible to link the image to a family which occurs as *mudgala-kula* or *maudgala-kula* in inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries.

Perhaps the oldest of these is the short inscription of two lines incised in a ruined temple of Mohanagiri in the Kalahandi District of Western Orissa. It simply perserves the name of one Śrī Citracaṇḍa of the *mudgala-kula*.[19]

In 580 A.D. one member of this apparently brahmin family ruled over Uttara Tosali,[20] probably as a feudatory of the Guptas. His name is Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas. He uses the Gupta era,[21] but does not refer directly to any overlord,

15 Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, (see note 14).

16 S.C. De, *Some Antiquities of South Balasore*, OHRJ, vol. I/4, 1953, pp. 257-258.

17 *Loc. cit.*, p. 261 and Plate 47, fig. 5.

18 This emblem characterises the god as Nārāyaṇa. It may also be held by the 8-armed variety of Viṣṇu.

19 IO, I/2, p. 154, Note:
Śrī mudgalakulaśya (sya)
[*Śrī*] *ścitracaṇḍa* [:]

20 Soro plates of Śambhuyaśas, IO, vol. I/2, pp. 117-119. EI, vol. 23, p. 201f;

21 The date is given as saṃvat 260. The editor, N.G. Majumdar (EI, vol. 23, p. 197) refers this date to the Kalacuri era and thus arrives at the date 508-509 A.D. S.N. Rajaguru, however,

a sign of the decay of Gupta control over Orissa. Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas of the *mudgala-kula* donated 8 *timpiras* of land at Ghaṇṭākarṇakṣetra near Sarepha (modern Soro) in Uttara Tosali to a brāhmaṇa called Bharaṇa-svāmin.

The next reference to the "spotless family of the descendent of Mudgala" (*maudgalāmalakule*) occurs in the Patiakella plate of Mahārāja Śivarāja, dated 603 A.D.[22] In this inscription there occurs the name of a supposed overlord of Mahārāja Śivarāja whose name cannot be clearly deciphered. It seems that the person referred to is again Śambhuyaśas who is said to be a devotee of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*), and it is not impossible that Mahārāja Śivarāja was the son of Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas.[23]

Śivarāja ruled in Dakṣiṇa Tosali where he donated an unidentified village to 37 brahmin immigrants. He is the last known ruler of the Mudgala family in Tosali. A few years later King Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa became overlord over Orissa. The Śailodbhavas acknowledged his suzereinty and were made regents of Koṅgoda. What happened to the Mudgala family is not known. But there continued to live members of the *mudgala-gotra* in Orissa immediately after the accession of the Śailodbhavas: The Śailodbhava ruler Mādhavavarman Śrī Sainyabhīta gave the

points out that the Kalacuri era was not used in Tosali and Kaliṅga, whereas the Gupta era was current in several inscriptions of the same period. There is no doubt that Rajaguru is right. The date, if calculated in the Gupta era, is 580 A.D.

22 EI, vol. 9, pp. 285-288; IO, vol. I/2, pp. 124-127.

The date is given as *māṇavāṃśarājyakāle tryadhikāśītyuttara* (portion missing, line 2) and *saṃvat 200* (portion missing?, line 18). The date can thus be restored as *saṃvat* 283. Referred to the Gupta era it corresponds to 603 A.D. S.N. Rajaguru tried to postulate the existence of a Māna era beginning in 240 A.D. and of an "imperial" Māna family (which is otherwise unknown throughout this period) on the basis of this inscription. (The Māna-Saṃvat of Orissa, OHRJ, vol. 4/1, p.6-10).

23 See Lines 3-5:

maudgalāmalakule gaganatalaśītadīdhitinivāte
sitacarite paramamāheśvaraśrīśagguyayyane
śāsati dakṣiṇatosalyām. . .mahārāja śivarājaḥ kuśalī//

R.D. Banerji, the editor of this text in EI. vol. 9, pp. 285-288 translated the passage as follows:

"In the spotless family of Maudgala, when the great worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Sagguyayyana, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in Southern Toshali, Mahārāja Śivarāja. . . being in good health. . .proclaims: . . .". Sten Konow who edited this volume of EI. read *Śambhuyayyenu* instead of *Sagguyayyane*. Finally N.G. Majumdar (EI, vol. 23, p. 200) proposed the reading *Śaṁbhuyaśasy anuśāsati*. This last proposal was mostly accepted. It is indeed likely that Śambhuyaśas is referred to, as the mention of mudgala-kula indicates. According to Majumdar's reading, Śambhuyaśas is recognised as overlord by Śivarāja. An alternative possibility, slightly closer to Sten Konow's reading would be. . .*śambhuyaśa* [su]nu[:] *śāsati* . .*śivarājaḥ*. In this case, Śivarāja is the son of Śambhuyaśas in the spotless family of the decendent of Mudgala. The date of the record, 23 years after the Soro plates of Śambhuyaśas, as well as the title (both bear the title mahārāja!) tends to support the second conjecture.

village Ambagrāma in Devagrāma-viṣaya to a donee called Nārāyaṇa of Mudgalya-gotra (mudgalya-sagotra).[24]

The ruling members of the *mudgala-kula* seem to have been devotees of Śiva, as their names Śambhuyaśas and Śivarāja indicate. And if the Patiakella plate of Śivarāja mentions indeed Śambhuyaśas—either as father or as overlord—the latter is expressly said to be a Śaiva ruler (*parama-māheśvara*).[25] The image of Mudgala-Mādhava is therefore not likely to have been worshipped by the *Mudgala-kula* rulers. It is possible that the image came into being and received its name when Śivarāja granted protection and gave land to the immigrant brahmins of Vaiṣṇava creed. It is also possible that it was worshipped slightly later by members of the *mudgala-gotra* who were already Vaiṣṇavas in the Śailodbhava period as attested by the proper name Nārayaṇa.

VIṢṆUISM IN THE WEST

Another approach of the Vaiṣṇavas towards Central Orissa was from the west. Viṣṇuism had established itself in the Raipur area of Madhya Pradesh during the Gupta period. Towards its end, Rajim and subsequently Sirpur became centres of Vaiṣṇava religion. Its further advance from there into the bordering regions of Orissa was closely linked with the political development in this area.

The Nalas of Puṣkarī were a dynasty which had its capital in the Umarkot area of the Koraput District and ruled over a territory comprising parts of the Koraput and Kalahandi District of Orissa as well as the former Bastar area of Madhya Pradesh. When they expanded their kingdom towards the north and west at the expense of the Vākāṭakas, the Vaiṣṇava centre Rajim came to be included in their kingdom and as a consequence Viṣṇuism could advance into the Koraput District of Orissa.

The approximate date of the Nalas of Puṣkarī is still a matter of dispute. Some scholars would place the Nalas in the second half of the 5th century. They maintain that the Nala kings Bhavadatta, Arthapati and Skandavarman were in conflict with the Vākāṭaka kings Narendrasena and Pṛthivīṣeṇa II of the Nagpur line, and that the Nala dynasty was finally overthrown by the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa of the Vatsagulma (Basim) line.[26] D.C. Sircar, S.N. Rajaguru and others prefer to date the Nalas later, because the Cālukya king Kīrtivarman I (567-597) claims to have subdued the Nalas and to have destroyed their residence (*nilaya*).[27] This information tallies with the contents of an inscription of Mahārāja Skandavarman of the Nala family, found at Poḍāgaḍh in the Koraput District.[28] It refers to a

[24] Puruṣottampur plates of Mādhavavarman, ed. by S.N. Rajaguru, *Two copperplate grants of Mādhavavarman* (*Śrī Sainyabhīta II*), OHRJ, vol. 2/3-4, pp. 6-24 (Text=pp. 20-22).

[25] Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, *loc. cit.* (See note 14) line 3.

[26] N.K. Sahu, 1971, p. 14.

[27] HCIP, vol. 3, p. 189.

[28] Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription of Skandavarman. IO, vol. I/2, p. 94.

shrine of Viṣṇu which was built by the king after he had recovered the lost fortune of his family and repeopled his deserted capital city Puṣkarī. The destruction of the city of the Nalas is thus mentioned by two independent sources. The Poḍāgaḍh inscription was issued in the 12th regnal year of Skandavarman and represents a stage when the Nala king had recovered from the defeat at the hands of Kīrtivarman. This places him in the latter part of the 6th century and the ruling period of his family would be the 6th and beginning of the 7th century.[29] The Viṣṇu temple which he built apparently at Poḍāgaḍh is the first known Vaiṣṇava shrine in western Orissa. The inscription was written on a pillar, probably a *garuḍa-stambha* in front of the temple. It also records the grant of an estate in favour of the deity, and it is noteworthy that Viṣṇu is called *Puruṣa* in this connection.

Another powerful dynasty with an inclination towards Viṣṇuism arose on the north-western border of Orissa when the Nalas lost their hold over the northern part of Dakṣiṇa Kosala to the so-called Śarabhapurīya dynasty (7th to the beginning of the 8th century). Their royal seal bears the figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī. Narendra, the second ruler of this dynasty was a *parama-bhāgavata.*[30] His successor Prasannamātra issued gold coins with the image of Garuḍa flanked by a discus on its right and a conch on its left.[31] After him Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudevarāja are described as *parama-bhāgavatas* in their grants.[32] As the kingdom of Mahāsudevarāja and his successor Pravararāja II in the beginning of the 8th century extended in the east into the present Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir and Kalahandi Districts of Orissa, there was a further chance for Viṣṇuism to establish itself in western Orissa.

Luckily, royal support for Viṣṇuism continued even after the extinction of the Śarabhapurīya line of kings in Dakṣiṇa Kosala. Royalty was conferred on Tīvaradeva, a descendant of the matrimonially related Pāṇḍuvaṃśī princes of the Mekhala region, who had formerly been respected dignitaries in the Śarabhapurīya kingdom. Tīvaradeva himself and his immediate successor Mahānannarāja designated themselves as *paramavaiṣṇavas*, and Viṣṇuism continued to be promoted under Harṣagupta and his queen Vāsaṭā who seems to have acted as regent for her son Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna while he was still a minor.[33] Later, after her retirement from actual politics, queen Vāsaṭā built the famous brick temple known as the

29 D.C. Sircar, *The Nalas*, in: HCIP, vol. III, pp. 188-190; S.N. Rajaguru, IO, vol. I/2, pp. 106-112.

30 Kurud plate of Mahārāja Narendra, EI, vol. 31, Nos. 35 and 36.

31 V.P. Rode, JNSI, vol. 12, p. 9.

32 Arang copperplate of Mahājayarāja, CII, vol. III, No. 40; Kauvatala plates of Mahāsudevarāja, EI, vol. 31, p. 314sq.

33 The queen is credited with conducting the affairs of the state in verses 18-19 of the Sirpur stone inscription. (EI, vol. 11, pp. 184-201; IO, vol. 4, p. 69sq.). Her son's unusually long reign of at least 57 years also seems to indicate that he was still a minor when he ascended the throne of South Kośala. S.N. Rajaguru suggested that Bālārjuna's maternal uncle Bhāskaravarman run the administration on his behalf (IO, vol. 4, p. 352).

Lakṣmaṇa temple in Sirpur[34] which belongs to the end of the 8th century.[35]

The temple is important not only as an architectural model for the Orissan brick temples at Ranipur-Jharial in the Sindhekela subdivision of Bolangir District, at Belkhandi in Kalahandi District, and at Baidyanāth in Bolangir District, all in western Orissa. It is also noteworthy that the inscription recording the construction of the Lakṣmaṇa temple opens with a salutation to Puruṣottama and continues to invoke this Puruṣottama as Nṛsiṃha.[36] Although Puruṣottama is a commonly used title of Viṣṇu at least since the Gupta period and its occurrence at the beginning of an invocation of Viṣṇu's *avatāra* Nṛsiṃha is nothing extraordinary, this combination deserves notice because it is indicative of a trend in the Vaiṣṇava religion to give special emphasis to the Nṛsiṃha aspect of Viṣṇu. We find this trend again in the 9th century in an inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇa Pāla (ca. 864 A.D.).[37] and finally in the Jagannātha cult in Puri. Jagannātha who was widely known as Puruṣottama up to the end of the 13th century seems to have had particularly close connections with Nṛsiṃha at a certain stage of his history. Even today, Nṛsiṃha plays an important role in the periodical renewal of the wooden images of Jagannātha.[38] He also plays a prominent part during the period of *anavasara*, when the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, after having been publicly bathed, remain withdrawn from the public for 15 days. Under the exclusive care of non-brahmanic priests, and accompanied with secret rites, all damages caused by the bathing are removed, the images are re-adjusted and their colours freshly painted. During this period, the daily brahmanical ritual in the temple is reduced to a minimum. Song, dance and music, the reading of sacred texts, the use of bells, and even flowers and scents are avoided. The remaining rudimentary ritual is diverted to the Nṛsiṃha image in the front hall of the temple. Nṛsiṃha's *mantra* is uttered. Nṛsiṃha even replaces Jagannātha as the object of meditation for his priests and devotees: The wooden god is to be removed even from imagination during this period.[39] There can be no doubt about the close connection between Puruṣottama/Jagannātha and Nṛsiṃha which expresses itself mainly in connection with those rituals concerned with the shaping of the wooden images themselves.

The period of the incorporation of these *mantras* into the Jagannātha cult will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. Here we should only note that one of the most important elements of the later Jagannātha cult, i.e. the worship of Puruṣottama-

[34] Sirpur stone inscription, EI, vol. 11, pp. 184-201; IO, vol. 4, p. 69sq.

[35] The chronology of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings and the date of their temples in Sirpur is still controversial. The Lakṣmaṇa temple has been assigned to the first half of the 7th century by V.V. Mirashi and others.

[36] Sirpur stone inscription (see note 34) verses 1-3.

[37] Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, EI, vol. 35, p. 226sq. Viṣṇu who assumes the man-lion form (*narasiṃharūpa*) is praised in this inscription as the only Lord of the world (*lokaikanātha*), a term which foreshadows the later designation Jagannātha.

[38] G.C. Tripathi, 1974, p. 416; and his chapter on Navakalevara below, chapter XIII.

[39] *Mandira Samācar*, I, No. 20. p. 2f.

Nṛsiṃha, can be traced back to Sirpur in the upper Mahānadī valley, the ancient capital of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. It is here that during the late Pāṇḍuvaṃśī period we find one of the germs which later developed into the composite Jagannātha cult of Orissa. Its curious distortion into a semi-tribal element will be discussed by A. Eschmann in chapter 5. Here it may be noticed only that this development is probably closely linked with the political fate of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī dynasty which, being driven away from the political centre of South Kosala by the Kalacuris, was forced to retreat into largely tribal areas of the Bolangir and Sambalpur Districts of western Orissa. The dynasty changed its name and became the Somavaṃśī dynasty. Two generations later, it established itself also in coastal Orissa.

Tantrism and Śāktism were powerfully rising movements at this period. These popular trends could to some extent be incorporated into the Vaiṣṇava creed by means of the Naṛasiṃha cult. On the whole, however, Viṣṇuism was slow and reluctant to adjust itself to Tantric requirements. Therefore, from the 8th to the 12th century, the general trend was clearly in favour of Śaivism, which was unrestrictedly free to accept, or to promote, Tantric and Śākta developments and which even absorbed Tantric Buddhism to a large extent.

Under these circumstances the expanding force of Viṣṇuism was greatly reduced. In Dakṣiṇa Kosala the setback for Viṣṇuism occurred during the reign of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna in the first half of the 9th century, after the queen mother Vāsaṭā had died. The king himself, following the general tendency of the period, was a devotee of Śiva. He honoured Śaiva ascetics, made donations to Śiva temples and characterized himself as a devotee of Śiva (*parama māheśvara*) in his inscriptions. Similarly, his successors were all devotees of Śiva. We are therefore inclined to believe that of whatever progress Viṣṇuism could make under the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī dynasty, the major part has to be assigned to the period prior to queen Vāsaṭā's death.

The gradual eastward movement of Viṣṇuism during the rule of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśīs and early Somavaṃśīs[40] of South Kosala can be traced in several

[40] The Pāṇḍuvaṃśīs and Somavaṃśīs belong to the same family but they are probably not linked by direct legitimate succession. In the middle of the 9th century the Pāṇḍuvaṃśīs lost the western and central parts of their country to the invading Kalacuris of Tripurī. They were forced to retreat to the eastern tracts of Dakṣiṇa Kosala with Sonepur as one of its political centres. The proud title of "supreme lord of the whole of Kośala" (*sakalakośalādhipati*) was given up and substituted by the title "supreme Lord of Trikaliṅga" (*trikaliṅgādhipati*). The territory of Trikaliṅga comprising the hill tracts of the Kalahandi and Koraput districts of Orissa had a certain strategical importance but it was in no way comparable to the Raipur-Sirpur area which they had lost. The temporary decline of the family's fortune is obvious and can also be noticed in the injerior ornamentation and reduced scale of their buildings.

Whether this calamity befell the dynasty during the lifetime of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna or immediately after his death is still uncertain. His successor Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I was a scion of the same family but apparently not the legitimate heir to the throne which he attained by his own valour. He and his successors ceased to refer to their descent from the Pāṇḍava lineage, using instead a traditional alternative designation of the family which was "the family of the

monuments of western Orissa. From the middle of the 9th century onwards it advanced even beyond the borders of South Kosala into the territories of the Bhañjas and the Bhauma-karas. That some members of the Bhañja family embraced Viṣṇuism is known from their inscriptions.[41] The access of Viṣṇuism into the Bhauma kingdom was facilitated by two of the Bhauma queens, one hailing from the South of India, the other from South Kosala, who were both devotees of Viṣṇu.[42]

One of the characteristic marks of the Viṣṇu temples built by the Pāṇḍu-vaṃśīs and early Somvàṃśīs of Dakṣiṇa Kosala is the representation of Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin in the centre of the door lintel. This feature which is known from the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur and from the massive western entrance to the compound of the Rājīvalocana temple at Rajim[43] penetrated far into western Orissa, but never reached coastal Orissa. In Sonepur two ancient temples[44] have a lintel with Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin, although at present they are dedicated to Śiva. Both were reconstructed and converted into Śaiva temples at a later age. By the time when the Somavaṃśīs came to power in coastal Orissa, this tradition of carving Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin on the door lintel had ceased to exist.

The two colossal Anantaśāyin images found in the upper Brāhmaṇī valley north-west of Talcher[45] have to be viewed in this perspective. They show that traditions from Dakṣiṇa Kosala were carried into the Bhauma territory by Pṛthivī Mahādevī alias Tribhuvana Mahādevī II. She was a princess of the royal house of Dakṣiṇa Kosala and married the Bhauma king Śubhākaradeva IV. The two Anantaśāyin images may be safely attributed to her influence and most probably to her short rule in the last decade of the 9th century.[46]

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moon" or Soma dynasty (*somakula, somavaṃśa*). Under this name they rose to great fame in the second half of the 10th century when the whole of coastal Orissa came under their dominion.

When I refer to "early Somavaṃśa" it is the period between the death of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna and the accession of Yayāti to the throne of coastal Orissa (Utkala) which is intended.

[41] EI, vol. 18, pp. 296-298; vol. 9, 271-277.

[42] Tribhuvana Mahādevī I, wife of Śāntikaradeva I, and Pṛthivī Devī alias Tribhuvana Mahādevī II, wife of Śubhākaradeva IV. The information that Daṇḍī Mahādevī was also a devotee of Viṣṇu, repeated by many scholars who all copy from each other (last instance is K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 22) is wrong: the Kumurang plate of this queen clearly states that she was *parama-māheśvarī*. (Kumurang plates of Daṇḍī Mahādevī, line 25, Text in B. Mishra, 1943, p. 63). There was considerable increase in the number of families with Vaiṣṇava tradition in the Balasore district at the time of Śubhākaradeva I who settled 200 brahmin immigrants in two villages. Out of these one forth bore Vaiṣṇava names. (Neulpur plate of Śubhākaradeva, B. Misra, 1934, p. 1sq.)

[43] The prākāra wall and its main entrance was one of several important additions to the Rājī-valocana temple, made during the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī period. See M.G. Dikshit, 1960, pp. 29-30.

[44] The Suvarṇameru and Rāmeśvara temples. The Sonepur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, dated in his 17th regnal year, record the gift of a village to a merchants' association immigrated from Khadirapadra and the immediate transfer of the same village by the merchants to the temples of Keśava and Āditya. (IO, vol. 4, No. 22.)

[45] One of these images is at Bhīmakhaṇḍa in the Kanika Taluk of Dhenkanal district about 18 miles north-west of Talcher. The other is in the bed of the Brahmāṇī river near Saraṅga village in the Parjang Taluk of the same district, about 5 miles north of Talcher.

[46] Her Baudh plates are dated in Bhauma era 158=894 A.D.

In the same period, about 900 A.D., the idea of joint worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva gained ground and led to new architectural experiments. The two gods were worshipped side by side, in twin temples of identical shape, placed on a common platform. Such twin temples for Nīlamādhava Viṣṇu (Fig. 49) and Siddheśvara-Śiva were built on the bank of the Mahanadi river at Gandharadi[47] in the territory of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali. An inscription of the same period, issued from Śvetaka (northern Ganjam), records the grant of a piece of land, part of which was divided in equal shares between Viṣṇu-Lokamādhava and Śiva-Svayambhūkeśvara, while the rest was given to different Brāhmaṇas.[48]

In principle, the idea of building twin temples was not new. In Bhubaneswar there already existed such twin temples for Śiva and Śakti (Śiśireśvara and Kapālinī) or for two aspects of Śiva (Uttareśvara and Bhīmeśvara). There existed also Harihara images on Śiva temples, intended to show the all-embracing quality of Śiva who comprised even Viṣṇu within himself. But to place the two gods Viṣṇu and Śiva with equal status side by side and to worship them jointly was a new concept in Orissa. It was taken over by the imperial Gaṅgas who built the twin temples for Nīlamādhava and Siddheśvara at Kantilo on the Mahānadī river. This concept became extremely important in the history of Orissan religion, as it provided the basis for the Jagannātha trinity which was developed in the Gaṅga period and consists of the juxtaposed gods Viṣṇu (Jagannātha, Kṛṣṇa) and Śiva (Balabhadra, Saṃkarṣaṇa) together with a common Śakti (Subhadrā, Kātyāyanī) (Fig. 44).

The entire early period of 600 years from the 4th century to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. which has been discussed up to this point, has as yet not yielded inscriptional references in any part of Orissa or Kaliṅga containing the slightest hint of the existence of a Puruṣottama-Kṣetra in Orissa or of a Puruṣottama temple on the sea shore. Archaeology also has failed to discover any traces of Viṣṇu temples in Central Orissa. The Mahābhārata, which in its Tīrthayātıā section of the Vanaparvan contains three different accounts of celebrated Tīrthas, has also nowhere mentioned Puruṣottama in Puri or elsewhere on the sea shore, although it mentions Svayambhū Lokeśvara and the *vedī*, a famous spot in Puri itself,[49] thus testifying to the antiquity of Purī as a place on the pilgrims route. But there obviously existed no famous Vaiṣṇava deity at that period, nor any time up to the beginning of the 10th century.

This forces us to reconsider the date of Murāri whose *Anargharā-ghavanāṭakam* was staged, as the text itself says, at the time of a *yātrā* of the god Puruṣottama, the consort of Kamalā who was worshipped on the sea shore.[50] Murāri's date

[47] Ch. Fabri, 1974, pp. 137-139 gives his reasons for dating the temples of Gandharāḍi 200 years earlier in the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century A.D. They do not convince me. This type of temples was built up to the end of the Bhauma period.

[48] EI, vol. 26, pp. 165-171.

[49] *Mahābhārata* III, 114, 17-22; R. Geib, 1975, p. 25.

[50] Nirṇaya Sāgara Press ed., p. 8; K.N. Mahapatra, 1954, pp. 9-10 and often repeated by various scholars.

according to Durgaprasad is the middle of the 9th century. S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De in their *History of Sanskrit Literature* (p. 449) give reasons for placing him at the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century. K.N. Mahapatra[51] bases his arguments on the 9th century date for Murāri. M. Winternitz, following Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin had placed Murāri between 1050 and 1135 A.D.[52] and this was accepted by D.C. Sircar.[53] The archaeological data show that the composition of *Anargharāghava* prior to the 10th century is unlikely. And Murāri's description of Puruṣottama as sitting with Kamalā on his lap—if it refers to the well-known sculptures of this type in Orissa (fig. 51) which is likely— strongly suggests a date after the composition of the *Śāradātilaka* (early 11th century[54] in Kashmir and its spread to Orissa, i.e. probably after the middle of the 11th century A.D.

THE SOMAVAMŚĪS IN ORISSA

We have seen that two important elements of the later Jagannātha cult, namely (1) the connection of Puruṣottama with Narasimha and (2) the juxtaposition of Viṣṇu and Śiva on a common platform (*vedī*) were possibly introduced into Central Orissa from the West along the Mahanadi river. Both elements were present in the western hill tracts of Orissa around 900 A D. They could advance further down into the coastal area in the middle of the 10th century when Yayāti I established the Somavaṃśī rule in Utkala.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars whether it was Yayāti I or Yayāti II who extended his powers over the Utkala region.[55] As the two rulers are separated from each other by about 100 years with at least three important rulers (Bhīmaratha, Dharmaratha, Naghuṣa/Indraratha) intervening between them, the question is of considerable importance. My decision in favour of Yayāti I is based on historical considerations and on the archaeological remains in Puri and Bhubaneswar. Bhīmaratha is credited with the installation of the *saptamātṛkās* in Puri and Indraratha almost certainly constructed the Rājarāṇī temple in Bhubaneswar (ca. 1000), the ancient name of which was Indreśvara according to late medieval texts. There is no reason to distrust these traditions as they agree with the approximate dates attributed to these monuments on the basis of their style. Therefore Somavaṃśī rulers were in possession of coastal Orissa prior to Yayati II. An equally valid argument for this assertion can be derived from relating the Somavaṃśī genealogy to the period of Somavaṃśī rule in Orissa. Their total reigning period

51 K.N. Mahapatra, 1954, p. 10.

52 M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Bd. 3, (1920, Reprint 1968), p. 241 sq. (English edition, vol. III/1, p. 271).

53 EI, vol. 33, p. 184, note.

54 J. Gonda, 1963, p. 28, note 9.

55 K.C. Panigrahi, 1961b, is the scholar who most explicitly claimed that this achievement goes to the credit of Yayāti I. Most other scholars, including S.N. Rajaguru, disagree with him and argue in favour of Yayāti II.

from the end of the Bhauma-kara dynasty (ca. 950) to the beginning of Imperial Gaṅga rule (1112/13) was about 162 years. Yayāti II, who was a cousin of Dharmaratha and had distinguished himself in many battles (possibly as a general under the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva) was an old man of at least 65 years[56] when he was elected as king of the entire region of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala.[57] He was followed by the four rulers Udyotakeśarī, Janamejaya II, Purañjaya, and Karṇa who was ousted from his kingdom by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva. Even if we allow another 20 years of rule to the old Yayāti II and about 12 years to Karṇa (out of which only six years are certain) we would get 130 years of reign for only three rulers, which is extremely unlikely. (The average was 20 years in the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty and 11 years in the Bhaumakara dynasty.) On the other hand, the whole line of Somavaṃśī kings after Yayāti I (who was also an old man when he conquered Utkala[58] fits perfectly into the period of 162 years. It is to be remembered that three or four kings of the Somavaṃśī line belonged to the same generation: they were Dharmaratha, his brother Naghuṣa, his brother Indraratha, (who may be identical with the former) and his cousin Yayāti II.

These arguments all show that it cannot have been Yayāti II who established the Somavaṃśī rule in Utkala. We therefore have to revert to Yayāti I as the founder of the empire. Only one of his inscriptions belongs to coastal Orissa. He probably divided his territory into two units, giving Utkala to his brother Vicitravīrya while he himself remained in Dakṣiṇa Kosala. The two regions were later united for a short time under Yayāti II, but separated again by his son Udyotakeśarī.

Theoretically, the tradition which credits Yayāti (I) with the construction of an earlier temple of Puruṣottama in Puri may have been based on fact: it is not in conflict with the historical development of religion in Orissa. The problem is that the Somavaṃśīs themselves are silent about this achievement. During the period of more than 160 years of their rule, neither Puruṣottama, nor Jagannātha, nor a temple of Mādhava, nor any other Viṣṇu temple was ever mentioned in Somavaṃśī inscriptions. Yet such a temple existed in their kingdom, and it was known in distant parts of India. Evidently, the later Gaṅga inscriptions from the Dasgoba copper plate grant of Rājarājadeva III (1198-1211) onwards are wrong when they claim all the merit for Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva by stating that only Gaṅgeśvara built the temple of Puruṣottama while other kings neglected this task.

The following inscriptions prove this fact:

— In the undated *Kalidindi* grant of the eastern Cālukya king Rājarāja I, the introductory verse describes Brahmā as born from the lotus which grows from the

56 S.C. De, 1964, p. 68.

57 Jatesinga and Dung i Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, line 14, IO, vol. 4, p. 220.

58 This results from the fact that Tribhuvana-Mahādevī II was his sister. She ruled in the last decade of the 9th century.

navel of the great lord Nārāyaṇa-Puruṣottama at Śrīdhāma.[59] Śrīdhāma or Śrikṣetra is one of the names of the sacred area of Puri. The inscription belongs to the last decade of Rājarāja's reign, i.e. to the middle of the 11th century.

— The *Nagpur* stone inscription[60] dated in (Vikrama-) saṃvat 1161=1104 A.D. refers among other things to a military campaign which the Paramāra king Lakṣmadeva led towards eastern India. In this connection it states in verse 44 that wise men on the eastern ocean cleverly praised the king (by comparing him to Puruṣottama). The passage runs as follows:

> While he was causing bashfulness mixed with joy, wise men near the eastern ocean proclaimed his (Lakṣmadeva's) (song of) praise which was artful (because of double meaning):

"O king,	"O king,
that Puruṣottama is the lord,	you are the best of men,
to whom Śrī resorted,	to whom (royal) fortune resorted,
who relieved this Universe	who relieved this Universe
by putting into bondage	by putting into bondage
the enemy Bali,	strong enemies
and who supported	and who supported
the earth."	the earth."

— The *Pūjāripali* inscription of Gopāladeva[61] names Puruṣottama in a list of holy places. The inscription is also undated. But the Boramdeo temple inscription written in Kalacuri era (8-0=1088 A.D.) was also issued by a Gopāladeva. If the two Gopālas are identical, the Pūjāripali inscription could be assigned to the end of the 11th century.

— Finally, the *Maihar* stone inscription records the construction of a temple dedicated to Sarasvatī in Madhya Pradesh, which was built in memory of a young scholar called Dāmodara who died at Puri where he had gone on a pilgrimage. In verses 35 and 39 it refers to Puruṣottama on the sea shore among the Oḍra people.[62] The

[59] EI, vol. 29, p. 65:
srīdhāmnaḥ puruṣottamasya mahato nārāyaṇasya prabhor
nnābhīpaṃkaruhād babhū (va jagata)s sraṣṭā (svayaṃ)/ bhūs tataḥ/

[60] Edited by Kielhorn in EI, vol. 2, p. 180sq. Vers 44 reads (the original has generally *va* for *ba*):
devāsau puruṣottamaḥ sa bhagavān āśiśriye yaḥ śriyā
yenedaṃ balivairibandhavidhinā viśvaṃ samāśvāsitam/
yenādhāri vasundhareti dadhataḥ sānandamandākṣatāṃ
yasya prācyapayonidhau budhajanair vvyājastutiḥ prastutā//

[61] *Mahakośala Historical Society's Papers*, vol. 2, p. 68, cited by K.N. Mahapatra, 1954, p. 15.

[62] EI, 35, p. 171sq.
Verse 35: *samudramajjanān nūnam oḍreṣu puruṣottamam/*
dṛṣṭvā tavāṃtike bhūyaḥ purāgacchaty ayaṃ śiśuḥ//
Verse 39: *tataś ca gaṇitair eva divasair devadurlabhaḥ/*
prāptavān jaladhes tīraṃ dṛṣṭaś ca puruṣottamaḥ//

epigraph has been tentatively assigned by its editor to the middle of the 10th century on paleographical grounds, but this method of dating has often proved to be unreliable.

None of these inscriptions[63] can refer to the present Jagannātha temple, the construction of which probably started after 1135 A.D.[64] Therefore the *Mādalā Pāñjī's* tradition that an older dilapidated temple was pulled down in order to build the present one[65] rests on solid ground: there existed a famous Puruṣottama temple in Purī during the Somavaṃśī rule. It was widely known since the middle of the 11th century.

In view of the dates of the above-mentioned inscriptions—the slightly doubtfully dated Maihar inscription excluded—the traditional attribution of the Puruṣottama temple to Yayāti Keśarī could apply to Yayāti II. But the following reasons suggest that this temple was a century older and is more correctly attributed to Yayāti I, if at all the connection with Yayāti is to be believed:

— The Maihar inscription, though uncertain in its date, need not be disregarded;
— Sufficient time is allowed for the temple to gain great fame;
— Remnants of a temple of early Somavaṃśī style exist in Puri (see below page 31f).
— The temple, if built by Yayāti I, would be old enough to have been in a state of decay by the beginning of the 12th century.

Unfortunately none of the unequivocal references to Puruṣottama of Puri in other literary sources is old enough to help in this matter. Except for the *Anargharāghava*, the date of which is to be reconsidered as stated above, none of the literary sources quoted by K.N. Mahapatra and K.C. Misra[66] is earlier than Yayāti II.

— The *Prabodhacandrodaya* which refers to the temple of Puruṣottama on the sea shore in Utkala[67] was written between 1073 and 1076, more than 30 years after Yayāti II.

63 The Kailan copper plate of Srīdharaṇa Rāta, dated by D.C. Sircar to the second half of the 7th century A.D. (IHQ, vol. 23, pp. 221-241) has been wrongly cited by K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 35sq and K.N. Mahapatra, 1972, p. 8 to prove that Puruṣottama Jagannātha of Puri was already famous in the 7th century. The inscription does not refer to Puruṣottama kṣetra on the sea shore but simply praises Puruṣottama. This was a common name of Viṣṇu used throughout Indian this period as can be shown from numerous inscriptions and literary works. They do not prove the existence of a Puruṣottama temple in Purī. The same applies for all arguments advanced by both scholars to prove that Puruṣottama was worshipped in Purī prior to the 8th century (K.C. Mishra, 1971, pp. 35-36; K.N. Mahapatra, 1972, p. 10-13) and even became the presiding deity of the Kingdom *rāṣṭra-devatā*) during the Bhauma rule (K.C. Mishra, 1971 p. 38-39),

64 On the date see H.v. Stietencron, 1978.

65 *Mādalā Pāñji*, Prāchī edition, p. 30.

66 K.N. Mahapatra, 1954, p. 9ff and K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 35ff.

67 *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, Act II.

— The *Rudrayāmala tantra*[68] is not a work of a single period. It is full of later additions. Therefore the mention of its name in a manuscript of the *Brahmayāmala tantra* dated 1052 A.D.[69] has no value whatever for dating its passages about Jagannātha. Such passages may belong to any time between the 11th and 15th century, as they refer to the image of Jagannātha with Kamalā on his lap.

— The same applies to the *Tantrayāmala* and *Kālikā Purāṇa*[70] passages.
— The *Bārhaspatyasūtra*[71] belongs to the 12th century.
— Śatānanda's *Bhāsvatī* which was completed in 1100 A.D. at Puri and the Kṛtya Kalpataru of 1110 A.D. also do not help.[72]

We therefore have no reliable non-epigraphic literary source prior to the middle of the 11th century, as long as Murāri's date is not satisfactorily proved to be earlier. Our only basis for attributing the Puruṣottama temple to Yayāti I are the few considerations mentioned above, of which the decay of the temple in the beginning of the 12th century is the strongest argument.

The information that the temple was dilapidated in the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva[73] is indirectly confirmed by the two earliest Gaṅga inscriptions in Puri. Although they mention Puruṣottama, they were not attached to his temple but to the temples of Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Nṛsiṃha.[74]

If we combine the evidence regarding the decay of the temple with the complete silence of the Somavaṃśī inscriptions regarding the god Puruṣottama, it appears that the rulers of this dynasty neglected the temple. If Yayāti I was the builder, could it be that his successors did not consider the temple to be important? Or was it not at all connected with this dynasty?

Yayāti I, like his predecessor and his successors, was a devotee of Śiva. Therefore the ancient Śaiva *kṣetra* of Bhubaneswar benefited most by his accession to power in coastal Orissa. It became the religious centre of an increasingly prosperous kingdom and during the next 160 years or so of Somavaṃśī rule it was embellished with temples unequalled in the whole of Eastern India.

Not a single temple of Viṣṇu was erected at Bhubaneswar during this long period. But Viṣṇuism gained ground in other parts of coastal Orissa during the Somavaṃśī rule. The most important area of Vaiṣṇava settlements was in the Prācī valley near the border of the present Cuttack and Puri Districts in the Mahanadi delta. I have referred above to this Vaiṣṇava community in connection with the ancient

68 Cited by K.N. Mahapatra, 1954, p. 11.

69 H.P. Sastri, *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1906-1911*, p.3. Even this date would be later than Yayāti II.

70 Quoted by K.N. Mahapatra, 1954, p. 12 and K.C. Mishra, 1971, pp. 37-38.

71 K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 36.

72 Both works referred to by K.C. Mishra 1971, p. 36.

73 The *Mādalā Pāñji* confounds him with Anaṅgabhīma.

74 IO, vol. 3/1, No. 120 and A. Joshi, 1961.

image of Mudgala-Mādhava. One further image, possibly belonging to the Bhauma period, is at present inserted in a new temple at Nibharana village on the border of the Cuttack and Puri districts. But the main growth of this community occurred in the Somavaṃśī and Gaṅga periods. A considerable number of well executed Viṣṇu images of the 11th to 14th century have been recovered from this area. The earlier ones are images of the standing four-armed god who shows *varadamudrā* and a sign of *padma* with his lower right hand, whereas the other hands hold his attributes *cakra* (upper right), *śaṅkha* (upper left) and *gadā* (lower left). These images, representing Vāsudeva according to iconographical texts,[75] are locally known as Mādhava. Some images of this type, executed in bluish-black chlorite stone, became famous as Nīlamādhava (fig. 50). Later, the image of the seated Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa or Kamalāpati came into vogue of which a beautiful example can be seen near the village Chaurasi in the same region (fig. 51).

In this connection it may be noted that according to tradition the original image of the Jagannātha temple in Purī was a stone statue[76] of Nīlamādhava. It disappeared and was later substituted by wooden images. This tradition derives from the fact that Nīlamādhava images certainly were for a long time the most important Vaiṣṇava cult objects of the area. And it was precisely because of the legendary association with Jagannātha that Mādhava remained extremely popular in Orissa up to the 16th century.

That the Somavaṃśī rulers themselves were not altogether unaffected by the expansion of Viṣṇu worship in Central Orissa is shown by an inscription of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarī, dated in his 4th regnal year (ca. 1043 A.D.). The king, praising his father Yayāti II, refers to him as *pratinidhir madhusūdanasya*, "the representative (or likeness) of Madhusūdana".[77] This comparison with Viṣṇu does not yet imply that the king was considered as a representative of the god in a hierarchic sense—such became the case only from the beginning of the 13th century onwards when the Gaṅga and Sūryavaṃśī kings ruled literally as "representatives" of Lord Jagannātha on earth.[78] In the first half of the 12th century it was just a simple comparison, implying that both the enemy destroying power of Viṣṇu and his beauty were present in Yayāti II. The fact that Uddyotakeśarī uses the allusion testifies to the religious broad- mindedness of this king who not only completed the great Liṅgarāja temple in Bhubaneswar but also supported the Jainas at Khaṇḍagiri/ Udayagiri.[79]

75 Agni Purāṇa 44, 47:
dakṣiṇe tu kare cakram adhastāt padmam eva ca/
vāme śaṅkhaṃ gadādhastād vāsudevasya lakṣaṇāt// (Sic!)

76 *Puruṣottamakṣetrasya viṣṇor nīlāśmavarṣmaṇaḥ*, *Utkalakhaṇḍa of Skanda Purāṇa*, 9,55; *nīlendramaṇipāṣāṇamayī mūrtiḥ purātanī*, loc. cit. 9,63. For the theological implications of this legend see below, chapter 2 by G.C. Tripathi.

77 Narasimhapur plates of Mahābhavagupta Udyotakeśarī, IO, vol. 4, No. 35, ines 22-23.

78 H. Kulke 1975, chapter II, 2, and below, chapter 8.

79 Uddyotakeśarī repaired an old well and set up images of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras: Lalātendu cave inscription, EI, vol. 13, p. 165sq; IO, vol. 4, No. 36.

In the last third of the 11th century the Somavaṃśī kingdom began to decline. Dakṣiṇa Kosala was lost to the Telugu Coḷas in ca. 1070 A.D. and the kingdom finally collapsed in 1112 A.D., when the southern neighbour Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva of Kaliṅga conquered Orissa. He was the medium by which the next strong impulse of Viṣṇuism was introduced in Orissa. It came again from the south.

ANANTAVARMAN COḌAGANGADEVA

Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva was, like all his predecessors, a devotee of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara. During the first 31 years of his reign he referred to himself as *parama-māheśvara.* But in the Korni plates dated Śaka 1034=1112 A.D. he changes his attitude and appears to demonstrate religious universality by applying to himself the three juxtaposed titles *parama māheśvara, parama vaiṣṇava, parama brahmaṇya.* Already his next major charter, the Vishakhapatnam plates dated in Śaka 1040=1118 A.D. retains only the last two of these titles: it omits *parama māheśvara.* What led to this change?

Many scholars have spoken of a "conversion" of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva from Śaivism to Viṣṇuism and claimed that it was under the impact of the preaching of Rāmānuja (1056-1137) that this conversion took place.[80] In fact, Rāmānuja had a tremendous influence, and during his time the Śrī Vaiṣṇava movement spread rapidly into Kaliṅga and into Orissa. One of the contemporaries of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, the Rājā Jaya Bhañjadeva, is also known from his inscriptions to have joined the Vaiṣṇava religion although he had been a devotee of Śiva before.[81]

A perusal of the inscriptions of the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva has shown that in his case such a conversion did not take place.[82] Privately, the king's devotion to Śiva was not affected. A large number of "unofficial" inscriptions, especially inscriptions referring to grants made by his brother or by his numerous queens, continue to call him a devotee of Śiva (*parama māheśvara*).[83]

On the other hand, the king seems to have been keenly aware of the spiritual trends of his time. He was ready to adjust himself to them and to use them for his own political purposes. As expressed in his abovementioned Korni plates, he was willing to support all who supported him in turn, whether they be Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava or others.[84] He later built the huge temple at Puri for the god Viṣṇu, very likely in order to base his power on a rising movement. In his Vishakhapatnam plates which were taken as a proof of his conversion, he suppressed the reference to his

[80] See e.g. IO, vol. 3/2, p. LII.

[81] Antigram plates of Jaya Bhañja deva, EI, vol. 19, p. 43sq.

[82] H. Kulke, 1975, chapter II, 2, and below, chapter 8.

[83] IO, vol. 3/1, Nos. 78, 98-105, 111, 124, 134, 137. Their dates range from 1121-1132 A.D.

[84] One of his vassals, the *diśāṃpati* Kāmāṇḍi, imitated his overlord by also declaring himself to be both *parama-māheśvara* and *parama-vaiṣṇava*: Alagum inscription of 1136 A.D., IO, vol.3/1, No. 165.

devotion to Śiva because the donation was made to a devotee of Viṣṇu, a certain Mādhava who belonged to a Vaiṣṇava family. In donations to Śiva temples such as the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drākṣārāma or the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Bobbili a similar policy was followed, i.e. the king was only represented as devotee of Śiva. Therefore, instead of proving a conversion, the inscriptions only show that on the occasion of gifts to temples or private persons the king refrained from hurting the feelings of his subjects.

Some other important facts emerge from the inscriptions. The first refers to the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam which was the main temple in the capital of the Eastern Gaṅga kings up to 1135 A.D. Madhukeśvara was the actual state deity of the Gaṅgas, replacing the family god Gokarṇeśvara on the Mahendra Mountain for practical purposes, because the latter was too difficult of access.[85] That the temple served as a kind of legal archive of the state is evident: even inscriptions recording gifts to other temples or to private persons were inserted into the walls or incised on the pillars of this temple for easy reference.

With this "official status" of the Madhukeśvara temple in mind one should consider the following facts.

An important and auspicious event in the religious calendar of the Vaiṣṇavas, the so-called *mahādvādaśī*—also known as *devotsava-dvādaśī* or *utthāna-dvādaṣī*—which is celebrated on the 12th *tithi*[86] of the bright fortnight in the month Kārttka when Viṣṇu is supposed to rise from his sleep, was observed in the temple of Madhukeśvara. Donations, mainly of a perpetual lamp, were made to the god on this occasion. The inscriptions recording such gifts on *mahādvādaśī* occur from Śaka 1030=1108 A.D. onwards.[87] From the same year onwards the name of one Prolācāri (*Prolācārya*) who seems to have been a Vaiṣṇava priest appears in the inscriptions of the temple. He was appointed in the Madhukeśvara temple for several years. Later he was transferred to the Nīlīśvara (*Nīlakaṇṭheśvara*) temple at Bobbili where his name occurs for eleven more years from Śaka 1044 to Śaka 1055=1122-1133 A.D.

An earlier inscription of Śaka 1005=1083 A.D. mentions already a *pūjārī* of Madhukeśvara with the name Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.[88] His connection with Viṣṇuism is likely but less certain.

A Viṣṇu image was installed (in a separate shrine?) in the Madhukeśvara temple and dancing girls were appointed for it.[89]

These details show that at least as early as 1108 A.D., i.e. four years

[85] Madhukeśvara is even identified with Gokarṇeśvara under the designation Gokarṇa-Madhukeśvara in one inscription at Mukhaliṅgam. IO, vol. 3/1, No. 32.

[86] Sometimes called *utthānaikādaśī*, because the awakening takes place at the end of the 11th *tithi*.

[87] An earlier occurrence of Śaka 1015=1093 A.D. is uncertain, as the inscription mentions only *dvādaśī* without further specification. IO, vol. 3/1, No. 37.

[88] IO, vol. 3/1, No. 27.

[89] IO, vol.3/1, No. 193 and 220.

earlier than the first mention of his Vaiṣṇava leanings in the Korni plates, Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva did already exhibit a policy of religious inclusiveness in the sense of a *coexistence and combination* of Śiva-and Viṣṇu worship in his main temple. Moreover, the god Madhukeśvara is twice invoked as *Jagato-nātha*, a name which comes very close to the later title Jagannātha. Both times the name occurs in a Vaiṣṇava setting: In Śaka 1030=1108 A.D., queen Somala-mahādevī, one of the wives of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, offers a lamp on the occasion of *mahādvādaśī* to Madhukeśvara Jagato-nātha: *prādād akhaṇḍaṁ mahādvādaśyām madhukeśvarāya jagato nāthāya dīpam.*[90] Already 28 years earlier, in Śaka 1002=1080 A.D., i.e. less than 2 1/2 years after Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga's accession to the throne, a man with the Vaiṣṇava name Janārddana gave a lamp in memory of his father to Madhukeśvara Jagatāṃ-nātha: *prādād dīpam akhaṇḍam iddhayośasoḥ pitror atiśreyase bhaktyā śrīmadhukeśvarāya jagatānnāthāya. . .*[91]

Thus it appears that the religious policy of the king which he consciously applied by the choice of his priests at least from 1108 and made generally known in 1112, was in accordance with the actual trend of religion as practised in the main temple of his own capital from the very beginning of his reign.

The temple of Madhukeśvara remained important under Coḍagaṅgadeva's eldest son Kāmārṇavadeva. But being cut off from the centre of administration which had been moved to the north, it gradually declined in the time of the later rulers. It is possible that the title *Jagato-nātha* (→Jagannātha) for the main god of the imperial Gaṅgas, although introduced in Puri at a later period, had a firm root in the family tradition and was transferred to Puri from Mukhaliṅgam when the latter had completely lost its significance for the religion of the state.[92]

Finally, the influence of his queens on Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva should not be neglected. His chief queen was Jayaṃgoṇḍa Coḍadevī, the daughter of Vīracoḍa who was the 3rd son of the great king Kulottunga Cōḷa. Vīracoḍa erected a temple for Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama at Sarpavaram[93] while he was viceroy in Veṅgī (1078-1084 and 1088-1092 A.D.). Nine inscriptions in this temple, recording mainly grants by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva's youger brother Permāḍideva

[90] IO, vol. 3/1, No. 47.

[91] This is the reading given in the printed text, IO, 3/1, No. 19. I had no occasion to check the original. Read: *Jagatāṃnāthāya.*

On the title Jagannātha see below chapter 3. It was applied to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Buddha. In the Gayā Inscription of Nārāyaṇa Pāla (ca. 2nd half of 9th century?) Nṛsiṃha is invoked as "Lord in the World" (*jagati-nātha*).

[92] K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 18, refers to "Jaganaelo" as the ancient name of Jagannātha among the Śabaras. As we have no early sources confirming this, the name might as well be an adaptation from the Sanskrit.

[93] In the Kokanada Taluk of the East Godāvarī district. The old name of the village is Srīpuruṣottama-Viracaḍovinnaghara. The Temple is now known as Bhāvanārāyaṇa or Vīracoḍa-viṇṇahar.

and his wives, refer to the god as Puruṣottama.[94] Therefore a temple of Puruṣottama, built by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva's father-in-law, existed in the East Godāvarī District since the last quarter of the 11th century, about fifty years prior to the earliest date for the completion[95] of the Puruṣottama temple in Puri. The preconceived notion that the only temple of Puruṣottama in the coastal area of Eastern India was at Puri, which has biased all modern works on the history of Jagannātha, is wrong.

All this goes to show that Coḍagaṅga's religious policy was not the outcome of an isolated decision. He was pushed on by a general trend which had been set in motion by the Śrīvaiṣṇava movement. He promoted this movement at Śrīkūrmam from 1113 A.D. onwards.[96] Later, when he built his own Puruṣottama temple at Puri, this temple had to reflect the greatness of his power and prestige, since his kingdom now extended from the Godāvarī in the south-west to the mouth of the Ganges in the north-east. The main tower was probably not yet completed before he died in 1147.[97] The other parts of the temple were gradually added by his successors.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE IN PURI

Nothing definite can be said about the early history of Puri until proper excavations in various parts of the city, including careful excavations under the main temple, reveal the hidden past of this place. Until then, our efforts will remain to a large extent in the realm of speculation. Fortunately, some clues for such speculations are offered by the most important temples of Puri in their present state.

The main deity of Puri is often referred to as "Lord of the Blue Mountain" (*nīlādrinātha*, etc.). No real mountain exists in the Puri town. Yet it is true that the Jagannātha temple was actually built on a hill which receded sharply on its western side. Drifting sands and the sediments of continuous settlement have combined to raise the ground at the foot of the hill considerably so that the difference in level to the temple is no longer striking. It can be noticed, however, when approaching the ancient Śiva temples which were situated to the west and to the north of the hill. These temples were built on so much lower ground that only the top of their towers reach slightly above the present level of the town. High walls protect the sacred precincts of the temples against their ever rising surroundings.

In the Yameśvara temple, for example, one has to descend many steps to reach the courtyard of the temple and to enter the dance-hall (*nāṭamaṇḍapa*) and the dining-hall (*bhogamaṇḍapa*) which are on the same level. Two steps lower, about two feet below the present courtyard level, is the vestibule. The vestibule

94 The inscriptions are dated in *śrāhi* years of Viṣṇuvardhana between ca. 1090-1102 A.D. whose rule in the East Godāvarī district is referred to in the inscriptions IO, 3/1, Nos. 18, 42, 99-103, 105, 125-133.

95 For the proposal of a later date see H.v. Stietencron, *op. cit.*, (note 64).

96 IO, vol. 3/1, No. 59. Śrīkūrmam became the seat of the rājaguru of the Gaṅga king.

97 See note 64.

was a relatively late addition as also in the Jagannātha temple and several other temples of Orissa. *Bhogamaṇḍapa* and *Nāṭamaṇḍapa* were completed even later. To step into the *Jagamohana* from the vestibule one once again has to descend several steps. The level now reached is considerably lower than the temple courtyard but it is still not the level of the original temple: yet again very steep steps lead down from the *Jagamohana* to the *Garbhagṛha*. The difference in height to the present level of the surrounding town may well amount to 15 metres. The different stages in this structural development of the temple as well as the antiquity of its oldest portions are clearly reflected in these various levels. The case is similar with the Kapālamocana, (fig. 47) Lokanātha and, slightly less obviously, with the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temples. The fifth of the more important Śiva temples, the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha, is situated further to the north-east on the Indradyumna tank and does not exhibit these features.

Two conclusions can be derived from the above observation.

(1) The basic layout of the sacred city consists of one temple on a hill near the sea shore, with Śiva temples built on the foot of the hill in western and northern direction.

(2) These Śiva temples are of considerable antiquity. Parts of them represent the oldest existing buildings in Puri.

The basic layout just described, with Śiva temples clustering round a hill which is crowned by a Viṣṇu temple is highly unusual. This strange formation would however appear natural and would perfectly conform to a pattern which can be observed in many places in Orissa, if changed in one decisive point: the top of the hill should be occupied by a temple dedicated to Śakti or Devī. Indeed, the conclusion that the hill was sacred to the Devī before Puruṣottama's temple was raised there, is absolutely inevitable. It is confirmed by the actual situation in the Jagannātha temple itself. The following points should be noticed:

(1) A temple of the goddess Vimalā exists within the precincts of the Jagannātha temple. This goddess is considered even today as the patroness of the whole sacred area. She is called *Pīṭheśvarī* and *Śrīkṣetra-adhīśavrī*.

(2) Vimalā is the first to be offered the *prasāda* or food consecrated by Jagannātha. Only after she has received it, this food is known as *mahāprasāda* and distributed to the devotees.

(3) A female deity, Subhadrā, holds the central position in the Jagannātha triad and consequently the central position in the sanctum of the Jagannātha temple itself. Subhadrā, like Vimalā, is a form of Kātyāyanī-Durgā and she is worshipped with the *Bhuvaneśvarī-mantra*.

(4) In Tantric literature, Vimalā is considered to be the Śakti of Puri and Jagannātha is the corresponding Bhairava.

More points indicating the importance of Vimalā could be adduced, but these are enough to suggest that Vimalā was the presiding deity of the place where the Jagannātha temple now stands. Adapting herself to the changing conditions the female deity, she retained the central position in the temple as well as the role of supreme ruler of the whole sacred area. Her original partner was Śiva (Bhairava). In order to adjust to the intruding god Viṣṇu she later had to assume another name, Subhadrā, which was not yet subject to prescribed Śākta sacrifices. As Subhadrā she became the sister of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.[98] But a separate shrine for her original aspect as Vimalā was raised within the temple precincts, where Śākta sacrifices including fish are offered to her down to the present day.

If this deduction is correct, Puri was a Śaiva/Śākta *pīṭha* before it was appropriated by Viṣṇuism. When did this happen and when was the Śaiva *pīṭha* established?

Without excavations we have no means to say with certainty whether a Viṣṇu temple was placed near the Vimalā temple in the Somavaṃśī period. It is neither impossible nor certain. The Mādalā Pāñji's assertion that Yayāti not only built the temple of the Great Lord (Jagannātha) but erected simultaneously two temples for Vimalā and Mahālakṣmī[99] is no sufficient proof, since nothing is said about the location of these temples. According to the Utkalakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa which is an early 14th century text (ca. 1300 A.D.), there existed a stone (or sapphire) image of Viṣṇu embracing Lakṣmī which was worshipped on a platform (*vedikā*) under the great banyan tree,[100] apparently without a temple. But this text, too, is no reliable source.

There is an inscription belonging to the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva and referring to the god Puruṣottama at the entrance of the Nṛsiṃha temple which stands to the south of the main temple in the Jagannātha compound.[101] If we relied on the presence of this inscription for dating the Nṛsiṃha temple, we might conclude that the king erected this temple first, and that Nṛsiṃha had to guard the place and represent the deity Puruṣottama while the latter was absent, waiting for his new abode to be built. But, unfortunately, a thorough archaeological investigation of

98 For the whole argument see H. von Stietencron, 1972, pp. 33ff and 41ff.

99 Mādalā Pāñjī, Prācī Ed., p. 6.

100 *Utkalakhaṇḍa* 10, 17 cd-18ab: *tatpūrvavedikāmadhye nyagrodhacchāyaśītale*
indranīlamayo deva āste cakragadādharaḥ|
10, 33 cd-34ab: *vāmapārśvagatā lakṣmīr āśliṣṭā padmapāṇinā*
vallakīvādanaparā bhagavanmukhalocanā||

101 Edited by A. Joshi in OHRJ, vol. 9/3, 1961, p. 47-50. Joshi thinks that this may have been the original Jagannātha temple from where the images were transferred to the new temple later on (p. 49, note 2). This is unlikely, because Coḍagaṅgadeva's earlier inscription which also refers to Puruṣottama is not in this temple but in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple.

the Nṛsiṃha temple is as yet missing. Therefore the alternative possibility cannot be excluded that the Nṛsiṃha temple is a later construction in which the door jamb of some earlier building—together with its inscription—was re-used. The inscription is dated in the 58th (śrāhi) year of Coḍagaṅga=1132/33 A D., i.e. one year later than the inscription in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple which mentions the same god. In both cases an inscription referring to gifts to Puruṣottama is placed on a temple which is not his own. This fact gives us a reliable indication that the new Puruṣottama temple was not erected before 1132/33. There is only a vague possibility that preparations for building the future temple could have started after the king's first visit to Puri in 1131/32.

These preparations may have involved the demolition of the temple of Vimalā which was reconstructed by the side of the Nṛsiṃha temple (and maybe also the removal of the ruined earlier Puruṣottama temple). But the serious political trouble in the northern and western portions of his kingdom, caused by an invasion of the forces of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II of Tummāna[102] probably prevented Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva from beginning with the building of the main temple before 1135 A.D. An inscription dated in this year (śaka 1057=1135 A.D.)[103] refers to his successful mastering of this dangerous situation and to the charities which he offered on this occasion. The transfer of his capital from Kaliṅganagara to the Cuttack area (either Sāraṅgagaḍa or Chaudwar) after this war may have been caused partly by the need for more direct control of the northern parts of his kingdom, but partly also by the king's wish to supervise the building of the temple in Puri. It probably started in, or shortly after, 1135 A.D. Prior to this time Puri was a flourishing Śaiva *kṣetra.*

To determine the age of the Śiva temples in Puri is difficult because they are thickly covered with plaster. Yet the approximate period can be established. The older parts of the Kapālamocana and Yameśvara belong to the Somavaṃśī period. The Mārkaṇḍeśvara also belongs to the Somavaṃśī period but was partly reconstructed at a later date. This was the most important temple in Puri when the Somavaṃśīs were overthrown and the Gaṅga dynasty came to power in Orissa. It contains an inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva dated in his 57th (*śrāhi*) year=1131/32 A.D. which proves both its existence and importance at that time. It may be added that local tradition in Puri retains the memory of a certain Someśvara, the chief priest of the last Somavaṃśī ruler in Puri who was connected with this temple and worshipped Aghora Śiva Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara. On the bank of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank in front of the temple is a shed with beautiful images of the seven mother-goddesses. On the basis of their style, these images can be assigned to the early Somavaṃśī

[102] Ratanpur inscription of Pṛthivīdeva II, (EI, vol. 1, p. 47); Malhar inscription of Jājalla II (EI, vol. 1, p. 40); Kharod inscription of Ratandeva III (EI, vol. 21, p. 161); Pendrabhandha copperplate inscription of Pratāpamalla (EI, vol. p. 23, 4; Telugu inscription of Coḍagaṅga dated Śaka 1057-1135 A.D., SII, vol. 5, No. 1335.

The relevant passages are quoted by S.N. Rajaguru in IO, 3/2, p. 395-6.

[103] SII, vol. 5, No. 1335.

period. This tallies with the account of the *Mādalā Panji* which records that they were installed by Bhīmakeśarī (3rd quarter of the 10th century).[104] Finally, the remains of a beautiful temple of the early Somavaṃśī period are built into the compound wall of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple. Whether they formed part of the temple prior to its repair, or belonged to another temple, cannot be determined without removing the plaster from the Mārkaṇḍeśvara. According to the style of sculpture, the temple to which these fragments belonged was approximately contemporary to the Mukteśvara temple of Bhubaneswar and may have been erected by Yayāti I.

Of the two remaining major temples of Śiva, the Nīlakaṇṭha temple is a later structure without any signs of great antiquity.[105] The Lokanātha temple also has a superstructure of later date but may be an old sanctuary because of the low level on which it stands. For a greater antiquity of the original Lokanātha temple the following arguments could be adduced:

(1) Lokanātha is the "chief minister" of Jagannātha, i.e. next to Jagannātha he represents the most important deity of Puri according to popular tradition.
(2) The Lokanātha is the only one of the five major Śiva temples in Puri which is oriented towards the west. Such orientation was typical for the Pāśupata temples of Orissa erected mainly in the Śailodbhava period. It was far less common under the Bhauma-karas, Somavaṃśīs and Gaṅgas.
(3) It has been suggested that this god was already known in the time of the Mahābhārata which mentions Svayambhū Lokeśvara (not Lokanātha!) in connection with the origin of the *vedī* in Puri.[106]

None of these arguments is absolutely conclusive but they are sufficient to suggest that archaeological excavations on the site of Lokanātha might be worth undertaking.

From these arguments we may draw the following conclusions: In the time of the Mahābhārata, Puri was known mainly for its *vedī* but there was possibly a sanctuary of Svayambhū Lokeśvara nearby. In the 10th century, during Somavaṃśī rule, the place became a flourishing Śaiva and Śākta *pīṭha* with several Śiva temples, with a female deity on the hill and with the mother goddesses installed near the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple. A temple of Puruṣottama (or Nīlamādhava) the location of which is not certain, was probably built in the initial period of the Somavaṃśī rule. It was neglected, fell into disrepair and probably collapsed at least partly

104 *Mādalā Pāñji*, Prācī Ed. p. 19; M.P. Dash, 1962 b, p. 120.

105 In its vicinity is a mound which probably covers the ruins of an establishment of the Nātha-sampradāva and of an ancient temple. It invites excavation, which in view of its proximity to both the Indradyumna tank and the Guṇḍicā temple might yield further evidence on the early phase of the Jagannātha cult.

106 R. Geib, 1975, p. 25 referring to *Mahābhārata*, III, 114, 17-22.

towards the end of their rule. It may have been fully pulled down by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva who started the construction of the present Jagannātha temple. If, before doing so he erected the Nṛsiṃha temple nearby which bears one of his inscriptions on the door jamb, it is very likely that Nṛsiṃha was the representative of Puruṣottama while the main temple was built.

The following points may be stated as summarising the position of Viṣṇuism outside Puri on the eve of the construction of the present Jagannātha temple:

Prior to the 10th century some Vaiṣṇava immigrants had penetrated into Central Orissa from the north, but archaeological remains of the Vaiṣṇavas are restricted to the valley of the Prācī river. By the time under discussion (ca. 1130 A.D.) Visṇuism had reached Central Orissa from the north, from the south and from the west. The western Vaiṣṇava movement had penetrated into the area more than 150 years earlier than the southern movement. It had developed a local tradition and its influence was therefore more firmly rooted. Although it probably possessed a small Puruṣottama/Nīlamādhava temple in Puri, its centre was further to the east in the Prācī valley.

The worship of Nṛsiṃha played a prominent part in Viṣṇuism since the post-Gupta period. The special feature of the Nṛsiṃha worship as introduced from the west, was that it could be absorbed by, or combined with, tribal religion in Western Orissa and thus was partly instrumental in the Hinduization of one of the tribal gods.[107]

Experiments to combine Viṣṇuism and Śivaism had been made both in the west and in the south, again with a considerable difference in terms of time, as in this development the south was lagging behind by almost two centuries. The types of combination evolved were also different: the southern type united important rituals of both cults in the same temple, while the western type united both gods on the same platform.

It was the combination of these two Vaiṣṇava traditions, in addition to a deliberate effort on the part of the Gaṅga kings of the 13th and 14th century to unite the major conflicting religious forces within their kingdom into one great synthesis, which finally led to the emergence of the Jagannātha cult.

107 The impact of the Narasiṃha cult in tribal areas was of course not restricted to Western Orissa. But its first advance into Orissa seems to have been from that side.

CHAPTER II

ON THE CONCEPT OF 'PURUṢOTTAMA' IN THE ĀGAMAS

G. C. Tripathi

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD PURUṢA

It is a well-known fact of the linguistic studies that the most commonly used words are often also the most difficult ones to be explained etymologically. The same seems to be the case with *puruṣa*—a man—which has till now defied all the efforts of the scholars towards an acceptable etymological explanation. Yāska suggests three explanations for this word: 1. *pur* (*puri=in fortress*)+*sad* (=to sit/be present), 2. *pur* (=*puri*)+*śa* (from *śī*=to lie), both of which may be taken to mean something like a *Bürger* (=citizen) of German which also originally means 'one who lives in a fortress' (Burg) and finally, 3. a derivative from the root *pṛ*: *pūr*: *pūrayati* (=fills up), i.e., that which fills up the innermost of the body or the body itself, ***the soul***; an explanation in which he has been mainly inspired by a verse in the *Śvetāśvatara-Up.* (i.e., III. 9. . . ***tena idam pūrṇam puruṣeṇa sarvam***).[1]

While the last explanation suggested by Yāska has been accepted as the most plausible one by Grassmann[2] who, incidentally, does injustice to Yāska by not referring to him, M. Meyerhofer[3] considers the word as "contested and unexplained" (*umkämpft und ungedeutet*) and mentions the efforts of a large number of scholars who have offered explanations ranging from 'an extension of the word *puru—pūru* (proposed to mean 'a man') on the line of *manu—mānuṣa*' to 'a derivative of the root *pṛṣ*—to spray (viz., semen).'

[1] *puruṣaḥ puriṣādaḥ, puriśayaḥ, pūrayater vā pūrayati antaḥ iti antaḥpuruṣam abhipretya "yasmāt paraṃ nāparam asti kiñcit . . ." ity api nigamo bhavati* / Nirukta II.1.3.

[2] H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda*, 4th Ed., Wiesbaden 1964, column 833.

[3] M. Meyerhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Sanskrit*, Wiesbaden, Band, III, p. 312.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD IN THE OLDER VEDIC LITERATURE

Since it is unlikely to receive any help from the etymological analysis of the word towards understanding the concept of *Puruṣa* and *Puruṣottama,* we should rather concentrate upon the actual *usage* of the word *puruṣa* in the older literature.

Investigating the *Saṃhitā*—and the *Brāhmaṇa*—Literature we notice that the word is normally used in the sense of 'a person', 'a human being' in general (i.e., denoting both man *and* woman)[4] whereas when expressively 'a *male* human being' is meant, the term *puṃs-pumaṃs-pumān* is used.[5] The best example to this effect is perhaps the Ś.Gr. 1.19 in which the word *puruṣa* is qualified with the word *pumaṃs* as an adjective: *puṃsi vai puruṣe retaḥ*; pumān puruṣaḥ=a male human being.

PURUṢA IN THE UPANIṢADS

Coming to the age of the Upaniṣads which reflects an age of fervent philosophical speculations which is characterised by the efforts of the inquisitive individuals to find answers to many questions pertaining to the world, the cosmic principle governing it, about the individual souls, especially as regards the question of the origin of the *Self,* we notice that there arises a need for many new *termini* to express the various philosophical concepts which the philosophers have evolved in the course of their speculations. It is general belief that the most common pair of the words expressing the individual and the cosmic soul in the Upaniṣads is *Ātman-Brahman.* But an examination of the older Upaniṣad-literature shows that it is not so. Though Ātman and Brahman are definitely the words which have later (e.g., in the Vedānta philosophy) come to be accepted as the most popular expressions for the individual and the cosmic consciousness, yet the—Upaniṣads know of still another expression to denote both of these concepts—which is statistically more often used. It is the expression *puruṣa* which is used in almost all the older Upaniṣads, sometimes concurrently with Ātman—however, in different text pieces—and sometimes even as the sole expression for the concept it stands for. And judging from the fact that the expression *puruṣa*—a person (or man) is much less abstract than the expression *Ātman* meaning 'self', it is plausible to believe that the former is an older and the more archaic expression for this concept.

The word *puruṣa* is used in the following four senses in the Upaniṣads:

1. A human being
2. The individual soul

[4] cf. RV 7.104,5, 19.97.4, 5, 8; 10.165.3; AV 8.2.25; 8.7.2; 12.4.25; 13.4.42; VS 2.33; 16.3; ABr 2.3; 2.18; 4.22; 4.25; 5.14; TS 2.1.1.5; 2.2.2.3; 5.2.5.1; TBr 1.1.2.5; 1.2.6.4; 2.7.18.5; ŚBr 6.2.1.18; 7.5.2.17 etc., All references have been taken from the *Petersburg Dictionary* of Roth and Böhtlingk.

[5] RV 1.124.4; 1.162.22; 3.29.13; 4.3.10; 5.62.6, 8; 7.6.1; 9.9.7; AV 3.6.1; 3.23.3; 4.4.4; VS 8.5; ABr 1.1.2; ŚBr 1.1.1.20; 1.3.1.9; 3.3.4.7, etc.

3. The presiding Deity of some element or the personal God
4. The impersonal or the abstract cosmic soul (Brahman)

It may be observed here that within the Upaniṣad literature one could, to a certain extent, trace the history of the evolution of the concept of the term Puruṣa. The use of the term *puruṣa* in the sense of 'human being' is found, for example, in *Chāndogya*—one of the oldest Upaniṣads (I. 1.1; III. 12.4; III. 16.1; IV. 15.1; VI. 14.1; VI. 15.1), *Taittirīya* (II. 1; V. 3), *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (I. 13.15; IV. 4.12), *Praśna* (IV. 1) and *Muṇḍaka* (I.1 .7).

In the sense of *jīva* or individual consciousness, it occurs in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (IV. 3.8, 9, 18, 19; IV. 4.5), *Chāndogya* (III. 12.4; V. 6.7), *Kaṭha* (II. 3. 17), *Śvetāśvatara* (IV. 7) and *Praśna* (VI. 5). The use cf this term for the individual soul was considerably facilitated because of the notion prevalent not only in some circles in ancient India but also elsewhere in the world that the individual soul looks like the human body in miniature form (i.e. *aṅguṣṭhamātram*, cf. *Taittirīya* Up. II. 2, *Kaṭha* II. 3.17, *Śvetāśvatara* III. 13; cf. also the description of the Jīvātman in the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān in the *Mahābhārata*, III. 281.16 *aṅguṣṭhamātraṃ puruṣaṃ niścakarṣa yamo balāt*).

In some other passages of the Upaniṣads, the term *puruṣa* has been used in the sense of '*divya puruṣa*'—a divine person or '*puruṣo amānavaḥ*'—a superhuman person (cf. *Chāndogya* IV. 15.5; V. 10.2; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* VI. 1.15) who is sometimes also conceived as a deity presiding over and living in some element, e.g. "*āditye puruṣaḥ*", "*candre puruṣaḥ*" etc. (*Chāndogya* II 1.1-13 and III. 9.10-17; cf. also *yo, sāvāditye puruṣaḥ so'sāvahaṃ*/ *Īśa UP.* 17; cf. also *Bṛhad, A. Up.* V. 14.1). Very often such divine Puruṣa has also been designated as 'immortal (*amṛta*), or 'imperishable' (*avyayātmā*) to which the people practising penance etc. in the forest reach through the door (=entrance) of the sun (*sūryadvāreṇa te virajāḥ prayānti yatrāmṛtah sa puruṣo'vyayātmā*, *Muṇḍaka* I. 2.11). Such divine immortal Puruṣa can only be understood as the highest personal God governing the Universe.

Finally, in some of the text pieces of the later Upaniṣads we find the term used almost exactly in the sense of *Brahman*. When we hear, for example, of a Puruṣa who is "beyond the unmanifested world and beyond whom nothing exists" (. . . *avyaktāt puruṣaḥ paraḥ*/*puruṣān na paraṃ kiñcit sā kāṣṭhā sā parā gatiḥ*// *Kaṭha* I. 3.11; II. 3.7-8), "one who is immortal and in whom all the worlds are established" (*Kaṭha* II. 2.8)", "he is higher than the highest, the divine, in whom the person knowing (Him) merges losing his identity (*nāmarūpa*) as the rivers in the ocean" (*Muṇḍaka* III. 2.8), "the impersonal Puruṣa who is within and without, the unborn, one who even stands beyond the highest imperishable element (*akṣarāt parataḥ paraḥ*) and from whom everything emerges, the Prāṇa, the Manas and the Indriyas (cf. *Śvetāśvatara* III. 8, 9, 12 and 19), it is obvious that none else but the Absolute could be meant by such statements.

It is thus clear that already in the Upaniṣads *puruṣa* is a philosophical term which can be used—besides in the usual sense of 'man' or 'person'—in the sense of

'individual soul', 'the highest personal God' and 'the impersonal Absolute'. It is the Sāṃkhya Philosophy which limits the meaning of this term later in the sense of 'individual soul' characterised by its plurality.[6] Vedānta (monistic) prefers the terms *Ātman* and *Brahman* whereas some other philosophies (Nyāya, Yoga etc.) the terms *Jīva* and *Īśvara*.

FROM PURUṢA TO PURUṢOTTAMA : THE VIṢṆUISM

Viṣṇuism, however, which shows clear traces of the influence of Sāṃkhya Philosophy in its theory of creation, has a pre-dilection for the term *puruṣa* in its sense of 'the highest divine principle', both personal and impersonal[7] for which it now rather uses the term *puruṣottama* because the term *puruṣa* has already been firmly established in the sense of individual soul by this time, especially in the Sāṃkhya Philosophy. *Bhagavadgītā*, e.g., says that there are two types of *puruṣa*: the perishable one (*i.e.* body) and the imperishable one (*i.e.* individual soul). But since Bhagavat, the Lord, is beyond both these categories of *puruṣa*, he is known as *Puruṣottama*—the highest Puruṣa or *paramātman*—the highest Ātman:

dvāv imau puruṣau loke kṣaraś cākṣara eva ca/
kṣaraḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni kūṭastho'kṣara ucyate//
uttamaḥ puruṣaḥ sākṣāt paramātmety udāhṛtaḥ/
yo lokatrayam āviśya bibharty avyaya īśvaraḥ/
yāsmāt kṣarād atīto'ham akṣarād api cottamaḥ/
ato'smi loke vede ca prathitaḥ puruṣottamaḥ//
Bhag. G. 15.16-18

An absolute identity between the *individual* Puruṣa and the *highest* Puruṣa (*uttamaḥ puruṣaḥ* or *paramātman*) is advocated in the Bhag. G. 13.22. *paramātmeti cāpyukto dehe'smin puruṣaḥ paraḥ.*

Interesting is here the indication that not only in the 'worldly' sphere (i.e. in the non-Vedic Sanskrit Literature) but also in the Vedas (*vede ca*) Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa or Bhagavat is known as Puruṣottama. This certainly alludes to the Puruṣa-sūkta of the *Ṛgveda* (X.90), included in later Vedic Saṃhitās also. The Puruṣasūkta also

[6] Cf. the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa :
puruṣo'sti bhoktṛbhāvāt . . . Verse 17
puruṣabahutvaṃ siddham . . . Verse 18
. . . *siddham śakṣitvam asya puruṣasya* / Verse 19
also the Verse 21.

[7] Cf. e.g. *Bhagavadgītā*, the most authoritative scripture of the Vaiṣṇavas :
(a) *puruṣah sa paraḥ pārtha bhaktyā labhyas tv ananyayā* / 8.22.
(b) *tvam ādidevaḥ puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ* . . . / 11.38
(c) *tam eva cādyaṃ puruṣam prapadye*
yataḥ pravṛttiḥ prasṛtā purāṇi//15.4

speaks of the two forms of *puruṣa*, one higher and the other lower (lower because it emerges out of *Virāj*, the totality of the manifested world). The universe emerges out of the different parts of the body of this (lower form) of *puruṣa*, when he—who is identical with the sacrifice—is sacrificed for the sake of sacrifice; is therefore, in other words, an emanation of Puruṣa whereas the higher form of Puruṣa is the lord of the mortality and the immortality (i.e. beyond both, cf. *uta amṛtatvasya īśāno yad annena adhirohati*, X.90.2). The manifested world is only a part (literally, one-fourth) of Him who *is* this world and much more (*tripād ūrdhvam udait puruṣah pādo/syehābhavat punaḥ*, X.90.4).

Since God Viṣṇu has all along the religious history of India been most closely associated with the Vedas and the sacrifice (with whom He is identified in the Brāhmaṇas, cf. ŚBr. V.2.3.6; V.4.5.1; XII.4.1.5 etc.), it was but natural to identify the *Puruṣa* of the Ṛgveda with the *Yajñapuruṣa* Viṣṇu. All the later Viṣṇuite and the Pāñcarātra literature interprets Puruṣa-sūkta as an eulogy of Viṣṇu Himself. The Sūkta is so popular with the Vaiṣṇavas that it has become a part of their Pūja-ceremony. The 16 verses of the Puruṣa-sūkta are recited one by one—or, at least, may be recited alternatively in place of Upacāra-Mantras—while offering the 16 Upacāras to Viṣṇu in course of His Puja ceremony. That this practice is old, is attested by *Skanda Purāṇa* (Bombay Ed., VI. 239) which says that one should worship Viṣṇu with the verses of the Puruṣa-sūkta. The practice is very common in the South Indian Viṣṇuism, especially with the Śrīvaiṣnavas.[8]

The identification of the Puruṣa of the *Ṛgveda*—out of whose body the whole creation emanates—with Viṣṇu also leads towards the development of the *Viśvarūpa* of Viṣṇu. In this concept, the universe is totally identified with Viṣṇu, the various phenomena of the universe being considered to be the different parts of the body of the immeasurable Viṣṇu (*tatra ekasthaṁ jagat kṛtsnam . . . Bhag. G.* 11.13). Sun and moon are his eyes, the earth the feet, the heaven the head, the trees the corporal hair etc.[9]). In the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa is said to have shown this form to the courtiers of Duryodhana (*Udyogaparva*, Adhy. 129), Arjuna (*Bhīṣmaparva*, 33.5-31 = *Bhag. G.* 11.5-31) and Uttanka (*Āśvamedhikaparva*, Adhy. 54). In all these passages the shape of this cosmic giant Viṣṇu is said to be like that of a human being.[10] He is the *sanātana puruṣa* ('eternal being', cf. *Bhag. G.* 11.18), the highest and the immutable.

The above description shows that there is every justification for the expression *Puruṣottama* to be used for Viṣṇu. That is why both of the most important of all

[8] Cf. B. Ramachandra Sharma, *Vināyakādi-Sarva-Pūjāpaddhatiḥ*, Vanivilas Press, Shrirangam 1971, pp. 1-3.

[9] Cf. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* II. 1.26-69.

[10] Cf. also G.C. Tripathi, *Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Vāmana-Legende in der indischen Literatur*, Wiesbaden 1968, 39ff.

the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* use this term for Viṣṇu incessantly.[11]

PURUṢOTTAMA AS A VIṢṆUITE DEITY

Though the term *puruṣottama* thus generally stands for Viṣṇu in the literature, yet in the Vaiṣṇava iconography, theology as well as in the Āgamas it is the designation of a special deity which represents a particular aspect of Viṣṇu as is also, for example, the case with such terms as Mādhava, Nārāyaṇa, Dāmodara or Hṛṣīkeśa etc. all of which are considered as different aspects or forms of Viṣṇu and as such their special iconographical features are treated in detail in the Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās.[12] It is this deity, the deity Puruṣottama—or, in other words, Viṣṇu in an aspect in which He is designated as *Puruṣottama*—which is going to be dealt with at length in the following pages. The purpose is to find out the answer to the question why the wooden deity in the Jagannātha Temple at Puri has especially been referred to as *'puruṣottama'* all along its history. What led the people to choose this designation for their deity? The investigation promises to throw some welcome light on the original character of the present Jagannātha.

We base our investigation mainly on those source works which have been quoted or referred to again and again in the Pūjā manuals of the Jagannātha Temple and are held in high esteem in this temple in questions pertaining to the ritual, viz. the *Śaradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇadeśika (end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th c.), *Kramadīpikā* of Keśava Miśra (middle of 14th c.), the *Gautamīyatantram* (probably middle of 15th c.) and some others (especially the various *Puruṣottama-māhātmyas*). These texts give detailed descriptions regarding the concept of the deity Puruṣottama as well as the procedure of and Mantras for His worship.

REFERENCES TO THE DEITY PURUṢOTTAMA OF PURI IN OLDER RECORDS—LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL

It is a well known fact that the deity on the Jagannātha Temple of Puri has been referred to in the older records, both literary and epigraphical, as Puruṣottama. Jagannātha is a term which seems to have come into vogue for this deity around 13th century or at least, has become more popular in this age. The *Puruṣottama-māhātmya* of *Skanda-Pur.*, written around 1300 A.C., uses this epithet (Jagannātha) for the deity very often in its text[13] and it has increasingly become

[11] I give here only a few of these references taken out from the first Aṃśa of *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* in order to show its frequency : 1.2.5; 4.24; 8.22; 12.33; 12.56,57; 14.16; 14.31; 15.52-58; 15.148; 19.64; 20.8; 20.13; 22.27.

[12] For details see Daniel Smith, *Vaiṣṇava Iconography*, Madras 1969.

[13] Cf. the following references in the Venkateshwar Press, Bombay edition of this text (published in Śaka 1831 = 1909 A.C.) 1.24, 3,26, 4.55, 4.102, 5.47, 6.73, 7.30, 8.18, 8.39, 8.54, 8.69, 10.96, 10.107 and many more.

popular in the Oriya literature. The fascination of the very meaning of this word ("the Lord of the universe") seems to have contributed a great deal towards its popularity (cf. Tripathi, Ch. 25).

The first *definite*[14] reference to the deity Puruṣottama on the sea shore and his 'Yātrā' (possibly the Car-festival) is found in the *Anargharāghava* of the dramatist

[14] A Viṣṇuite *āyatana* (= temple or *kṣetra*) of Puruṣottama is mentioned as early as in the Viṣṇupurāṇa (finished about the end of 5th c. A.C.) I.15.52 (cf. also Bhāgvata-Pur. IV.30.13), a place which is visited by the sage Kaṇdu for expunging his sins born out of his long association with an Apsaras:

sa cāpi bhagavān kaṇḍuḥ kṣīṇe tapasi sattamaḥ |
puruṣottamākhyam maitreya viṣṇor āyatanam yayau ||

Mukticintāmaṇi, an anthology of the references to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha found in the Purāṇas and the Tantras etc. compiled most probably in the court of Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva of the Solar dynasty (1466-97 A.C.), identifies this *āyatana* "known as puruṣottama" (*puruṣottamākhya*) with the Puruṣottama-kṣetra of Puri (p. 3 of the printed edition, Calcutta 1896). While there does not seem to be *a priori* any reason why this "*puruṣottamākhyam āyatanam*" should not be identified with the Puruṣottamakṣetra of Puri, an absolute certainty, of course, cannot be obtained in this regard.

Shri K.N. Mahapatra, Retd. Supdt. of Archaeology, Orissa, in a monograph entitled *The Pilgrim Routes of Orissa* compiled for the Orissa Project draws attention towards the following three inscriptions falling within the period 650-850 A.C. in which the term '*puruṣottama*' occurs as the name of a deity and contends that it refers to the deity in the temple in Puri (Pp. 6-11 of the typed manuscript). On closer examination, however, it appears that the word '*puruṣottama*' in all these inscriptions has been used to denote Viṣṇu in general and no particular reference to the deity in Puri is traceable in them:

1. . . . *vilāsitāyatane bhagavati puruṣottame viniveśitātiśraddhayā* . . . (with great devotion towards venerable Puruṣottama of the Vilāsita Kṣetra . . .); Kailan (Bengal) C.P. grant of "parama-vaiṣṇava" Śridhara Rāta of the 2nd half of the 7th c., ed. by D.C. Sircar in IHQ, Vol. 23, Pp 221-41.
2. *prajāpatiḥ sannapi satyabhāmāsamanvito'yaṃ parameśvaro'pi | śrtuo viśā(ṣa)di na kadācid eva kṣatāridīptiḥ puruṣottamo'pi ||* "Though he (Śubhakaradeva) was *Prajāpati* (1. protector of his subject, 2. God Brahmā) yet [paradoxically] he was associated (i.e. married) with Satyabhāmā (who is a wife of Kṛṣṇa); though he was *Maheśvara* (1. a great lord, powerful monarch, 2. God Śiva) yet he has never been heard to have been *viṣādin* (1. dismayed, sad, 2. one who eats poison); though he was *Puruṣottama* (1. best of the men, 2. Viṣṇu) yet [curiously enough] he was a *kṣataridīpti* (1. one who destructs the glory of his foes, 2. one who destructs the brightness of the discus, *arin*)."

In the above verse found in the Hindol C.P. grant of the Bhauma king Śubhākāradeva in the year 839 A.C. (Bhauma era 103) the donor praising his grandfather compares him with Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively applying beautifully the figure of speech *virodhābhāsa* (an unreal appearance of contradiction). Though the king was a *Puruṣottama* (the best of men) and *Puruṣottama* (Viṣṇu) is not expected to be *kṣatāridīptiḥ* (one who extinguishes the brilliance of his Discus, Sudarśana), yet he was it (in the sense that he extinguished the brilliance of his enemies). This beautiful double meaning has been achieved with the help of the words *ari and arin* (which also has the form *ari* in a compound), the former denoting a foe and the latter the discus.

It is obvious that with no stretch of imagination the word *Puruṣottama* can here be taken to mean the deity in Puri. The Hindol C.P. inscription was first edited by Pt. Binayak

Murāri who is usually placed around 900 A.C. by most of the scholars.[15] The poet refers to Puruṣottama of dark blue bodily colour resembling blue sapphire, residing

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Misra in the JBORS, Vol. XVI (69-83). The text and English translation with some corrections was later included in the author's work *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* (Calcutta 1934) 11-20.

I have intentionally quoted the above verse in full and have explained it comprehensively. The translation of Pt. Misra, unfortunately, drastically misrepresents the meaning of the verse. His translation is as follows: "Though he was the protector of the people, yet he could be connected with Satyabhāmā (who caused family dissension). It was heard that being Overlord, he was deserted by the soldiers (lit. horsemen), but his glory was never impaired by his adversaries and he was the best of men."

The inscription has the word *viśādī* in *pāda* c which Pt. Misra 'corrects' into *visādī*. Since the word *sādin* means rider or horseman, *vi-sādī* means 'without horsemen'. But how could one translate the line *śruto visādi na kadācid eva* as "it was heard that he was deserted by horsemen" ! *Na kadācit* obviously means 'never' and the sense could only be "he was never deserted by his horsemen", i.e. the exact opposite of what Pt. Misra has understood to mean! But even if we make this amendment in the trans. of Pt. Misra, how is one to correlate it with Maheśvara which has two meanings 1. sovereign ruler, and 2. Lord Śiva. The expression *visādi* does not make any sense in connection with Śiva. The only correct reading could, therefore, be *viṣādi* which has two meanings, one going with the king who was never 'dismayed' or 'dejected' and the other with Śiva who is the 'eater of poison'. Thus king Śubhākara is *Maheśvara* but he is not '*viṣādī*' like him.

The reason for my this long explanation is that K.C. Panigrahi in his otherwise excellent work *Chronology of the Bhaumakaras* . . . p. 27 (Note 34) blindly accepts the translation of Pt. Misra and remarks that this passage appears to hint at a calamity that had overcome Śubhākara I. "The word *visādī* means "one who is deserted by his horsemen" and it also means "one who was sad." Similarly the word *Puruṣottama* means "the best of men" and it also means "the city of Puruṣottama" which is another name of Puri. It appears that the king was first deserted by his army and was therefore forced to run away from Puri taking with him the images of Jagannātha etc. which were considered to be the most sacred and most valuable property of his dynasty" ! !

These remarks of Mr. Panigrahi are a nice example of the chain-reaction of mistakes caused by the mistake of one scholar and show to what an extent the fertile imagination of an author is capable to go!

3. . . . *satyānuraktayā sarasvatyā pavitritāsyapadmāpadmena puruṣottamena* . . .*śrīlalitahāradevena gṛhītapāṇipallavā* . . . *tribhuvanamahādevī* . . . / [Tribhuvana-Mahādevī whose hand was held by Lalitahāradeva, a Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) whose mouth was like the lotus of Lakṣmī (i.e. so charming as to be fit for residence of Lakṣmī, the goddess of beauty) and which (mouth) was sanctified through Sarasvatī (the goddess of learning) who is fond of truth(-ful words and hence permanently resided there)].

Also here I fail to see any reference to the deity Puruṣottama who was worshipped in Puri. Lalitahāradeva has been compared to Puruṣottama because he is waited upon by both Sarasvatī (learning) and Padmā (beauty), the two wives of Viṣṇu.

[15] A.B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford University Press, p. 225.

S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1962, p. 449.

M. Winternitz in his *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Bd. III, repr. 1968, p. 241 is indecisive about his date and suggests as an alternative the period 1050-1135 for him. I beg to differ with my colleague von Stietencron (who also suggests this date on the basis of "archaeological datas" see above Ch. 1. First of all, the *concept* of Puruṣottama-Kamalā

on the shore of the salt-ocean and sporting with Kamala by drawing patterns on her brests with the paste of musk:

> *bho bho lavaṇodavelāvanālītamālatarukandalasya tribhuvanamaulimaṇḍana-mahānīlamaṇeḥ kamalākucakalaśakelikastūrikāpatrāṅkurasya bhagavataḥ puruṣottamasya yātrāyām upasthānīyāḥ sabhāsadaḥ . . .!*
>
> —the *prastāvanā* in the I Aṅka immediately after *nāndīpāṭha*

"O ye spectators (lit. those sitting in the assembly hall) who have assembled on the occasion of the Yātrā of Puruṣottama, the exalted one, who is like a new sprout of the dark (i.e. dark green) *tamāla* tree growing in the forest in form of the strand of the salt-ocean, who is a big blue sapphire which decorates the head (or, forehead) of the three worlds and who sports with Kamalā by drawing patterns with [the paste of] musk [and saffron etc.] on her pitcher-like breasts . . .!"

The mention of Puruṣottama on the sea shore in whose Yātrā a number of people assemble, seems to be a clear reference to the Puruṣottamakṣetra of Puri.[16] Important for us is also the reference to Laksmi and the erotic relationship between the both (see fig. 51) which shall be dealt at length below.

The second equally undoubtful reference to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha comes from Maihar in the Satanā District of Madhya Pradesh. It is found in a stone inscription belonging to the temple of Sarasvati situated on a mountain in Maihar. The inscription, which records why and by whom this temple was established, has been edited in the Vol. XXXV (1963-64) of *Ep. Indica* by two such competent authorities as D.C. Sircar and V.S. Subramanyam who ascribe it to the middle of the 10th century on paleographical grounds (p. 171). The inscription narrates the story of a Brahman boy Dāmodara who was originally a son of Sarasvatī herself and lived in the heaven. But when he once defeated Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, in a disputation, he was cursed by the latter to go to earth. On the request of his mother, however, Bṛhaspati ordained that the boy would not live long on the earth. When young, he shall undertake a pilgrimage to "Puruṣottama in the country of Orissa", shall thereafter take a bath in the ocean where he shall be drowned and thus come back to the heaven:

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need not be contemporaneous with the archaeological finds(see fig. 51) and secondly we cannot claim to have already brought to light all the archaeological objects.

16 K.N. Mahapatra, *Jagannātha Puri as a centre of Culture through the Ages*, in: OHRJ, Vol. VI. 4 (1958), p. 297; also *Religious Cults of India and Jagannātha*, in: *Orissa Review*, July 1969 (Navakalevara number), p. 24.

D.C. Sircar (E.I. Vol. XXIII, p. 184, note), however, is not convinced that the above passage refers to the Deity Puruṣottama in the famous temple at Puri. To him it may refer to any other Viṣṇu temple equally well.

samudramajjanān nūnam odresu puruṣottamam|
dṛṣṭvā tavāntike bhūyaḥ purāgacchaty ayam śiśuḥ|| śl. 35

It happens, as pre-determined. Dāmodara, when he is just sixteen, comes to the sea shore, has a *darśana* of Lord Puruṣottama and comes subsequently to the world of Brahman(m.), his maternal grandfather, and is thus re-united with his mother, the goddess Sarasvatī.

tataḥ sa ganitair eva divasair devadurlabhaḥ|
prāptavān jaladhes tīram dṛṣṭaś ca puruṣottamaḥ|| śl. 39
tenaiva gacchatā bhūyaḥ paramam brahmaṇah padam| 40 ab

The earthly father of the boy, called Devadhara, is, however, so mortified at the depart of his son that he constructs a temple of Sarasvatī in his memory.

Sircar and Subramanyam remark on this inscription: "The reference to Dāmodara's pilgrimage to Puri is very interesting . . . . It is now clear from the present record that the god was enjoying the same celebrity as early as the middle of the tenth century and probably even some time earlier" (p. 174).

Well, if Puruṣottama was so famous in such a distant region as Maihar in the middle of the 10th century that the people undertook long and perilous journeys to see Him, He must have been there for quite some time !

As the next reference to Puruṣottama we may point to the following lines in the drama *Prabodha-Candrodaya* by Kṛṣṇa Miśra who flourished in the court of the Candella king Kīrtivarman in Kālañjara and wrote this work sometime between 1060-1070 A.C.[17] In the II Act of this allegorical drama, between śl. 27 and 28, one reads the following lines:

(tataḥ praviśati patrahastaḥ puruṣaḥ)
PURUṢAḤ—hagge ukkaladesado āgado mhi|
atthi tattha sāalatīlasannivese pulisottamasaṇṇiaṃ devadāadanam. . .||
MAHĀMOHAḤ—kuto bhavān|
PURUṢAḤ—hagge pulisottamādo āgado mhi|

This passage clearly mentions the temple of Puruṣottama which is situated on the sea shore in the country of Utkala (*ukkaladesa*). It is interesting that on the question of Mahāmoha from where he is coming, the man (=massenger) answers that he is coming from 'Puruṣottama' (though previously he has said that he is coming from 'Orissa'). It is reasonable to understand the word *'puruṣottama'* as *Puruṣottama-kṣetra* and not the Temple in a strict sense. This would mean, in other words, that

[17] See the excellent edition of *Prabodha-Candrodaya* by Armelle Pédraglio, Paris (*Publication de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne*, Fasc. 36.) 1974, Introduction I, p. 7; further Macdonnel, *Hist. of Sans. Lit.* (Reprint), Delhi 1962, p. 310.

also before Coḍagaṅga there existed a kṣetra, or a city, which was named after Puruṣottama, which must have been the most predominant temple in that city.

The first epigraphical record of the construction of the present Puruṣottama temple in the vicinity of ocean by the powerful monarch Coḍagaṅga Deva (1077-1147 A.C.) who, coming from south, had subjugated the Utkala-deśa (i.e. the northern part of Orissa) in the year 1112[18] is found in the Dāsgobā C.P. grant[19] of his grandson Rājarājadeva, the III (1198-1211) who succeeded to the throne of Orissa after the death of his father Aniyaṅkabhīma Deva, the II (1190-1198 A.C.).

The relevant verses run as follows :

pādau yasya dharāntarīkṣam **akhilam** *nābhiś ca sarvā diśaḥ*
śrotre netrayugam ravīnduyugalam mūrdhāpi ca dyaur asau|
prāsādam puruṣottamasya nṛpatiḥ ko nāma kartuṃ kṣamaḥ
tasyetyādyanṛpair upekṣitam imam cakre'tha gaṅgeśvaraḥ||
lakṣmījanmagṛham payonidhir asau sambhāvitasya sthir
no dhāmni śvasurasya pūjyata iti-kṣīrābdhivāsad dhruvam|
nirviṇṇaḥ puruṣottamaḥ pramuditas tadvāsalābhād ramāpy-
etadbhartṛgṛham varam pitṛgṛhāt prāpya pramodānvitā||

The first śloka refers to the *viśvarūpa* of Viṣṇu and says that only Gaṅgeśvara could construct a suitable palace (=temple) for a god like Puruṣottama, whose feet are the earth, the navel the mid-region, the head the heaven, the ears the directions and the two eyes the sun and the moon respectively. The previous kings did not undertake (lit. neglected) the job since they hesitated thinking "who can build a [befittingly huge and majestic] palace for such a god [who is identical with the universe itself] ? But then [came] Gaṅgeśvara [and he] did it.

The second verse refers to the joy of Puruṣottama and his consort Lakṣmī at the construction of the temple. Till before the construction of this residence (*vāsa*) for Puruṣottama, he (i.e. Viṣṇu) lived in the Milk-ocean. But since ocean is the birth place of Lakṣmī (and hence his Father-in-law's place, the *śvaśurālaya*), Puruṣottama felt rather ashamed (lit. disgusted) living there, since [he knew too well that] a respected person is not accorded proper honour if he lives [as a son-in-law] in his father-in-law's place. He was therefore very pleased to get a new place of residence for himself (i.e. the temple constructed by Coḍagaṅga Deva) and also his wife, Lakṣmī, found residing [independently] in the house of her husband much preferable to living in her father's house and hence became very happy.

R.D. Banerjee and some others have interpreted the joy of Lakṣmī mentioned in the second verse as an indication for the construction of *another* temple of Lakṣmī by Coḍagaṅga in the same compound. There *is* really one separate temple of Lakṣmī

[18] Cf. N.K. Sahu (1956, Vol. II) 374; H.K. Mahtab (1959/60, Vol. I) 199; S.N. Rajaguru, IO, Vol. III Pt. II (Bhubaneswar 1961) 390-94.

[19] Edited by D.C. Sircar and S.R. Sharma in *Ep. Ind.* XXXI. 6 (1956), 249-262 with 5 plates.

in the Jagannātha temple compound which according to R.D. Banerjee is as old as the main Jagannātha temple. Yet, I want to warn here against reading something into the ślokas which is not at all meant there. Nowhere a separate temple for Lakṣmī is mentioned to have been constructed The temple with which Lakṣmī is so pleased, is her '*bhartṛgṛha*' i.e. the house of her husband or the main temple, in other words. She is happy that she can now reside with her husband in *his* new house. I am, therefore, convinced that not *two* different temples were built by Coḍagaṅga for Puruṣottama and Lakṣmī separately but only one—namely the main temple—in which both, the husband and the wife, lived together.

THE CONCEPT AND THE NATURE OF THE DEITY "PURUṢOTTAMA"

We shall see below that the very concept of Puruṣottama demands that the god Puruṣottama and Lakṣmī live together. The concept of Puruṣottama is dealt with at great length in the famous Tantric work *Śāradātilaka* written towards the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century by Lakṣmana Deśika of Kashmir.[20] This work has exerted an immense, rather immesurable, influence on the religious views of the people of east India especially of Bengal and Orissa, as is proved by the multitude of its manuscripts found in almost every household in Orissa and its manifold quotations in the Pūjā-paddhatis.

The *Śāradātilaka* classifies the Viṣṇuite deities in three broad heads : Viṣṇu, Nṛsiṃha and Puruṣottama and deals with each one of these in a separate *paṭala* or chapter (15-17). A closer observation of the contents of these chapters shows that under the title 'Viṣṇu' (*viṣṇuprakaraṇam*) the deities Vāsudeva, Dadhivāmana, Hayagrīva, Varāha, Rāma and Hanumat have been dealt with; under the title 'Narasiṃha', however, the deity Nṛsiṃha in his different aspects as well as Sudarśanacakra find mention and finally under 'Puruṣottama' the four deities : Trailokyamohana, Śrīkara, Kṛṣṇa and Kāma. In other words, the term "Viṣṇu" represents the *Bhāgavata-Vāsudeva* aspect, "Nṛsiṃha" the *furious* or *violent* (*ugra*) aspect and "Puruṣottama" the *amorous* aspect of the same god.

Puruṣottama, "the highest or the best among the men" is understood by the author of *Śāradātilaka* in relation to women. In the *Śrīkara*[21] (or *Śrīdhara*) aspect of Puruṣottama, he is worshipped as the consort of Lakṣmī: in his Kṛṣṇa aspect as the beloved of Gopīs, in his *Kāma* or *Pradyumna* aspect as the god of love himself and in his *Trailokyamohana* ("one who bewilders or captivates the three worlds"), the most important of all the forms of Puruṣottama, as Viṣṇu conceived of as the god of

[20] Lakṣmaṇa Deśika was a pupil of the famous Kashmirian philosopher Utpalācārya who lived in the middle of the 10th century. See K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, 2nd Ed., Varanasi 1963, p. 162ff.

[21] Also known as *Hṛṣīkeśa*, a word of very uncertain meaning. It seems that *hṛṣīkā* is understood to mean Lakṣmī or the like in this term.

love, in other words: a combination of Kāma and Viṣṇu.[22]

Puruṣottama thus unites in himself the characteristics of the husband of Lakṣmī, of Kṛṣṇa and of Kāma. All of these characteristics are present in the nature of the Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THIS DEITY

The worship of Mother-goddess existing in India from a hoary past and prevalent mostly among the autochthonous groups of people, slowly coming up, got integrated with the religious beliefs of the higher strata of the Hinduistic society and gave rise, in the later Gupta period, to a form of worship in which the female aspect of the deity was very much emphasized. Every Hindu and Buddhist god was provided with a Śakti (power or energy) in this age with whom he was believed to be eternally associated. The finds at the Buddhist places like Ratnagiri and Lalitagiri etc. in Orissa prove the existence of a highly developed cult of the Vajrayāna school of thought in Orissa during 7th to 9th centuries, a school in which the worship of the female counterpart of a deity plays an extra-ordinary role.

The emergence of the concept of Puruṣottama also falls within this period. It is, so to say, a Viṣṇuite answer to the contemporary trend. To do justice to the *Zeitgeist*, the Vaiṣṇavas evolve a god by bringing together and emphasizing the elements contained in the worship of the cowherd god Kṛṣṇa who had a distinct amorous character and who had long since been identical with Viṣṇu, as well as Kāma—the god of love himself.

It will perhaps take us too far to investigate the causes of the identification of Kāma with Viṣṇu but this much may be noted here that this identification took place via Kṛṣṇa with whom Kāma had much in common. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* probably represents an earlier stage in the integration of Kāma in the Kṛṣṇa mythology when it pictures Kāma as the eldest son of Kṛṣṇa, named Pradyumna (cf. footnote 22). We may perhaps also recollect that this Pradyumna is the third divine personality (after Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa) in the *Vyūha* theory of the Pāñcarātra system of thought.[23]

The worship of the female principle (śakti) and the erotic practices connected with it, is only *one* aspect of Tantrism as it was in vogue around the 8th century in eastern India. Tantrism also professes the worship of the furious and the formidable aspect of the Divine (cf. the worship of such deities as *Kāli* and *Bhairava* etc.), mainly

[22] The god of love, who has been said to be a son of Viṣṇu ("*Vāsudevāṃśa*", Bhāg. X. 551) and Lakṣmī in some of the Purāṇas, is identified with Pradyumna, the son of Kṛṣṇa from his first wife Rukmiṇī (born after he was burnt to ashes by Śiva) in the *Bhāgavata-Pur*. X. 55.1, 7-10 and elsewhere. It seems that later he was identified with Viṣṇu himself. Viṣṇu is reported to have assumed the form of *mohanī* (an exceedingly beautiful girl) quite often to bewitch, e.g., the *asuras* at the time of the *amṛta-manthana* episode, (Bhg. P. VIII. 8. 41-46) and once god Śiva himself.

[23] *Vide* F.O. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, Madras 1916, 35-39.

with a view to counteract the unpleasant events like desease and misfortune, to keep off dangers, to ward off evil, to destroy the enemies and also to achieve material benefits which these deities are believed to bestow upon the worshipper immediately.

There was originally nothing similar to these '*ugra*' Tantric deities in the Vaiṣṇava-Bhāgavatism which is based on the intense emotional dedication (*bhakti*) of an individual to the highest personal God (Bhagavat) with a view to attain final liberation. The strong influence of the Tantric ideas, however, led Viṣṇuism to develop the concept of Narasiṃha—originally only an incarnation of Viṣṇu—to an independent and important deity with furious character who destroys the evils and the dangers befalling his worshipper and grants him immediately worldly benefits. Nṛsiṃha, in other words, is a Viṣṇuite version of the Tantric practice of the worship of the furious deities. The *Puruṣottama-māhātmya* of the Brahma-Pur. (Adhy. 39 to 69), after it has described the glory of Jagannātha, proceeds to narrate the importance of the deity Nṛsiṃha, situated by the side of Guṇḍīcā and gives details, in this context, of the *material* benefits which one can obtain by worshipping this *urga* deity. A worshipper of Nṛsiṃha has the power to bring about storm, cause rains or to stop them, to destroy the family of his adversary with the help of a statuette of Nṛsiṃha etc. By muttering *Pātālanṛsiṃha-mantra* in the prescribed manner in front of some hole (*vivara*) in a lonely place, the hole opens itself up to the worshipper who then descends through it to Pātāla where he assumes a bright, new, divine body to live happily with a group of beautiful damsels and when he wants to return to earth he receives as present from the girls some miraculaous objects as, e.g., a *guṭikā* which when kept in mouth makes the person invisible, an *añjana* (collyrium) which when applied in the eyes imparts the worshipper the capability of seeing everything in this world howsoever distant in space or time, a pair of *pādukā* (sandals) with which he can reach any spot on earth within no time (cf. *Brahma-Pur.* Adhy. 55.30-70).

Nṛsiṃha and Puruṣottama are thus two Viṣṇuite deities endowed with Tantric-Śaktic characteristics. Both are closely linked together and their worship has been popular and prevalent mainly in the regions which had the Tantric thoughts and beliefs flourishing. In the Godāvārī region and in the southern part of Orissa, however, where the deity Puruṣottama was not so popular, the concept of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha (Lakṣmī sitting in the lap of Nṛsiṃha!) played an important role which, in fact, is a combination of both the furious and the erotic elements of the Tantric practices in one Vaiṣṇava Deity.

THE EROTIC ELEMENT IN THE CHARACTER OF PURUṢOTTAMA-TRAILOKYAMOHANA

We come back to Puruṣottama. The amorous and erotic element in the character of Puruṣottama is clearly exhibited by the following *dhyāna* of him (more precisely: of his *Trailokyamohana* form) in which he is enjoined to be meditated upon as being tightly embraced by Lakṣmī who is sitting in his lap with a lotus in her left hand with the gazes of Puruṣottama rivetted on her lovely face:

devam śrīpuruṣottamam kamalayā svāṅkasthayā paṅkajaṃ
bibhratyā parirabdham ambujarucā taśyāṃ nibaddhekṣanam|
—*Śāradātilaka* 17.31

The commentator Rāghava Bhaṭṭa (end of 15th century?)[24] adduces some more quotations from other Tantric works which confirm and complement the description of the *Śāradātilka*:

. . .*vāme pādmam daksiṇena āliṅganam| "sābjavāmakarāṃ pītam śliṣyantīṃ pāṇīnā patim"| anyatrāpi "vāmakarasthāmbujaya prataptakanakābhayā sundaryā* (*āśliṣṭam*)"| "*nityamaṣṭabhujam dhyāyed aruṇam puruṣottamam| ramayāliṅgitam vāme lokatritayamohanam*" (on ŚT 17.22).

At one place Rāghava Bhaṭṭa cites from an unnamed text which even enjoins that Puruṣottama in his *trailokyamohana* form should have his eyes enlarged and rolling (due to the effect of liquor) :

aruṇāyatavipulavighūrṇitākṣiyuganalinam . . . (on 17.122).

OTHER ELEMENTS IN THE NATURE OF TRAILOKYAMOHANA

As a backdrop for this meditation on the *trailokyamohana* form of Viṣṇu, the worshipper should think of a maṇḍapa made of jewels with (four) decorated doorways (*toraṇa*) placed under the Kalpavṛkṣa in a beautiful celestial garden full of fragrant flower beds, dancing peacocks and singing cuckoos etc. The deity is sitting with his beloved (Lakṣmī) on the back of Garuḍa under the said Maṇḍapa within a red lotus flower (17.23-30). In the Mantra that the worshipper is advised to mutter for 4 lacs of times (" . . . *oṃ trailokyamohana hṛṣīkeśa apratirūpa manmatha sarvastrīhṛdaya karṣaṇa āgaccha āgaccha namaḥ* . . . " 17.21-22) he is again mentioned as *trailokyamohana* (bewitching the three worlds) *manmatha* (one who stirs up the heart simply by thinking) and *sarvastrīhṛdayākarṣaṇa* (one who is capable of attracting the hearts of all women).[25] The "Viṣṇuite" Gāyatrī of Puruṣottama identifies *trailokyamohana*, *smara* (the god of love) and *viṣṇu* with one another:

24 Rāghava Bhaṭṭa mentions the year of his writing the commentary (called *padārthādarśa*) as—*ākāśeṣuśarakṣamā*—(=1550). It is, however, not clear whether he refers to the Vikrama or the Śaka era. The editor of this commentary (Mukunda Jhā Bakhśī in *Kashi Sans. Ser.* 107) takes it to be referring to the Vikrama-Era (cf. p. 4 of the introduction) which is commonly used in North India where the commentary was written (i.e. in Benares, *viśveśapuryām*). But since Rāghava Bhaṭṭa was a Maharashtrian where Śaka Era is more prevalent, this figure may very likely refer to *Śakābda* and if it is so, the year of commentary would be 1628 A.C.

25 There are two more Mantras pertaining to Puruṣottama which are considerably longer but which likewise lay stress on his characteristic feature of being a god connected with love: '*surāsuramanujasundarīhṛdayavidāraṇa*', '*tribhuvanamadonmādakara*', '*manmathottama*' and '*kāmadāyin*' are his common attributes (17.2-20). Besides he is '*tribhuvaneśvara*' (cf. with *Jagan-nātha*!).

trailokyamohanāya vidmahe smarāya (?) *dhīmahi*|
tan no viṣṇuḥ pracodayat||[26]

The Yantra for the worship of Puruṣottama-Trailokyamohana consists mainly of a lotus with eight petals. In the centre or on the pericarp of the lotus which is endowed with the *bījamantra* Kāma, i.e. *klīm*, the devotee first worships Puruṣottama with Lakṣmī sitting on his left thigh[27] and proceeds thereafter to worship the eight Śaktis of Viṣṇu (*Vimalā, Utkarṣiṇī, Jñānā, Kriyā, Yogā, Prahvī, Satyā* and *Īśānā*[28] cf. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa on ŚT 17-36). Finally, the eight weapons of Puruṣottama (*aṅkuśa, muśala, khaḍga, cakra, pāśa. śaṅkha, dhanuḥ-śara* and *gadā*) as the Surrounding Deities(=*āvaraṇa-devatā*) with individual Mantras and Mudrās (ŚT 17.45-45).

The person who worships Puruṣottama regularly according to prescribed rites attains tremendous wealth, good fortune, immesurable glory, long life, good health, authority and, in addition, gets all his desires fulfilled. If one worships him regularly with the flowers of Karavīra and performs a fire sacrifice in the end burning in the sacrificial fire eight thousand 'Moon-flowers' (? *śaśiprasūna*, may be lilies or jasmines), he gains control even over the kings within a month. The fire sacrifice performed either with ripe *Bel* fruits or red lotuses bring about irreproachable splendour and wealth (or an irreproachable woman ? ... *śriyam vinded aninditām* with a variant reading ... *striyam vindet* ... &c. 17.55). By burning the twigs of Aśvattha one gets back his stolen or lost property. If the name of the person is added to the Mantra of Puruṣottama and it is uttered by the Sādhaka, this person becomes like a slave to him obeying all his commands. In short, by worshipping Puruṣottama, one becomes the second Viṣṇu Himself (*bahunā kim ihōktena* ... *sādhakottamaḥ*... *sākṣād viṣṇur ivāparaḥ*, 17·60)

The last śloka of the section dealing with the worship of Puruṣottama remarks that by worshipping Puruṣottama one could get all the four *puruṣārthas* (*dharma, artha, kāma*, and *mokṣa*):

[26] The relevant text in the *Śaradatilaka* reads as follows :

trailokyamohanāyeti vidmahe padam īrayet |
smarāya dhīmahi paścāt tan no Viṣṇuh pracodayāt || 17.35.

This Gayatri is a combined form of the Gayatris of Kāma and Viṣṇu since Trailokyamohana-Puruṣottama combines in himself the elements of both. The respective Gāyatris of Kāma and Viṣṇu read as follows : *kāmadevāya vidmahe, puṣpabāṇāya dhīmahi*|*tan no'naṅgaḥ pracodayāt* || and *vāsudevāya vidmahe, nārāyaṇāya dhīmahi*| *tan no viṣṇuḥ pracodayat*||. I am not sure whether the reading '*smarāya dhīmahi*' in the second pāda of the Puruṣottama Gāyatri is purposely meant to be short of two syllables or it stands for some such reading as '*puṣpabāṇāya*' or '*pañcabāṇāya*.'

[27] Cf. the commentary of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa on ŚT 17.39 and the following quotations: *dakṣetarorau kamalām atheṣṭvā* . . .' and '*vāmorau saṃsthitām iṣṭvā śriyam aṅgāni pūjayet*'.

[28] I quote this list from the *Kramadipikā* of Keśava Miśra (I. 43). It may be noted here that, in fact, there are *nine* Śaktis of Viṣṇu and note eight. The ninth *Anugrahā*(= grace, favour) is also the most important one. It is the Śakti from whom Viṣṇu is never separated. Since this Śakti is worshipped in the centre of the pericarp, along with Viṣṇu, she is not separately mentioned.

prīṇayed anayā stutyā jagannātham jaganmayam/
dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇān āptaye puruṣottamam// ŚT 17.167

I have quoted this verse in original mainly to draw the attention to the fact that the author of *Śāradatilaka* uses the term *Jagannātha* for Puruṣottama. He is, besides, *jaganmaya* i.e. identical with the whole universe. That the use of the term *jagannātha* is not accidental is proved by two other passages in this section, viz.:

> *dhyāyed vallabhayā sārdham jagannātham jaganmayam/* 17.30 cd
> ("one should meditate upon Jagannātha in company of his beloved. . .")
> and *arcayiṣyan jagannātham . . .*/17.34a

Puruṣottama is the only Deity for whom *Śaradatilaka* uses this attribute and we shall see further that some later texts use only this word (to the exclusion of Puruṣottama), for this variety of the Vaiṣṇava deity.

PURUṢOTTAMA IN HIS ŚRĪKARA SUB-ASPECT

The Śrikara (or Śrīdhara) aspect of Puruṣottama as described in the *Śāradātilaka* (17.61-84) is only a sub-division of Trailokyamohana form with the only difference that this form has perhaps the minimum amount of Tantric elements in it. The *mūrti* (form, shape, concept) of the deity to be meditated is the classical form of Viṣṇu as Bhagavat-Vāsudeva. On the eight petals of the lotus of the Yantra, the Sādhaka worships the four Vyūhas (of the Pāñcarātra system) interspersed with their four Śaktis (*Śrī*, *Dhṛti*, *Rati* and *Kānti*) respectively. The setting of the scene for meditation is the same as with Trailokyamohana, but Śrīkara has only four arms in which he carries śaṅkha, cakra, gadā and padma, the classical attributes of Viṣṇu. It is significant that for the rite of Aṅganyāsa, a verse of the *Puruṣasūkta* of RV (X.90), namely *'brāhmanō'sya mukham āsīt . . .'* (No. 12) in its four pādas is prescribed to be uttered for *nyāsa* on face, arms, thighs and feet respectively—an element which again connects Śrīkara with the classical Bhāgavata-Pāñcarātra form of Viṣṇu in whose ritual of worship Puruṣa-sūkta plays an important role (—as already mentioned above p. 35). The ingredients prescribed to be offered in fire are: milk, rice clarified butter, dūrvā grass, lotus petals soaked in ghee etc. and the award promised is mainly the achievement of an everlasting wealth. The Mantra of Śrīkara, however, which the worshipper is advised to mutter one thousand times daily with his gazes fixed on the orbit of the sun (17.83, 84) has conspicuously Tantric character, viz.:

> *uttiṣṭha śrīm kraiṁ* (or *oṁ śrīm klīm.* . acc. to Padmapādācarya as quoted by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa on ŚT 17.61) *śrīkara hṛdayam bhīṣaya bhīṣaya trāsya trāsya pramardaya pramardaya pradhvaṃsaya pradhvaṃsaya rakṣa rakṣa huṁ svāhā* /

PURUṢOTTAMA AS KĀMA

We now deal with Kāma, the god of love, worshipped as Puruṣottama-Viṣṇu. I have stated before that the aspect of love is the most important feature of the concept of Puruṣottama in general; especially the Trailokyamohana and Kṛṣṇa forms of Puruṣottama are unimaginable without this feature. Though thus Kāma-Aspect is strongly present in other forms also, yet because of its importance, it is worshipped independently too as a form of Puruṣottama. However, the Kāma-form of Puruṣottama is ritually not so developed as the Trailokyamohana form which is, as stated before, a combined form of Viṣṇu and Kāma.

Kāma is meditated upon as a handsome adolescent of red colour, decorated with jewels and smeared with fragrant pastes, having four arms in which he bears a goad (*aṅkuśa*), a bow made of sugarcane, an arrow consisting of flowers and a noose (*pāśa*) respectively. The Bījamantra of Kāma is *klīm*, as mentioned before, and his Yantra consists of a lotus with eight petals in the inner and sixteen in the outer circle.

There are altogether three groups of Śaktis associated with Kāma. The first group contains eight *pīṭhaśaktis* named *Mohanī, Kṣobhiṇī, Stambhinī, Ākarṣiṇī, Drāviṇī, Unmādinī, Klinnā and Kledinī*[29]. These Śaktis are worshipped in the centre (on the pericarp of the lotus) together with Kāma; play, therefore, the role of his consorts. All of them represent the various psychological aspects or stages of love (*mohana, kṣobhaṇa* etc.). The second group of Śaktis worshipped on the eight petals of the lotus are named: *Anaṅgarūpā, Anaṅgamadanā, Anaṅgamanmathā, Anaṅgakusumā, Anaṅgamadanāturā, Anaṅgaśiśirā, Anaṅgamekhalā* and *Anaṅgadīpikā*. The names of the sixteen Śaktis belonging to the third group are adjectives and nouns (in fem. gen.) mostly denoting youth, beauty and the related characteristics (e.g. *yuvatī, vipralambhā, subhrū, madadravā, suratā, vāruṇī, lolā, kānti* etc.) and they are worshipped on the outer sixteen petals in the form of smiling and coquettish young ladies with lotus flowers in their hands.

The *Kāma gayatrī* reads as follows (ŚT 17.149):

kāmadevāya vidmahe, puṣpabāṇāya dhīmahi|
tan no'naṅgah pracodayāt||

We have already noted before (footnote 26) that the Gāyatrī of Trailokyamohana—the main form of Puruṣottama—is simply a combination of the Gāyatris of Viṣṇu and Kāma, as also is the very concept of Trailokyamohana. To this we may add that Puruṣottama-Trailokyamohana bears in his eight hands *all* the four 'weapons'

[29] The 'wetness' suggested in the names of the last two Śaktis, Klinnā and Kledinī, obviously refers to the moistening of the genital organs at the time of erotic excitement.

(*aṅkuśa, dhanus of ikṣudaṇḍa, bāṇa and pāśa*) of Kāma in addition to the usual weapons of Viṣṇu.[30]

INFLUENCE OF PURUṢOTTAMA-KĀMA ON THE JAGANNĀTHA-CULT

Another significant feature in the worship of Kāma which is of great importance for determining the original nature of the Jagannātha figures is the striking similarity in certain points between the ritual of Kāma and of Bhuvaneśvarī or Subhadrā of the Jagannātha temple. The eight *pīṭhaśaktis* of Kāma, whose names all start with the word *anaṅga* (=kāma) and who are considered to be his consorts, reappear as the mates of Bhuvaneśvarī in a Yantra which is almost an exact replica of the Yantra of Kāmadeva (it also consists mainly of an eight-petalled lotus in the inner and a sixteen-petalled one in the outer circle). Five of the eight *pīṭhaśaktis* of Kāmadeva i.e. *Anaṅgakusumā*, *Anaṅgakusumāturā* (new creation!), *Anaṅgamadanā*, *Anaṅgamadanāturā* and *Anaṅgavedyā* (who stands for *Anaṅgadīpikā*) are worshipped on the five petals of the inner lotus of the Bhuvaneśvarī-Yantra and another five, i.e. *Anaṅgarūpā*, *Anaṅgamadanā* (repetition!), *Anaṅgamadanāturā* (repetition!), *Anaṅgavedanā* (=°*vedyā*, repetition!) and *Anaṅgemakhalā* in the different directions outside the bigger lotus of sixteen petals. The artificial form in which the original list of the eight deities starting with the word Anaṅga—has been divided into two groups, some new additions and the term *anaṅga* still appended to these deities show that the names of these deities—now appearing in Pūjā of Bhuvaneśvarī—have been borrowed from the worship of Kāmadeva and not the other way round.

In other words, Subhadrā of the Jagannātha temple who is worshipped as Bhuvaneśvarī, has some distinct elements borrowed from the worship of Kāma-Puruṣottama and when we add to the fact that in the Śāradātilaka the bodily hue of Lakṣmī sitting in the lap—or on the left thigh—of Puruṣottama is reported to be yellow (the colour of gold!), which is also the bodily colour of Subhadrā, the possibility of Subhadrā having been associated with Puruṣottama-Jagannātha originally as his *wife* is rendered very likely. We shall come back to this theme later and deal with it more thoroughly.

PURUṢOTTAMA IN HIS SUB-ASPECT KṚṢṆA

The fourth and the last form of Puruṣottama is that of Kṛṣṇa, a form which is at least as important as that of Trailokyamohana, if not even more. It is obvious that as a form of Puruṣottama, Kṛṣṇa should appear as a lover, i.e. in his aspect of the "beloved of Gopīs" (*gopījanavallabha*).

[30] The only difference is that with Trailokyamohana the lotus is found substituted with a sword—which is also elsewhere the case with Viṣṇu—and the Muśala is additionally introduced which makes it imperative for the bow and the arrow to be held in *one* hand, an irregularity which clearly shows that the Muśala is an outsider introduced under the influence of the Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma aspect.

There are six different Mantras for the worship of Kṛṣṇa (containing 6, 8, 10, 16, 18 and 32 syllables respectively) of which two, the ten-syllabic and the eighteen-syllabic ones, are the most common and most popular. Both of these Mantras contain the expression *gopījanavallabha* for Kṛṣṇa and the eighteen-syllabic even uses the *bīja* of Kāma (*klīṃ*) in the beginning. The *Kramadīpikā*—an authority on the Kṛṣṇa worship—quoted in the *Gopalārcana-vidhi* of Puruṣottamadeva (the first and the most standard work on the Pūjā of Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa, 15th c.) explicitly refers to the *bījamantra* of Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha as being a "*Pradyumna-Mantra*" (a Mantra of Pradyumna or Kāma) and designates it as *jaganmohana*—bewitching the world (*mantraḥ prādyumno jaganmohano'yam*/ cf. *Kramadīpikā* 1.12).

The worshipper meditates upon Kṛṣṇa as a handsome youth with the bodily hue resembling a blue lotus and the full moon. He is decorated with a peacock feather on his forehead and divine ornaments on other parts of his body. He is playing on flute, surrounded by a herd of the cows and the cowherds and is being 'worshipped' with the offerings of the blue lotuses in the form of the dark eyes of the cow-maids gazing at his face (. . . *gopīnam nayanotpalārcitatanum*. . .).

This meditational verse from *Śaradātilaka* (17.93 *phullendīvarakāntamindu-vadanam*. . . . etc.) is indispensable in the Pūjā ceremony of the Jagannātha temple and is found incorporated in all the Pūjā manuals (cf. e.g. *Gopālārcanapaddhati* of Vāsudeva, Folio 35 ab and 42 b) as well as other ritualistic texts.

The Yantra prescribed for the worship of Puruṣottama-Kṛṣṇa consists mainly of a sexagon in the centre and a ten-petalled lotus which surrounds it. In the ritual of the worship of Jagannātha, however, the Yantra of *Trailokyamohana* containing a sexagon but a lotus of eight petals (cf. above p. 46) is used, though Jagannātha is now identified with Kṛṣṇa.

PURUṢOTTAMA IN LATER WORKS

This brings us to the end of the treatment of the concept of the deity Puruṣottama as it is described in the Śāradātilaka. Though there are still older descriptions of the concept and the Pūjā of Puruṣottama (esp. of his Trailokyamohana form), found mainly in the Purāṇas (cf. e.g, *Garuḍa-Pur.* I. 29 [Cal. Ed.]) and older Tantric works as *Rudrayāmala*[31], we have started our exposition with the text of *Śāradātilaka* due to its being the most thorough and most extensive among the older texts. It must have become evident, I believe, from the above exposition that the element of love and sex is not only an integral, but the predominent part of the concept of Puruṣottama. In

[31] In *Rudrayāmala Tantra*, again Puruṣottama is conceived as Viṣṇu in the embrace of Lakṣmī (Mahtab, *Hist. of Orissa*, I, 206). The relevant verse has been quoted by K.N. Mahapatra, in OHRJ III.1 (1954) with reference to the work *Mandirera Kathā* (in Bengali) by Gurudas Sarkar (p. 139):

Kriyānivistaḥ sarvatra bhāvanāgraharūpadhṛk /
Sa paśyati jagnnāthaṃ kamalorugataṃ harim //

order to corroborate this fact further, I quote from three more texts which are later than *Śāradātilaka* in order to show that this element in the character of Puruṣottama was present—and the people were quite conscious of it—till at least 17th century. All the three text chosen here are not only considered very authoritative in their fields but also enjoy a wide circulation in the eastern part of India.

PURUṢOTTAMA-BHUVANAMOHANA IN THE KRAMADĪPIKĀ

The first of these is the *Kramdīpikā* of Keśava Bhaṭṭa (already referred to once, p. 36) written in the middle of the 14th century,[32] a work on which all the Pūjā manuals of Jagannātha are directly based. In the 8th *paṭala* (chapter), beginning from the śloka 24, it describes the "most secret" Mantras of Puruṣottama-Bhuvanamohana (VIII. 24, cf. also VIII. 29). I qoute here only a few of the *dhyānamantras* which show how a devotee conceives of his deity:

> *nijavāmoruniṣaṇṇām śliṣyantīm vāmahastadhṛtanalinām/*
> *klidyadyonim kamalām madanamadavyākulojjvalāṅgalatām//*
> *surucirabhūṣaṇamālyānulepanām susitavasanaparivītām/*
> *nijamukhakamalavyāpṛtacaṭulāsitanayanamadhukarām taruṇīm//*
> *śliṣyantam vāmabhujadaṇḍena dṛḍham dhṛtekṣucāpena/*
> *tajjanitaparamanirvṛtinirbharahṛdayam carācaraikagurum//*
> *suraditijabhujagaguhyakagandharvādyaṅganājanasahasraiḥ/*
> *madamanmathālasāngair abhivītam divyabhūṣanollasitaiḥ//*
> *ātmābhedatayettham dhyātvā . . .*
>
> VIII. 34-37, 38a

The above verses decribe Puruṣottma-Bhuvanamohana with Lakṣmī in an amorous posture. Lakṣmī is sitting on the left thigh of Puruṣottma, has a lotus in her left hand; with the right she is clinging to the body of her husband. Her body is perturbed by the god of love and her female organ is getting increasingly wet (due to erotic excitement). Her fickle, black eyes are fixed on the face of her consort like a black bee on a lotus flower. Puruṣottama also is emotionally stirred up (*aṅgajonmathitam*, VIII. 31), his eyes are rolling (*vighūrṇitākṣi yuganalinam*, VIII. 32) he is embracing the young lady (*taruṇīm*) with his strong left arm which is also holding a bow of sugarcane and his heart is filled up with the highest satisfaction derived through the embrace; he, the Lord of the mobile and the immobile objects. This divine pair is surrounded by thousands of young damsels of the gods, demons, Serpents, Gandharvas etc., looking languid due to the effect of liquor and love. "One should meditate upon the Deity in this manner and conceive Her as identical with one's own self . . .", adds the text.

Though the worship of "Puruṣottama", for Keśava Bhaṭṭa, is closely related to the worship of Kṛṣṇa, it is not an integral part of the daily Pūjā ceremony of

[32] Cf. Umeṣh Mishra, *Nimbārka School of Vedānta*, Allahabad 1966 (Sec. Ed.), p. 12.

Kṛṣṇa. The worship of Kṛṣṇa as Bhuvanamohana (=Trailokyamohana of ŚT) is a special or extra-ordinary rite which is performed, with *Japa, Homa* etc. following it, to achieve the desired worldly objects—material benefits, in other words (VIII. 49)—or to win the heart of a woman (VIII. 50) whereas the daily Pūjā of Kṛṣṇa as *Gopījanavallabha* serves mainly the purpose of attaining other-wordly benefits as well as the final liberation.

PURUṢOTTAMA IN THE GAUTAMĪYATANTRAM AND THE TANTRASĀRA

The next work dealing with the worship of the Trailokyamohana aspect of Kṛṣṇa-Puruṣottama is *Gautamīya-Tantram*, a famous work of Vaiṣṇava Āgama, very popular among the worshippers of Kṛṣṇa especially in East India (that is why profusely quoted in the works of the six Gosvāmins belonging to Caitanya school). This work must have been composed by the end of the 15th century (i.e. till about 1500) since it is extensively quoted by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in his *Bhagavadbhaktivilāsa* (the most authoritative work on Gaudiya theology, composed shortly before 1541 A.C.[33]). The *Gautamīya-Tantram* treats in its Adhy. 29, the worship of Trailokyamohana aspect of Kṛṣṇa. As in the *Kramadīpikā*, this ritual is considered to be very secret, is fit to be heard only by the selected few (29.1, 2) and is said to cause *uddīpana* (emotional excitement, 29.2). The *dhyāna* of this deity is described in Adhy. 29, śl. 13-16. As in the *Śaradātilaka* and *Kramadīpikā*, Lakṣmī is said to be sitting on the left thigh of the deity who is expressly designated as *Jagannātha* (*! dadhatam ca jagannātham raktapadmāruṇekṣaṇam* 29.15, again in 29.17 *evam dhyātva jagannātham* . . .). This Jagannātha has red eyes similar in hue to the lotus flowers and has eight weapons in his as many hands whereas Lakṣmī, the mother of world (*viśvamātaram* 29.16) is drapped in two yellow garments and decorated with all ornaments, holding a flower in her left hand, embracing tightly her husband and lover with the right and seducing him with her amorous gestures (*sakāmalīlaya devam mohayantī* . . . 29.14).

The meditational verses of the *Gautamīyatantram* are also found quoted with negligible alterations in the *Tantrasāra*, one of the most famous Tantric work of Bengal written by Kṛṣṇānanda Bhaṭṭacārya somewhere in 17th century.[34] Kṛṣṇānanda names the deity as the *Sammohana* aspect of Kṛṣṇa and prescribes the use of the Kāmabīja (*klīm*) as the main Mantra for him, a *bīja* which has all along been used in the worship of Jagannātha in the Puri temple (cf. also p. 46 above).

We have noted above (p. 47) that ŚT also refers to Puruṣottama (and only to Puruṣottama) as Jagannātha. The reference to the Puruṣottama-Trailokyamohana as

[33] S.K. De, *The early History of Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, 2nd Ed., Calcutta 1961, p. 139.

[34] D.C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, 2nd Ed., Delhi 1973, pp. 74-80 (" . . . not improbable that Kṛṣṇānanda flourished in Ca. 1595-1675 A.D.). P.K. Gode, however [*J. of the Gangānātha Jhā Res. Inst.*, Vol. I (1944) 2.771ff.] is in favour of assigning a date between 1500 and 1530 A.C. to the composition of the work.

Jagannātha twice in the Gautamīya-Tantram cannot therefore, simply be accidental. It seems that 'Jagannātha' was the term which was more common and popular in the Buddhist-Tantric circles to denote the Highest Being of the universe. We find the word used for the *Ādibuddha* in the very first śloka (i.e. *maṅgalācaraṇa*) of the famous Tantric work *Jñānasiddhi* by Indrabhūti[35] :

namaskṛtya jagannātham sarvajinavarārcitam/
*sarvabuddhamayam siddhivyāpinam gaganopamam//*I.1

In some works written in Bengal-Orissa region the word is used for Śiva (e.g. in *Jñanāmṛtasara* alias *Nārada-Pāñcarātra* publ. in *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 38; cf. II. 5.1 and many more). May be, it is a word which was popularised in the sense of the 'Lord of the world' by the followers of the Nātha sect. In my opinion the term *Jagānnatha* was used for the erotic-Tantric form of Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama because this word has had a long association with the Tantrism and esoteric practices.

ONLY TWO DEITIES ORIGINALLY IN THE PURI TEMPLE

The erotic character of Puruṣottama has been demonstrated beyond—as I think—any pale of doubt. All the available references to Puruṣottama present him in the embrace of his consort Lakṣmī who is thus an indispensable element—rather person—in the concept of this deity. It is not possible to conceive of Puruṣottama without Lakṣmī since that would mean the absence of the erotic element in his character which is of vital and fundamental importance. It is, therefore, only logical to assume that the (wooden ?) statue of Jagannātha-Puruṣottama referred to in the older epigraphical records and in the *Anargharāghava* of Murāri did not stand alone in the sanctum of the shrine of Puruṣottama on the sea shore. There must have been one more—and only one more—statue signifying the female consort of Puruṣottama, the goddess Lakṣmī. That the consort of a wooden god must have been likewise of wood in a form resembling—or at least corresponding to—the statue of her husband, is obvious. It, therefore, follows clearly that neither three, nor one, but only *two* images were originally there in the Puri temple, i.e. those of "Jagannātha" and "Subhadrā" and that the one of Balabhadra was introduced later in the temple.

It were "Subhadrā" and "Jagannātha", therefore, who were known as Laksmī and Puruṣottama in those days. The presence of Laksmī and Puruṣottama—and of only these two—is attested not only by the above quoted reference to them in the *Anargharāghava* but also by the inscription of Rājarājadeva, the III which refers clearly to this couple of Puruṣottama and Lakṣmī as inhabiting the Puri temple built by his grandfather.

LAKṢMĪ RE-NAMED AS SUBHADRĀ LATER

Though in the 13th century there already stood *three* wooden figures in the temple of Jagannātha in Puri (as is proved by the construction of the *Anantavāsudeva*

[35] K.N. Mahapatra,—OHRJ, Vol. III. 1. 7ff.

temple in 1278 A.C. in Bhubaneswar containing the triad of Puri) among which the female figure, the middle one, had already been identified with Subhadrā, the sister of Balabhadra and Jagannātha, yet we still find, at least for another three hundred years, reminiscences in the Brahmin circles of the female figure having been Lakṣmī previously.

PUR.MĀH. (SKD. PUR.) OFTEN CONSIDERS SUBHADRĀ AS LAKṢMĪ

The *Puruṣottama-māhātmya* found incorporated in the *Skd. Pur.* and composed most probably around 1300 A.C., for example, refers to this female wooden figure at least thrice as Lakṣmī and—it is interesting—always in a historical context, i.e. always when the author is narrating an event which has taken place in the hoary past: Puṇḍarīka and Ambarīṣa, two friends who have committed almost every possible sin, come to Puruṣottama-kṣetra and start a 'hunger-strike' to have a *darśana* of the Lord (Adhy. 4.85-5.4). On the third day they have a vision of the deity (Viṣṇu-Jagannātha) with four arms, eyes like a full blown lotus (=round). On his left is Lakṣmī whom he is embracing with his left arm. She is offering him a betel-leaf[36]:

vāmapārśve sthitām lakṣmīm vāmenāliṅgya bāhunā/
nāgavallīdalam baddham ādadānam śriyā sthitam// 5.9cd-10ab

Both are surrounded by a group of beautiful young girls serving them in different ways (5.10cd-13cd).

In the same (5th) Adhyāya later Subhadrā is said to be Lakṣmī herself who perpetually resides in the lotus of the heart of Viṣṇu, but who is represented here on the Vedī as a separate figure standing between Viṣṇu and the Śeṣa:

tayor madhye sthitāṃ bhadrāṃ subhadrāṃ kuṅkumāruṇām//
sarvalāvaṇyavasatim sarvadevanamaskṛtām/
lakṣmīṃ lakṣmīśahṛdayapaṅkajasthāṃ pṛthaksthitām//
varābjadhāriṇīm devīm divyanepathyabhūṣaṇām/

—5.33cd-35ab

Vidyāpati returning from Utkala to Malwa after having a darśana of Lord Puruṣottama on Nīlādri describes the "Parents of the world" (*jagataḥ pitarau*) to the king Indradyumna in the following words :

[36] The motive of offering a betel-leaf by the beloved to her lover is very common in Orissan paintings. Rādhā, for example, is very frequently shown as offering Kṛṣṇa a betel-leaf in the folk art. In Orissa the betel-leaves are not folded as in North India but rolled up.

vāmapārśvagatā lakṣmīr āśliṣṭā padmapāṇinā//
vallakīvādanaparā bhagavanmukhalocanā/
sarvalāvaṇyavasatiḥ sarvālaṅkārabhūṣitā//
tāv apaśyam hi jagataḥ pitarāv acalasthitau/

—5.33cd-35ab

Again Lakṣmī is described here as sitting on the left of the Lord who is embracing her tightly. Her looks are fixed on the face of the Bhagavat and she is playing on a lute (an additional element!).

In the vision of the Deity, again, which the king Indradyumna has in his dream after he has already performed one thousand Horse-Sacrifices, the female figure on the right[37] is not named as Subhadrā but explicitly as Lakṣmī who is sitting on a lotus, has lotus-flower, Vara- and Abhaya-Mudrā in her hands; her bodily complexion is red and she is the highest illustration of the feminine beauty:

dakṣapārśvasthitām cāsya lakṣmīṃ tāṃ śubhalakṣaṇām/
varābhayābjahastām vai kuṅkumābhāṃ sulocanām//
trailokyayuvatīvṛndadṛṣṭānt ādbhutavigrahām/
dadarśa padmāsanagāṃ lāvaṇyāmbudhiputrikām// 17.14,15

In 25.46ab god Brahman advises Indradyumna to consecrate the chariot of Subhadrā at every car-festival with the Lakṣmī-sūkta (i.e. the so-called *Śrīsūkta* appearing as a *khila* at the end of the 5th book of RV) and in 20.22cd-23ab Subhadrā is described as the Śakti of Viṣṇu which permanently resides in his chest and with whose help Viṣṇu creates and destroys these worlds (*yayā sṛjaty atsi jaganti . . . svaśaktyā . . . tāṃ bhadrarūpām*).

The most remarkable passage regarding the identification of Subhadrā with Lakṣmī is, however, 19.11-17ab in which the author of *Pur.-Māh.* (Skd.) strongly pleads that Subhadrā should be considered as Lakṣmī, i.e. the *wife* of Jagannātha and not his *sister*. "That Subhadrā is the sister of Baladeva, is simply a Purāṇic myth (*paurāṇikī kathā*)", says the author, "In fact, when Viṣṇu was born as Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī, the Consciousness of all the living beings, one who cannot endure the separation from her Lord even for a moment, was born of Rohiṇī (the second wife of Nanda and the mother of Balarāma). Since she (always) thought of her Lord in his mighty aspect (*balarūpam* i.e. as Balarāma), she assumed the characteristics of Balabhadra." What difference is there between Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa? None, whatsoever. It is only the common people (*loka*) who differentiate between the two. Whenever and wherever Viṣṇu is there in the form of a male, Lakṣmī is present there (in a female form). All the males in the world are the forms of Viṣṇu and all the females the

[37] For the first time at this place the female figure has been described as situated on the *right* of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha (called simply *deva* in the text 17.8). A wife never stands on the right of her husband. The author is evidently influenced by the present position of Subhādrā, whom he identifies with Lakṣmī and who stands to the right of Jagannātha.

forms of Lakṣmī. There is nothing beyond these two, whether in the race of gods, human beings or animals. This sister is, in fact, his *Śakti*, the Śrī herself":

subhadrā cāruvadanā varābjābhayadhāriṇī//
lakṣmīḥ prādurbabhūveyaṃ sarvacaitanyarūpiṇī/
iyam kṛṣṇāvatāre hi rohiṇīgarbhasambhavā//
balabhadrākṛitir jātā balarūpasya cintanāt/
kṣaṇaṃ na sahate sā hi moktum līlavatāriṇam//
na bhedo'stīha ko viprāḥ kṛṣṇasya ca balasya ca/
ekagarbhaprasūtatvād vyavahāro' tha laukikaḥ//
bhaginī baladevasyetyeṣā pauraṇikī kathā/
puṃrūpe strīsvarūpeṇa laksmīḥ sarvatra tiṣṭhati//
puṃnāmnā bhagavān viṣṇuḥ strīnāmnā kamālālayā/
devatiryaṅmanuṣyādau vidyate na tayoḥ param//
tasya śaktisvarupeyam bhaginī śrīḥ prakīrtitā/

—19.10cd-15cd, 17cd

The remark *balabhadrākṛtirjātā balarūpasya cintanāt* also tries to account for the iconographical similarities (in face) between Balarāma and Subhadrā.

PUR.-MĀH. (VIṢṆURAHASYA) ALSO TREATS SUBHADRĀ AS LAKṢMĪ

Though some more passages may be quoted from the *Pur.-Māh.* of Skd. Pur. to this effect (e.g. 19.45), I think that it has already been sufficiently demonstrated that the author of the present work looks upon Subhadrā as Lakṣmī. We, therefore, proceed to the text of another Puruṣottama-mābātmya, namely the one known as *Mahāpuruṣavidyā* and ascribed to *Viṣṇurahasya.*[38]

The text seems to have been composed in all probability in the first decades of the 16th century (between 1500 and 1530 A.C.) by a Brahmin belonging to some Śāsana village around Puri. The Brahmins of the Śāsana villages in Orissa, though strongly associated with the cult of Jagannātha, are inwardly to a great extent Śaktas.

The text of *Pur.-Māh.* acc. to *Viṣṇurahasya* refers to the goddess standing between Jagannātha and Balabhadra almost invariably as *Ramā*; for instance:

śaṅkhacakradharaḥ śrīmān nīlajīmūtasannibhaḥ/
ramayā saha sarveśo nityaṃ viharati svayam// 3.168

[38] The work is still unpublished. At least three manuscripts of the text are known to exist: in Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; Asiatic Society, Calcutta and India Office Library, London respectively. I quote from the MS preserved in Bhubaneswar. The text together with a critical study of its contents is going to be published shortly by Prof. U. Schneider of the Freiburg University.

atha śrījagadīśasya śṛṇu siṃhāsanam dṛḍham|
ramayā balabhadreṇa saha yatra virājate|| 5.23

cf. further 3.168 and 4.57, 58 etc.

In Adhy. 3. 90-104 the Lord of the universe (*jagadīśa*) is narrated to have shown his *paramaṃ padam* (highest place) to the creator god Brahman. Brahman observes with his divine sight *the goddess Lakṣmī,* who resides on the left of the Lord (=is his wife) *in the form of Subhadrā* standing to the right of the Lord:

vāmāṅgarūpiṇīm lakṣmīṃ tasya dakṣiṇapārśvagām|
apaśyad divyayā dṛṣṭyā subhadrārūpadhāriṇīm|| 3.98

The longest passage dilating upon the identity of Subhadrā with 'Mahālakṣmī, occurs, however, in Adhyāya 6 (śl. 77-86). In this passage Subhadrā is designated as : the mother of the gods like Brahman and Śiva (śl.78); the foster mother of the world (*jagaddhātrī*); one whose nature consists of *sat, cit* and *ānanda*; who is beyond the region of speech and thought (*vāṅmanogocarātītā*); one who creates the primordial Causes of the universe (*viśvakāraṇakāriṇī*); the mistress of the world (*īśvari sarvabhūtānām*) etc. etc. . . It is she with whose grace the Protectors of the directions (*dikpālas*) have been appointed as such and Brahman(m.) and Rudra have received their respective assignments. "This Subhadrā, the Mother of the universe (*subhadrā sā jaganmātā . . .*) is the queen of the Lord of the world, she protects the creatures beginning with Brahman and ending with the immobile beings as a mother does her sons; with her of wide eyes the wide-eyed Lord of the Universe sports in the cave of the Blue Mountain, the Lord with a conch and a disc, who owing to his sportive nature behaves like a human being :

tasya dakṣiṇapārśve tu śuddhajāmbūnadaprabhām|
sarvalāvaṇyavasatim saccidānandarūpiṇīm| |77
brahmarudrādidevānāṃ mātaram padmamāliṇīm| 78ab
vāṅmanogocarātītām vara (?) *kalmaṣanāśinīm|*
mahālakṣmīṃ jagaddhātrīṃ subhadrārūpadhāriṇīm|| 79
yā harer jagadīśasya mahiṣī sā (?) *svarūpiṇī|*
subhadrā sā jaganmātā kuṅkumāruṇarūpiṇī|| 84
ājñayā śrījagadbhartur brahmādīn sthāvarāntakān|
putrān māteva sā nityaṃ subhadrā pālayaty api|| 85
tayā saha viśālākṣyā viśālakṣo jagatpatiḥ|
nīlācalaguhāmadhye naralīlāvihāravān|
*śaṅkhacakradharaḥ svāmī nityaṃ viharati svayam||*86

This suffices to show that as late as the beginning of the 16th century, at least three hundred years after the female figure in the Jagannātha temple had already

been interpreted as the sister of the two brothers standing to her right and left, she was still considered in some circles of the Brahmins who combined in themselves the elements of Viṣṇuism and Tantrism, as the *wife* of Jagannātha, as Lakṣmī who stood by the side of her husband Puruṣottama who was conceived of as dallying with her as an ordinary human being.

We have, in other words, an unbroken series of evidences right from the 9th century onward till the beginning of the 16th century which convincingly demonstrate that the principal deities in the Jagannātha temple have been considered to have a husband-wife relationship and this relationship is emphasized by conceiving a love sport between them.

BALABHADRA INTRODUCED LATER AS AN ADDITIONAL FIGURE

The existence of a second male god ("Balabhadra") and the interpretation of the female deity as the 'sister' of the both cannot, therefore, be original and he must be a later introduction. This shall be treated in detail below in Ch. 10.

We may summarise the results of the above discussion in the following manner :

1. Puruṣottama in 8th to 10th centuries was a god who had a predominently erotic character. He is an outcome of the influence of the Tantric and Vajrayānic ideas on Viṣṇuism. He combines in himself the worship of Viṣṇu and Kāma; that is why the use of the *Kāmabīja* 'klīṃ' in his worship even now.
2. Puruṣottama encompasses all the aspects of Viṣṇu which are associated with love and love-making. Kṛṣṇa is thus brought into association with Puruṣottama, becomes first a subordinate aspect of him (the stage in *Śāradātilakā*), but—
3. Later, with the spread of Kṛṣṇa cult in eastern India under the impact of the South Indian Viṣṇuism, Puruṣottama turns into and interpreted as Kṛṣṇa only. His erotic aspect is gradually pushed into background and considered as a special, extra-ordinary feature of Kṛṣṇa-worship (*Kramadīpikā*, *Gautamīyatantram* etc.).
4. The *Jagannātha* epithet of Puruṣottama, however, not only remains but also enjoys increasing popularity till it eclipses the term Puruṣottama in later period in the vernacular literature and among the masses.
5. There were only two (neither more nor less!) deities—one male and one female—in the temple of Puruṣottama. The deities had their origin in Viṣṇuism, but their nature was strongly influenced by the contemporary Tantrism or Śaktism and the devotees conceived of them in a form in which both were united in an amorous posture, symbolising the eternal unity of the Lord with His Śakti or divine powers (omnipotence etc.).

This, incidentally, also seems to be the main reason behind the existence of several so-called 'obscene' figures on the outer walls of the Jagannātha temple which the present-day pilgrims mostly find 'shocking'. These figures showing always a couple in some amorous posture are completely in harmony with the deity inside.

A Hindu temple is a replica of the universe. Every man is Puruṣottama, every woman a Lakṣmī (pp. 55-56 above, cf. also *Viṣṇu-Pur.* 1.8.35; the deity is identical with the self, *Kramadīpika* 8.38a) and the eternal sport going on between them is the mystery of the creation and the mystery of the existence of the world.

CHAPTER III

EARLY TEMPLES OF JAGANNĀTHA IN ORISSA: THE FORMATIVE PHASE

H. v. Stietencron

The first problem connected with the early Jagannātha temples of Orissa is one of definition: What do we refer to by the term "Jagannātha temple"?

The title *Jagannātha* (Lord[1] of the World) itself is unspecific. It has been applied to Buddha,[2] to Śiva[3] and to Viṣṇu. Its uncompounded variant *Jagato-nātha* was similarly used for each of these three deities.[4] The same is true for its synonyms *Lokanātha* and *Lokeśvara*, which could be used for Śiva, Viṣṇu and a form of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara [5] Other titles like *Īśvara* (ruler) or *Parameśvara* (supreme ruler) were equally unspecified up to the post-Gupta period and could be applied both to Viṣṇu and Śiva. All these terms simply denote the all-embracing power of protection and Lordship vesting in the supreme god.

A tendency of change towards the exclusive use of these terms as specific appellation of only one deity makes itself vaguely felt in the last quarter of the first millennium A.D. And such exclusiveness is finally achieved in the beginning of the 14th century. By this time, the title *Īśvara* and its composite forms are used mainly for Śiva. After the decline of Buddhism in India and the absorption of its Mahāyāna remnants into Śaivism, Śiva also acquires monopoly on the title *Lokanātha*, whereas *Jagannātha* becomes a term reserved for Viṣṇu alone.

[1]For the royal attribute *nātha* "Protector" see J. Gonda, 1969, p. 4f. Protection implies power and Lordship. The title therefore soon assumes the general meaning "Lord" in which sense the term is rendered here.

[2]Notably by Indrabhūti in his Jñānasiddhi, (Gaekwads Oriental Series Edition) I, 1; I, 27; I, 92; II, 28; V, 8.

[3]*Nāradapañcarātra* (Jñānāmṛtasāra), *Bibliotheca Indica* No. 38, II. 5, 1 etc.

[4]The application of this title to Śiva Madhukeśvara in the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara has been pointed out elsewhere.

[5]B. Bhattacharyya 1958, p. 130ff.

It appears that the decisive factor in bringing about the correlation of *Jagannātha* with Viṣṇu was Śāktism and more particularly the enormous popularity of one of its most important texts, the *Devī-Māhātmya*. This text which was composed by a gifted poet in the late Gupta or early medieval period[6] and thereafter became an integral part of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, refers in its first chapter to Viṣṇu as Jagannātha.[7] Its influence was considerable, as can be proved by the countless images of the goddess in her various aspects which are inspired by the descriptions of the *Devī-Māhātmya*. And it was mainly due to this text that the combination of the title *Jagannātha* with Viṣṇu became known throughout India. But in the *Devī-Māhātmya*, the reference is to Viṣṇu as primordial deity, sleeping on the cosmic waters. It is not to the particular god enshrined in a temple at Puri or elsewhere, nor to Puri's wooden images of unique and unmistakable shape which later became constitutive for all Jagannātha temples in India.

The application of the term *Jagannātha* to Viṣṇu in his particular manifestation in Puri occurs for the first time in the inscriptions of Bhānudeva II in the early 14th century.[8] Only then has the *title* become a *name* and it is exclusively used for the Puri god and for copies or representatives of him in other parts of the country, all having the same characteristic shape.

Prior to the end of the 13th century—or more precisely prior to A.D. 1278—the god in Puri was called *Puruṣottama*.[9] There occurred important changes in the cult of the god and his outer appearance also changed drastically. But, nevertheless, it is certain that *Jagannātha* was heir to *Puruṣottama* in Puri, carrying on a tradition which was surprisingly open to change within its strong flow of general continuity. Therefore, if in a strict sense we applied the term "Jagannātha temple" only to temples after ca. A D. 1300, we would miss the most important phase of the rise to inter-regional fame of the Puri god. We obviously have to extend the term to include the Puruṣottama temple of Puri and its precursors.

The Jagannātha temples in a strict sense of the term (i.e. after A.D. 1300) are distinguished by their cult images made of wood and representing Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balabhadra, often with the addition of the *Sudarśana-Cakra* to complete

[6] F.E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Introduction, p. XII and XX; V.S. Agrawala, 1963, p. IV-XI. The cultural elements which Agrawala adduces to prove that the redaction of the *Devīmāhātmya* "had been finalised by the time of Chandragupta Vikramāditya at the end of the 4th century A.D." are not conclusive, since they all continued to occur at least to the 7th century where they are found e.g. in the *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacaritra*. The Poem was known to Bhavabhūti (Pargiter, p. XX) and is therefore prior to the beginning of the 8th century.

[7] I, 70: *uttasthau ca jagannāthas tayā mukto janārdanaḥ|*
ekārṇave 'hiśayanāt tataḥ sa dadṛśe ca tau||

[8] Śrīkūram temple inscription, dated Śaka 1231 = 1309 A.D. Simhācalam inscription of Śaka 1241 = 1319 A.D. (See D.C. Sircar, 1946 and 1952a).

[9] He is so named not only in all the inscriptions of the early Gaṅga rulers, but also in the *praśasti* of the Anantavāsudeva temple, composed in 1278 A.D. This temple, as a copy of the Puri temple, was also dedicated to Puruṣottama: (*prāsādam puruṣottamasya* = Vers 21; OHRJ, 1/4 1953, p. 284).

the fourfold form (*caturdhāmūrti*) of the god. But this combined wooden image did not initially belong to Puruṣottama temples. Nor was the combination compulsive: The Wooden God was also installed in temples without his brother and sister, all by himself—and this was probably an earlier aspect of the Wooden God, as we shall presently see. His name, when alone, was *Dadhivāmana*. The origin and meaning of this name are as yet unknown. Speculations connecting it with the child Kṛṣṇa (*vāmana*) stealing curds (*dadhi*), or with Balarāma who is Kṛṣṇa (*vāmana*) in white colour (*dadhi*), are equally unconvincing. Nor does the correlation with an ancient king named Dahivāhana[10] seem to be helpful. It is more likely that *Dadhivāmana* is a distorted Sanskrit adaptation of the original name of the Wooden God and that its original form must be sought for in the languages of the tribals of Orissa and northern Andhra Pradesh.

We will therefore further extend the term "Jagannātha temple" to the temples of Dadhivāmana, dedicated to the Wooden God alone. A much later form of the god in which he was installed singly as "Purifier of the Fallen Ones" (Oḍiyā: *Patitapābana*=Skr. *Patitapāvana*) does not enter into the period of early Jagannātha temples with which we are concerned here.

THE TEMPLE OF YAYĀTI I KEŚARĪ

As I have shown above in chapter I, it is possible that Yayāti I built a temple of Puruṣottama in Puri. Viṣṇuism did in fact advance more powerfully than before into the coastal areas of the Mahanadi delta during Yayāti's time. It spread particularly to various places in the Prācī valley where an old nucleus of Viṣṇu worship had prepared the ground for its propagation. Although remnants of the first Puruṣottama temple in Puri have not yet been found, I have shown in chapter 1 on the basis of inscriptional and literary evidence that such a temple existed at least in the 11th century, and on the basis of archaeological evidence that the time was ripe for such a temple to be built since the beginning of the 10th century.

Without entering again into details of the very complex and controversial question of the dates of Yayāti I and Yayāti II[11], I shall briefly state here a few points which are relevant for the dating of the first Puruṣottama temple at Puri.

In A.D. 934 the Baudh region in the middle Mahanadi valley was still in possession of the Bhañja rulers of Khiñjali. They were vassals of the Bhauma Dynasty whose era they used.[12] The conquest of this region by the Somavaṃśīs must,

[10] For the Jain king Dahivāhaṇa of Campā see Abhidhāna Rājendra Kośa Vol, IV. s.v. According to tradition there was also a Jain king Dahivāhaṇa in Kaliṅga. About king Dadhivāhaṇa of Kāśī see the Dadhivāhan Jātaka.

[11] K.C. Panigrahi 1961 b, pp. 1-20; 31ff.
S.N. Rajaguru, IO, Vol. IV, pp. 359-404
S.C. De, OHRJ, Vol. XII/2, pp. 60-68
D.C. Sircar, HCIP, Vol. IV, p. 145ff; V, p. 209ff.

[12] Two inscriptions of Śatrubhañja are dated in Bhauma era 198=934 A.D.

have occurred after 934. The further conquest of Utkala and the consolidation of power there could have been achieved only after 940 A.D. which is the last known date of the last-but-one Bhauma queen[13], and probably after 949 A.D. which is the last known use of the Bhauma Era.[14] The *terminus post quem* for the victorious ruler to build a Puruṣottama temple at Puri is therefore 949 A.D.

Since inscriptions and literary works prove beyond doubt the existence of Puruṣottama in Puri at least in the 11th century we may give some credence also to the legendary accounts about this temple and to the traditions preserved in the temple chronicle *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*. The latter's reliability in matters of political history has rightly been questioned. But there is no need to reject its statements about the history of the god as long as they are corroborated by other independant sources. The legend knows of a temple built by Indrayumna (king of Mālava) which later disappeared in the sands.[15] The temple chronicle states that the temple was built by Yayāti Kesarī and consecrated in the 13th (or 59th) *aṅka* of his reign.[16] It measured 38 *hasta* in height[17] and it was in a delapidated condition when the present temple was built.[18]

I have shown above Ch. I that if the tradition about Yayāti as builder of the temple is accepted, it probably refers to Yayāti I. In this connection the height of the temple as mentioned in the chronicle is significant—if at all it has been transmitted correctly. It surpasses the height of the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar by ca. 6 meters. Since all later temples are taller this is a fairly reliable indication of the Puri temple's chronological position. Its increase against the Mukteśvara would suggest that it was built after the Mukteśvara which belongs to the middle of the 10th century. This agrees with the *terminus post quem*, established above as 949 A.D. The existence of remnants of a temple in the Mukteśvara style built into the compound wall of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple at Puri furnishes a proof of approximately contemporary building activities of the Somavaṃśīs in Bhubaneswar and Puri. Of course these sculptural fragments cannot be assigned to the undiscovered Puruṣottama temple of Yayāti, unless further evidence is adduced by the removal of the plaster from the Puri temples and by excavations in various spots of Puri town.

According to the chronicle, the images installed in the temple by Yayāti were made of wood. The account states that 144 years before Yayāti a conqueror named Raktabāhu invaded Puri.[19] The priests, however, succeeded in carrying away in

[13] Juscription of Vakulamāhādevī (EI, XXXVI, p. 310).

[14] Orissa Museum plates of Neṭṭabhañjadeva dated according to S.N. Rajaguru in the Bhauma Era 213. IO, Vol. IV, p. 386 and note 37; OHRJ, Vol. V/3-4, p. 71 and note 11.

[15] For a detailed discussion of the Indradyumna legend see R. Geib, 1975.

[16] 13th aṅka according to the 1st Pāñji 59th aṅka according to the 2nd Pāñji, *Mādalā Pāñjī*, 1969, p. 6.

[17] Loc. cit. p. 6. This corresponds to ca. 17.5 meter (One *hasta*=24 *aṅgula*=ca. 18 inches)

[18] Loc. cit. p 30. The ruined temple of Yayāti was pulled down and the great temple erected —according to this text—by Anaṅgabhīma III instead of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva. This confusion arose because Anaṅgabhīma built the Puruṣottama temple in Cuttack.

[19] *Mādalā Pāñjī*, Prāchī ed. pp. 4-5.

time . . . the god (who was entitled *Parameśvara*!) and in burying him near Sonepur. For 144 years the god remained hidden and almost forgotten until Yayāti gave order to trace the place where the Highest Lord had been buried. Nobody knew the exact spot but finally a sacred tree was pointed out, underneath which the god was supposed to lie. This tree was felled and people dug under its roots. The god was found. His images, however, were disfigured due to the long period they remained underground. Thereupon new images were made from the wood of the tree and installed in Puri.[20]

We have reasons to doubt that this information corresponds fully to the truth. It speaks of the combined images of the Lords which represent a rather late stage in the development of the cult. And it shows all the signs of a deliberate attempt by the author of this account to produce a *post factum* justification for the unusual wooden images in a Hindu temple (the god had disappeared but a holy tree had grown on his former body), to prove their antiquity (already Yayāti ordered them to be carved), to provide an explanation for the fact that certain aspects of the cult were introduced from the Sonepur area of Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, the homeland of Yayāti (the god had been carried from Puri to hide there), and to push further back the antiquity of the cult (if nobody knew the god at the time of Yayāti, this was only due to the disappearance of the cult for ca. 5 generations after a military disaster. But in reality the cult was older: It had existed before from time immemorial).

Nevertheless, two of the details in this account may be correct:

(a) The relation of the god at one stage of his history with Dakṣiṇa-Kosala. It was also in this area where among the Śabara tribe a few ritual experts could be found who still knew how to prepare, install and worship images of the Wooden God. Thus both the tree out of which the images were carved and the ritual experts belonged to the Sonepur area of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. Whether this tradition reaches as far back as the Somavaṃśī period is difficult to say. The Somavaṃśīs ruled in that area. But the tradition occurring in so late a work as the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* is not recorded in early texts. It may refer to a much later period. In 1568 the Muslim forces under the general Kālapahaḍ desecrated the Jagannātha temple and destroyed its images. The cult was extinct for about 20 years before king Rāmacandra of Khurda ordered new images to be made. He re established the cult first in Khurda, from where the deities were brought back to Puri in 1590.[21] The account of the *Mādalā Pāñjī* may well refer to this event. That king Rāmacandra was actually praised as a *new* (*abhinava*) Indradyumna for re-introducing the cult may have given the author of the account an opportunity to sanction the renewal of the images with the authority of a long tradition. He transposed it into the

[20] Loc. cit., p. 5.
[21] H. Kulke, chapter 17.

remote past, connecting it with Yayāti who, significantly, received the epithet of *second* Indradyumna. The equation thus cleverly achieved between Rāmacandra and Yayāti certainly also served to link and equate Yayāti's fame as founder of the Somavaṃśī dynasty with that of Rāmacandra, the founder of the Khurda dynasty of Orissa. The renewal of the images as well as their relation to priests and ritual techniques from the upper Mahanadi valley and possibly of Khond origin[22] may therefore essentially relate to the late 16th century.

Except for the late conception of the "images of the Lords" we have no absolute proof that the Yayāti tradition is entirely an invention of the 16th century. But the introduction of ritual experts and their gods in the time of Yayāti I seems unlikely also for another reason. It—is stressed in the next—chapter that the Hinduization usually operates on a locally or regionally important autochthonous god and retains local priests of the originally tribal community in the service of the god. In Puri the pattern should have been similar. The introduction of tribal priests and their god from elsewhere would, therefore, appear as improbable in Yayāti's time. At a much later period, when the cult had been a stately affair of kings and brahmins for many centuries and the population in the coastal area had been completely absorbed into Hinduism, it may have been necessary to revert to tribals of another region to learn from them how to create new images of the ancient type, since the original images had been destroyed. And it cannot be totally excluded that the periodical repetition of the Navakalevara ritual in the Jagannātha cult was introduced only after the first destruction of the images by Muslim iconoclasts. The physical destruction of the body of God was thereby reduced to a normal cyclic occurrence which did not imply a disruption of continuty or a loss of its divine nature.

(b) The invasion by an army from the West prior to Yayāti. Military raids into Orissa from the West have occurred relatively often, if the many claims to have subdued Kaliṅga and Utkala in inscriptions of various rulers of the Deccan and central India are to be believed. The raid of Raktabāhu has been identified by K.C. Panigrahi with a military expedition of the army of Govinda III Rāṣṭrakūṭa between 805 and 815 A.D.[23] By adding the 144 years which are said to have elapsed since the Raktabāhu invasion one would get sometime between 949 and 959 for the erection of Yayāti's temple in Puri, a date which agrees perfectly with the *terminus post quem* mentioned above and places the temple roughly

[22] The Khonds and communities originally related to the Khonds are the only groups practicing a ritual renewal of wooden posts today, as A. Eschmann has shown in chapter 14. That the ritual experts are said to be Śabaras may result from an effort to link them with the Śabaras of the earlier Indradyumna legend.

[23] K.C. Panigrahi 1961a, p. 246.

between 950 and 960. This would imply that the year 949 A.D. marks also the *terminus post quem* for Murāri's Anargharāghavam.

While seeking to extract historical information from legendary tradition, we may also take note of one important element recurring in different versions of the Indradyumna legend. It describes king Indradyumna as a colonizer. He came as a conqueror or, according to later version, as a pilgrim.[24] In both cases he came *with his entire people* and settled down in Orissa.[25] He founded the temple of Viṣṇu (Puruṣottama or Nīlamādhava or Jagannātha) in Puri.

Now the only foreign powers from the West who not only raided the country but remained long enough to build a temple and established themselves permanently *by settling down with their people and administration* in the centre of coastal Orissa were the Somavaṃśīs under Yayāti I plus Yayāti II[26] and the imperial Gaṅgas under Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva. Both, Yayāti I and Coḍagaṅga, were distinguished as builders of Puruṣottama temples at Puri. The Indradyumna legend, while patently describing in its different portions the achievements of all three rulers combined into one mythical person, plays with four stages of development which are projected into the past, but none of which belongs to a pre-Yayāti period.

1. The conqueror comes and builds a temple (Yayāti I).
2. He settles down with his ministers and citizens in coastal Orissa (Yayāti II).
3. The temple decays. The deity disappears in the sands—(late Somavaṃśī period).
4. A (new) conqueror comes, finds the image gone and builds a new temple. He also settles down with his ministers and citizens (Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva).

By identifying stages 1 and 4, the situation of stage 4 (an earlier temple is remembered and an image has disappeared) is grafted on stage 1. Thus the Vaiṣṇava writers succeed in creating the impression that a still earlier temple preceded the one of Yayāti, the image of which was buried under earth long time ago. R. Geib, in his otherwise excellent analysis of the Indradyumna legend, thought that "this conqueror was, perhaps, a late Gupta king. At all events he lived before Yayāti (that is before 950 A.D.)".[27] It goes to the credit of the comparatively late Vaiṣṇava adaptors of the

24 In *Padma Purāṇa*, the Pilgrim King is Ratnagrīva from Kāñcī.

25 *Brahma Purāṇa*, 42, 16-84; *Skanda Purāṇa*, 2.2, 10, 48-2, 2, 14, 50; *Padma Purāṇa* 5, 17, 38-5, 22, 55; *Deuḷa Toḷā* 191-235. R. Geib, 1975, p. 53f; 55; 82f; 161f.

26 Yayāti I, after stabilizing his power in Utkala, seems to have continued to rule from Dakṣiṇa Kośala. He probably delegated the administration of Utkala to his brother Vicitravīrya, whose son Abhimanyu and grandson Yayāti II could claim a right on it. Yayāti II was the first Somavaṃśī ruler to shift the center of the empire from Dakṣiṇa Kośala to Utkala. The legend combines the two Yayātis into one person.

27 R. Geib, 1975, p. 179.

earlier Śaiva Indradyumna legend that they succeeded in impressing the antiquity of the foundation of a Viṣṇu cult in Puri even on so penetrating a mind as Dr. Geib's. But I think this impression is wrong: I have shown in chapter 1 that there existed no Puruṣottama or Nīlamādhava temple in Puri prior to the 10th century.

Next to the date of the first Puruṣottama temple, which we have fixed at 949-959 A.D., the most important question relates to the image of the god installed in this temple. The following possibilities must be considered:

1. The image was made of stone. It was
   (a) a four-armed standing Vāsudeva image, later called Nīlamādhava;
   (b) an image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (Kamalā-Puruṣottama) showing the four-armed, seated Viṣṇu with his wife sitting on his left thigh or at his left side and looking at her husband's face. This image was also called Nīlamādhava in later times.
2. The image was made of wood in primitive fashion. It represented:
   (a) one single two-armed god Puruṣottama;
   (b) Puruṣottama and Lakṣmī as two separate images;
   (c) Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā as three separate images.

The pre-Gaṅga inscriptions referred to in chapter 1 mention only the one god Puruṣottama without describing his form. Only the Kalidindi Grant of Rājarāja I, while speaking of the creator Brahmā, says that he originated from the Lotus, which rose from the navel of Puruṣottama at Śrīdhāma. This reflects a literary topos and is probably no description of the Puri image, although it testifies to the existence of Puruṣottama Śrīdhāma (=Puri) at that time. We therefore have to rely entirely on other literary sources. The Brahma Purāṇa describes the image of Puruṣottama which Indradyumna intends to worship and for which he is going to erect the first Puruṣottama temple in Puri exactly in conformity to the stone images mentioned under 1.a): The god is four-armed, holding conch, disc and club in his hands. His eyes are long in the shape of the petal of a lotus flower. He is clad in yellow garments and wears a garland of forest flowers (*vanamālā*). A *śrīvatsa* is on his chest and he is adorned with a jewelled crown (*mukuṭa*) and with rings on his arms (*aṅgada*).[28] Statues of this type are among the most famous early cult images of Viṣṇu found in Orissa.[29] They are made of blue *muguni* stone and worshipped as Nīlamādhava (=blue Mādhava) in several temples, the oldest being the Nīlamādhava temple at Gandharāḍi in the Mahānadī valley (See fig. 49). It is significant that the *Padma Purāṇa*, when referring to the God Puruṣottama who has disappeared from Puri together with his blue mountain (i.e. his

[28] *Brahma Purāṇa* 42, 14b-15:
pītavastraṃ caturbāhuṃ śaṅkhacakragadādharam||
vanamālāvṛtoraskaṃ padmapattrāyatekṣaṇam|
śrīvatsoraḥsamāyuktaṃ mukuṭāṅgadaśobhitam||

[29] Only the image of Mudgala-Mādhava described above p, 007A is of greater antiquity than this type.

temple), describes him also as four-armed, surrounded by attendants,[30] but without consort or brother or sister.

An entirely different description of Puruṣottama is found in Murāri's *Anargharāghava-nāṭakam*,[31] and in several texts belonging to the Gaṅga period, notably the *Gītagovinda* (12th century)[32], the *Utkalakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (early 14th century)[33], the *Kramadīpikā* (middle 14th century)[34] and some Jagannātha passages of the *Rudrayāmalatantra* (probably 14th century).[35] Most of these passages have been quoted and commented upon by G.C. Tripathi in the foregoing chapter (No. 2). They describe Puruṣottama clearly in the form listed above under 1.b: Puruṣottama, seated on a lion throne, is joined with his consort Kamalā (Lakṣmī). The god is four-armed, wearing crown and all ornaments. He carries a lotus (*padma*) in his upper right and the disk (*cakra*) in his upper left hand. With his lower left arm he embraces his consort Kamalā who is sitting on his left thigh, pressing her slightly against himself and touching her left breast with his hand, while his right lower hand is raised towards her breast in amorous play. The goddess who is also fully adorned with ornaments, has put her right arm around his neck, her hand resting gracefully on his right shoulder. With her left hand she, too, holds a lotus flower. And she is looking at his face which is lovingly turned towards her.

Stone images of this type, iconographically known as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa or Kamalā-Puruṣottama, but locally also called Mādhava or Nīlamādhava, are found in Orissa in the early Gaṅga period[36] (See fig. 51). They are clearly made in imitation of similar Hara-Pārvatī images of the late Somavaṃśī period which in turn derive from somewhat differently conceived Hara-Pārvatī images of the Bhauma period.

30 *Padma Purāṇa* 4, 22, 20-22. The god re-appears in a vision together with the blue mountain for the sake of his devotee who ascends to Viṣṇu's heaven after having seen the deity.

31 Act I, after the opening prayer:
kamalā-kuca-kalaśa-keli-kastūrikā-patrāṅkurasya bhagavataḥ Puruṣottamasya. . . .

32 *Gītagovinda* 1, 2, 1: *śrita-kamalā-kuca-maṇḍala . . .*

33 *Utkalakhaṇḍa* 5, 9cd-10ab:
vāmapārvśe sthitāṃ lakṣmiṃ vāmenāliṅgya bahunā
nāgavallīdallaṃ baddham ādadānaṃ śriyā hṛtam
Utkalakhaṇḍa 10, 17-37, particularly 10, 33cd-34:
vāmapārśvagatā lakṣmīr āśliṣṭā padmapāṇinā
vallakīvādanaparā bhagavanmukhalocanā
sarvalāvaṇyavasatiḥ sarvālaṅkārabhūṣitā

34 8, 34-36a:
nijavāmoruniṣaṇṇāṃ śliṣyantīṃ vāmahastadhṛtanalinām/
klidyadyoniṃ kamalāṃ madanamadavyākulojjvalāṅgalatām//
surucirabhūṣaṇamālyānulepanāṃ susitavasanaparivītām/
nijamukhakamalavyāpṛtacatulāsitanayanamadhukarāṃ taruṇīṃ//
śliṣyantaṃ vāmabhujadaṇḍena dṛdhaṃ dhṛtekṣucāpena/
see above chapter 2, p. 51.

35 *jagannāthaṃ kamalorugataṃ harim*, cited by K.N. Mahapatra, OHRJ, vol. III/1, p. 11.

36 A particularly beautiful image of this type is installed in a ruined temple near Chaurasi in the Prācī valley (See fig. 51).

The images of Puruṣottama with Kamalā as well as the texts describing them obviously represent a second stage in the history of Viṣṇu worship in Orissa. They superseded the standing Vāsudeva images probably in consequence of the Puruṣottama concept as evolved in the *Śāradātilaka Tantra* which laid special stress on the amorous aspect of Puruṣottama.[37] The *Śāradātilaka* which according to J. Gonda originated in Kaśmīr in the 11th century[38] gained great popularity in Orissa and greatly influenced the Jagannātha cult in the following centuries.[39] Its description of Puruṣottama with Kamalā refers to the same type of image.[40]

The earliest literary sources describing the god as made of wood (*dārurūpī*) or as consisting of three images (Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā) seem to belong to the Gaṅga period from the 13th century onwards.[41] They again represent different stages of development.

Since we can trace a development from four-armed standing Vāsudeva (Nīlamādhava) cult images to sitting four-armed Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (Kamalā-Puruṣottama) cult images both in the sculptural art of Orissa and in the literary sources, and since these literary sources describe the Vāsudeva as the *earlier image* which had disappeared by the time of the reconstruction of the Puruṣottama temple by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, we are tempted to assume that a single standing four armed stone image of Vāsudeva/Puruṣottama was installed in the first Puruṣottama temple at Puri, which we have attributed to the time of Yayāti I Keśarī.

Before we accept this assumption as justified, we should carefully examine the possibility that all literary descriptions of the god are based entirely on the creative freedom of poets whose power of imagination could have transformed the rough wooden post actually enshrined in the temple into a brahmanic idol of ideal shape. These literary descriptions, being written in Sanskrit and intended for Hindu devotees, could thus be explained as a deliberate imaginary transformation of reality. They might be intended to reduce the shock of the Hindu devotee when confronted with a crude idol of tribal origin, by mentally evoking its Hindu shape. Such mental realization or visualization of the deity is a general practice in Hindu meditation and ritual. Therefore the description of the god in the available texts need not necessarily reflect the actual physical appearance of his Puri image.

The correlation of the literary description with the historically available Viṣṇu images of Orissa does, therefore, not afford an absolute proof regarding the shape of the

[37] For a detailed account of this concept see above, Tripathi, chapter 2.

[38] J. Gonda, 1963, p. 28, note 9. The author Lakṣmaṇadeśika seems to have been a contemporary of Abhinavagupta, since both were pupils of Utpaladeva.

[39] cf. above chapter 2.

[40] *Śāradātilaka* 17, 31:

devaṃ Śrīpuruṣottamaṃ kamalayā svāṅkasthayā paṅkajaṃ
bibhratyā parirabdham ambujarucā tasyāṃ nibaddhekṣaṇam/

[41] Jagannātha passages in *Brahma Purāṇa, Skanda Purāṇa, Tantrayāmala*, and later Oḍiya literature including the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*.

original icons in Puri. But it does give us a reliable indication for putting the text in a relative chronological order. All passages visualizing the god as a single standing four-armed image are certainly earlier than the passages describing him in the form of a seated image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa or Puruṣottama-Kamalā.

In one of the next chapters the evolution of the Jagannātha triad will be traced on the assumption that the Wooden God was at the center of the Puruṣottama cult of Puri from the very beginning. The assumption is mainly based on considerations regarding the continuity of the cult and its ritual. The actual images in the Jagannātha temple are made of wood. From a ritualistic point of view, the assumption that an exchange of crude wooden images for an earlier brahmanical stone image of Viṣṇu/Puruṣottama might have taken place at any time in the cult's history seems extremely difficult if not impossible to accept. Yet in order to postulate this continuity of the cult, the testimony of the texts which actually mention at length the replacement of the stone image by wooden images has to be set aside. On the basis of a critical analysis of the Indradyumna legend R. Geib has tried to prove that such a transfer of the cult was indeed a historical fact.[42] There are a number of additional reasons which seem to imply that a transfer from stone image to wooden image might have taken place and that a Hindu Puruṣottama cult was joined with a formerly independent cult of the Wooden God. I will adduce a few of these reasons here. They do not establish an alternative possibility for the development of Jagannātha beyond doubt. They only go to show that we are not yet in a position to trace the god's development with absolute certainty. It will take several more years until critical editions of all the relevant texts including many of the Tantras are prepared and a final evaluation becomes possible.

I have already referred to the literary evidence. The passages describing Puruṣottama as a four-armed Hindu god belong to different texts, originated possibly in different regions, and were written at different times. In their account of events they differ in various ways because they trace the origin of the cult to different semi-historic personalities, most identified with Indradyumna. That they are unanimous about the original stone image cannot be easily explained by mutual dependence. As mentioned above, it can be explained as a vision of Puruṣottama's usual shape in Hindu sculpture. But it is equally possible that the descriptions were based on actual perception.

While none of the early inscriptions mentions the wooden form of Puruṣottama, the later texts do refer to it. Suddenly an effort of the authors to prove the identity of the Wooden God with the Hindu Kṛṣṇa becomes explicit. They refer to the shape of the god as actually seen by the pilgrim and trace its origin either to an earlier stone image which has disappeared and on top of which the divine tree has grown, or to a divine form of Viṣṇu coming from the mythical island *śvetadvīpa* by floating in the ocean and being washed ashore, or by recognizing in the wooden log the body of Kṛṣṇa who was killed by Jarā the hunter, and thrown into the sea. It is evident that the motivation of the authors of these later passages was in fact to bridge

[42] R. Geib, 1975.

the gap between the expectation of Hindu pilgrims and the reality of the crude image of Jagannātha. They did so very effectively. If the same motivation had guided the authors of the earlier series of texts they would deserve to be blamed for their lack of skill and for their wrong method. But when comparing the two sets of texts—one describing the four-armed god Puruṣottama, the other describing the Wooden God and establishing his relation to the earlier Puruṣottama—it appears that they belong to entirely different categories: In the earlier group of texts there apparently was not yet any need to explain the existence of a wooden image.

The structure pattern of Hinduization as outlined in the following chapters shows that the rise of a Hinduized god to more than local importance is usually connected with the direct patronage of a chief or king. As H. Kulke has shown (chapters 7 and 8), this stage of Hinduization under royal patronage has an immediate legitimatory task to fulfill. By acknowledging a locally or regionally worshipped god of tribal origin and by raising him to the rank of a state deity, the king receives legitimation for his rule and assures the submission and loyal support of the god's devotees. There are reasons to doubt whether such a process of Hinduization under royal patronage could have taken place in the Somavaṃśī period when the first temple of Puruṣottama was built in Puri. All known instances of Hinduization under royal patronage in Orissa have one aspect in common. They all ensure the status of the Hinduized tribal deity as supreme deity in the territory ruled over by the Hindu chief or king who uses the Hinduized god for his legitimation. Whether he is only a local chief, or controls the whole region, or even an empire, the basic pattern is always the same. In the two latter cases the deity will become the state deity of the feudal state or of the empire respectively. Such a development cannot be seen in the case of the Somavaṃśīs. Puruṣottama was not their state deity. The Somavaṃśīs worshipped Śiva as a state deity and built for him the famous temple of Kṛttivāsa Liṅgarāja in Bhubaneswar. Puruṣottama of Puri was obviously not involved in their legitimation. Therefore, if the rise to more than local importance of Puruṣottama was at all the result of a Hinduization process, it could only have occurred prior to the Somavaṃśīs. But there it is still less likely. I have already pointed out that Śāktism and Śaivism were prominent in the Bhauma-Kara period and that Bhairava was worshipped widely, even in Puri itself. The Śaiva phase in the development of Jagannātha which I mentioned in chapter 6, probably belongs to this time. None of this can explain the fame of Puruṣottama in the Somavaṃśī period. There seems to be only one plausible explanation. It is simple enough. Among Hindus the god Puruṣottama had been worshipped since the Gupta times. There is no need to explain his presence by a Hinduization process. The Puri temple of Puruṣottama was apparently a purely Hindu shrine, built in recognition of the existing Vaiṣṇava community.[43] It had nothing to do with the tribal god.

The iconographic development of the peculiar form of Jagannātha yields another indication that the Wooden God was possibly not installed in the first Puruṣottama temple. It will be shown below (chapters 5 and 6) that both Bhairava

[43] See Chapter 1.

and Narasiṃha have left their traces in the iconography and ritual of Jagannātha. The identification with Narasiṃha seems to be the later of these two stages.— If the Wooden God was identified with Narasiṃha and if Yayāti Keśarī wanted to build a temple for him, would he not have logically have built a temple for Narasiṃha as a Hindu representative of the Wooden God? Neither Vāsudeva/Puruṣottama nor Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa would have originated on the sea-shore in Puri. The poets would have described the god in his Narasiṃha form if they referred to the Wooden God in his idealistic Hindu transformation. But there is only one passage in the Utkalakhaṇḍa of Skanda Purāṇa where such a vision of Narasiṃha is actually described.[44]

In view of these arguments it appears possible that the early Puruṣottama temple of Puri was a purely Hindu shrine, and did in fact contain, as the tradition has it, a standing Viṣṇu image. The evolution of the Wooden God from Bhairava to Narasiṃha may have taken place at a different level outside the temple sphere. Since both Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas claimed this god for themselves, he was certainly popular. At the same time it is likely that the Hindu Puruṣottama temple decayed and the cult was indeed disrupted or greatly reduced for a considerable length of time. Both the purāṇic account and inscriptional evidence prove that the first temple had already been in decay before Anantavarman conquered Orissa. The new temple was completed only towards the end of the 12th century as will be presently shown. Thus there was a period of at least 80 years during which the cult subsisted—if at all—on a reduced scale. By the end of this period a revival of the Puruṣottama cult could well have been accompanied by a combination of the cult of the Wooden God with that of the Hindu Puruṣottama. Such an amalgamation of two cults out of which one was living and popular, the other almost extinct but replete with the memory of an ancient glory, required royal authority and certainly involved the legitimatory aspects mentioned above.

The scenery for such a process of transformation requiring:

1. a pre-existing Brahmanic Puruṣottama cult in neglected state,
2. a pre-existing semi-tribal cult of a wooden god Bhairava/Narasiṃha, and
3. a conqueror who is a powerful monarch and requires legitimation by joining two cults,

was set for the first time in the Gaṅga period. Its different elements developed independently in the Somavaṃśī period. The intention to join them should be attributed to Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva. It was put into practice only in a later generation.

ANANTAVARMAN COḌAGAṄGADEVA'S GREAT TEMPLE OF PURUṢOTTAMA/JAGANNĀTHA IN PURI

The situation in Puri at the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva's conquest of Utkala may be briefly summed up as follows. The famous Puruṣottama temple of

[44] *Utkalakhaṇḍa*, Adhayaya 28.

Yayāti Keśarī was in a delapidated condition and its image probably covered by sands. The rulers of the Somavaṃśī dynasty had spent their fortunes in building magnificent temples of Śiva, especially the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar which was to be the imperial symbol of their power and was, in fact, the highest building in India at the time of its construction. But the financial drain caused by the construction of this temple seems to have reduced the military power of the Somavaṃśīs. The rulers of this dynasty found themselves engaged in constant battles against the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga in the south and against the Pālas of Bengal in the north. Their fortunes were rapidly declining. And in their futile efforts to defend themselves against the growing pressure from north and south, the last weak kings had neither time nor money to spend on the repair of the Puruṣottama temple in Puri. The conqueror Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, therefore, could accomplish in Puri an important religious task which his last Somavaṃśī predecessors on the throne of Utkala had failed to perform:[45] He started to rebuild the temple, and by doing so he gained the favour and support of the Vaiṣṇavas. Viṣṇuism was rapidly spreading in Utkala at this period and he deliberately based his newly acquired power in the country on this rising movement.

In the years just preceding 1135 A.D. Coḍagaṅga was fully engaged in defending his newly acquired vast empire. In the north-west he was threatened by the ambition of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II of Tummāna whose advance into the Utkala territory could be checked only with difficulty by 1135.[46] In the south he had to fight against the Cōḷas in order to protect the southern border of Kaliṅga on the Godavari river. For achieving more effective control of his northern dominions he also had to shift his capital from Kaliṅga to Utkala which was now in the center of his empire. The capital was moved to a strategical position near the base of the Mahanadi delta, probably to Sāraṅgagaḍa[47] south of Cuttack. It was only afterwards that he began with the reconstruction of the Puruṣottama temple.

The foundation of the great temple follows a period of political stress and was certainly intended as a consolidating factor in internal politics.[48] It is possible that the king built the temple with the intention of combining in it the cult of the Wooden God with that of Puruṣottama. That he worshipped the Wooden God seems likely in view of the fact that his wife erected a temple for the Wooden God shortly after her husband's death. That temple was dedicated to Dadhivāmana, not to Puruṣottama.[49] It appears that the final identification of Dadhivāmana with Puruṣot-

[45] The statement that earlier kings had neglected the building of the Puruṣottama temple occurs in the Dasgoba Plates of Rājarāja III, dated 1198 A.D., and is repeated in the later inscriptions of the Gaṅga family. The relevant verse is quoted and translated on p. 85 below.

[46] See Kulke below chapter 8.

[47] Saraṅgagaḍa was built by Coḍagaṅga, as the name (a corruption for Cuḍaṅgagaḍa) indicates. Whether this fort or the fort at Choudwar on the northern bank of the Mahānadī river was the main residence of the king, is not absolutely certain. Some scholars even think that his residence was at Jājpur.

[48] See Kulke below chapter 8.

[49] See below p. 77f.

tama could only be achieved after the great temple was completed. Only at that moment the ritual integration of the two cults could come to pass.

Was the great Puri temple completed during the lifetime of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva? Orissan scholars have been astonishingly unanimous on this issue. They know of the existence of a traditional verse, current in Orissa and quoted in various older texts, which attributes the erection of the temple to Anaṅgabhīma and gives the date of its completion as Śaka 1119=1197 A.D.[50] Inspite of this verse they all agree that the temple was built and completed by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva. The year 1197 A.D. falls into the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II, the fourth of the sons of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva who ruled successively in Utkala. The scholars are inclined to think that in the above traditional verse there is a confusiòn with Anaṅgabhīma III, grandson of Anaṅgabhīma II, who built a temple of Jagannātha in Cuttack in 1230 A.D.[51]

The conviction that Coḍagaṅgadeva completed the temple is based on the evidence of two inscriptional passages. One of them occurs for the first time in the Dasgoba copperplate grant of Rajaraja III, grandson of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, which was issued in 1198 A.D. The verse is repeated in later inscriptions. My translation of the verse is as follows:

> "What king, verily, is able to build a temple for that Puruṣottama
> whose two feet are the earth and the entire space his navel,
> whose two ears are all directions,
> whose pair of eyes the couple of sun and moon
> and, lastly, whose skull is that sky (above)?"
> So thinking, this temple had been passed over (lit. overlooked) by previous kings.
> (But) then Gaṅgeśvara built it.[52]

Since the term Gaṅgeśvara refers to Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, this inscription attributes the construction of the Puruṣottama temple to the great founder of the imperial Gaṅga Dynasty.

[50] The verse which is grammatically defective, is quoted as follows:
śākābde randhra-śubhrāṃśu-rūpa-nakṣatranāyake/
prāsādaṃ kārayāmāsā'naṅgabhīmena dhīmatā//
(*Mandirer Kathā* I, p. 143; IO, vol. III/2, p. 399, etc.)

[51] See above chapter 1.

[52] EI, vol. XXXI, p. 255, Vers 27 in lines 45-47 of the inscription:
Pādau tasya dharāntarīkṣam-akhilaṃ nābhiś-ca sarvā diśaḥ
śrotre netrayugaṃ ravīnduyugalaṃ mūrddhāpi ca dyaur-asau/
prāsādaṃ puruṣottamasya nṛpatiḥ ko nāma karttuṃ kṣamas
tasyety-ādyanṛpair-upekṣitam ayaṃ cakre' tha gaṅgeśvaraḥ//
Noteworthly early translations are the following:
M.M. Chakravati: 1895 (read 1891) p. 153 (partly wrong translation.) N.N. Vasu: 1896, p. 261 (Very free translation or rather free commentary on the text, sub tantially correct.)
M.M. Chakravarti: 1898, p. 328 (Much improved translation, often quoted.)

The second inscriptional passage, contained in the same record, refers to the coronation of Jaṭeśvara Kāmārṇava VII, eldest son of Coḍagaṅga. Kāmārṇava's coronation took place in Śaka 1069=1147 A.D.[53] The verse contains the epithet *sarvalokaikanātha* which the Orissan scholars took to refer to Jagannātha/Puruṣottama. The common opinion of Orissan scholars, therefore, is that Kāmārṇava VII was crowned at Puruṣottama-Puri before the god Sarvalōkaikanātha or Jagannātha. The Jagannātha temple, therefore, must have been completed by 1147 A.D.[54]

This argument however, which has been repeated over and again, is based on a wrong translation of the text. The epithet *sarvalokaikanātha* does not refer to a god in front of whom the coronation took place, but clearly and unequivocally to the king himself. The passage should be translated as follows:

"When this glorious ruler Kāmārṇava, the only lord of the entire people, the son of the best of kings, was consecrated (as king) at an auspicious time of the śaka year measured by the moon (1), the sky (0), the seasons (6) and the Nandas (9) (śaka 1069)[55] when the sun stood in (the zodiacal sign) Sagittarius, the multitude of other planets was strong (favourable) and the enemies had met with their destruction—then this world was filled with joy about it."

This verse does not contain any hint at the completion of Coḍagaṅga's Puruṣottama temple, nor does it say that Kāmārṇava was crowned in Puri.

Gaṅgeśvara certainly started building the great temple, but he probably did not live to see its completion. The *Utkalakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* mentions the *garbhapratiṣṭhā* of the temple.[56] This term has been wrongly taken to denote the consecration of the temple. But this is not so. It refers to a stage in the building of the main temple tower when the foundations have been built and the level of the *garbhagṛha* is reached. Now the interior space of the *garbhagṛha* which also determines the width of the uppermost portion of the temple tower, is precisely measured. The first layer of stones for its walls are joined with utmost care. And the rite of *garbhapratiṣṭhā* is performed.[57] It is only after completion of this rite that work starts on the raising of the temple walls. The *Utkalakhaṇḍa* tells us that this work was not yet completed when the king "ascended to heaven", i.e. died. It describes how the king while in heaven is worried about the proper continution of the building activities.[58]

[53] Dr. D.C. Sircar, the editor of this plate, read the date as *nandartuvyomacandrapramitaśakasamā*, corresponding to śaka 1069=1147 A.D. All the later inscriptions in which the verse is repeated have the reading *vedartu* . . . which changes the date to śaka 1064=1142 A.D. Since the later varsions were known first, the coronation of Kāmārṇava was generally accepted as having occurred in 1142. But this creates the difficulty that Kamāṛnava reigned prior to his father's death which occurred in 1147. S.N. Rajaguru tries to explain this situation (IO, vol. III/2, p. 397) but it is much simpler and more logical to accept with Dr. Sircar the first occurrence of the date in the Dasgoba plates as correct, while the later repetitions may be based on a faulty copy.

[54] S.N. Rajaguru, 1972, p. 39, IO, vol. III/2, p. 399.

[55] see note 49.

[56] *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Utkalakhaṇḍa* 21, 44

[57] The term is not identical with *garbhādhāna* For the latter see St. Kramrich, 1946, vol. 1, p. 126ff.

[58] Loc. cit. 22, 13-14; R. Geib 1975 p. 99.

It also states that the *(mukha-)śālā* was built much later when the king had come back from heaven.[59] Since the text also seems to indicate that the progress on the temple construction was slow after Coḍagaṅga's death, it seems likely that the temple was indeed only completed towards the end of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II as the traditional verse quoted above indicates. The mukhaśālā must have been added still later, possibly by Rājarāja or Anaṅgabhīma III. The Nāṭamaṇḍapa was added after the 13th century and the Bhogamaṇḍapa was an addition of the 15th century.

It is to be noted that the great temple is mentioned for the first time in the Dasgoba copperplate grant of Rājarāja III, son of Anaṅgabhīma II. This also strengthens our view that Anaṅgabhīma II probably completed and consecrated the main temple tower begun by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva.

Recently the Archaeological Survey of India has started removing the age-old plaster from the temples in the Jagannātha compound in Puri. The work was undertaken first on the Lakṣmī temple which is considered to be contemporary with the main temple. The Lakṣmī temple proved to be fully decorated with sculpture and architectural ornaments. The removal of the plaster from the Jagannātha temple itself will show whether my proposed date for the completion of the temple can be confirmed. The experience with the Lakṣmī temple renders such a result very likely.[60]

If the date of the temple proves to be considerably later than hitherto assumed, the period of non-existence of a Puruṣottama temple in Puri is prolonged by 50 years. During this time the wooden images were not yet installed in the temple, even if it was intended to house them. According to the Indradyumna legend there was a stone image of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa or Kamalā-Puruṣottama type in Puri which was worshipped in the intermediate period between Indradyumna's ascent to heaven and his return, i.e. between the death of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva and the consecration of the temple by Anaṅgabhīma II. This image was removed to a small shrine at the west of the main temple after the wooden images were installed. It was probably never in the main temple, where the wooden deity was installed after the completion of the temple. But it had served to guarantee the continuity of the cult during a long period of homelessness of the cult. The literary works are probably right when they describe Puruṣottama or Nīlamādhava in this form. The stone image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (Puruṣottama-Kamalā) was the immediate predecessor of the Wooden God.

THE TEMPLE OF DADHIVĀMANA IN TEKKALI

After the death of Anantavarman Coḍganagadeva, his wife Kasturikāmodinī built the 3rd temple of Jagannātha in Tekkali (today situated in Andhra Pradesh), east of Coḍagaṅga's first capital Kaliṅganagara. The temple was erected in 1150 A.D. and

[59] *Utkalakhaṇḍa* 26, 2.
[60] For a more detailed discussion see H.v. Stietencron, 1977.

dedicated to the god Dadhivāmana.[61] The dedication reveals that it was not the trinity of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā that was installed in the temple, but only the image of one wooden god.

The fact that Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva's chief queen built a Dadhivāmana temple in the homeland of her deceased husband immediately after his death seems to me to be a rather strong indication that Coḍagaṅga had worshipped this god. Since his name is preserved in Tekkali at this early period, I have said above that Dadhivāmana—or rather the tribal from of this sanskritized name—was the original name of the Wooden God.

Since the original Wooden God was alone, it was possible to continue to build temples for the single Wooden God even after a trinitarian image had been introduced in Puri. Today there are 344 temples dedicated to Dadhivāmana in Orissa. Originally they do not represent a selection of one out of three wooden images but rather a perpetuation of the original state of the god. It is significant and perfectly fits into the pattern of innovation in religious matters, that the further evolution and change of the image occurred under royal influence in the imperial temple of the Gaṅgas at Puri

It was under Anaṅgabhīma III that the decisive reinterpretion took place which attempted to integrate the major deities of Orissa into the Jagannātha cult. This development which raised Jagannātha to a supreme position will be described in capter 10.

[61] The inscription of queed Kasturikāmodini was noticed by T.C. Rath (*Utkala Sahitya*, vol. 21, No. 10, sal 1325, p. 473) and discussed by Rāja L.N.H. Jagadeva (*Bhañja Pradīpa*, Oriya quarterly, vol. XI/3, sal 1349, p. 15); K.N. Mahapatra, 1971, p. 86f.

[62] See also H. Kulke 1975; chapter III, 1.

CHAPTER IV

HINDUIZATION OF TRIBAL DEITIES IN ORISSA : THE ŚĀKTA AND ŚAIVA TYPOLOGY

A. Eschmann

INTRODUCTION

Hinduism has an extraordinary capacity to incorporate and amalgamate other religions and alien cults. This is possible because of two basic Hindu doctrines: that God or Brahman is within everything, and can therefore appear everywhere, and that whoever is born in India is essentially a Hindu. In modern times, since the nineteenth century, that capacity of incorporation has been considerably amplified and applied to religions outside India as well. This led to the concept of Hinduism's "inclusivism".[1] As referred to tribal and folk religion in India, the process of their gradual incorporation into Hinduism has been defined as "Aryanization" and "Sanskritization".[2] It shall be called "Hinduization" here in order to emphasise its general character: Hinduization may occur everywhere and without any direct impact from either Sanskrit or Aryans.[3]

The incorporation of aboriginal cults has occurred in Hinduism from the very beginnings. However, such incorporations became particularly prevalent in post-Buddhist times. So much so that some of these incorporated elements became

[1] cf. Hacker, 1961, p. 366f.

[2] Srinivas, 1952, p. 30. For a detailed discussion of the terms "Sanskritization" and "Aryanization", see Kulke, 1976.

[3] Staal 1962. As to the possible objection, that the concept of Hinduization is "apt to suggest, that many of the lower castes are not Hindus, which is not true" (Barnabas, 1961, p. 613 quoted by Kulke, 1976, p. 3). it should be emphasized, that the term is used here first of all as opposed to the tribal religions, which are indeed not Hindu. Secondly it is referred to, as a gradual process, becomming more and more intense, the nearer it approaches to the minimum standards of "High Religion" (see note 5), which has been defined as the level of temple worship (see below).

integral parts of Hindu doctrine and practice. To cite only one example: the most important features of the mythology and the cult of Durgā developed only in early medieval times, obviously taking up autochthonous elements. The sacrifice offered to Devī, for instance, is totally unlike the vedic form of sacrifice and even occasionally retains the idea of human sacrifice.[4]

The fact that Hinduization was particularly frequent and intense in medieval times has two main reasons: the rising Bhakti cults brought a new religious impetus, which emphasising the omnipresence of the divine, was universalistic in its outlook. Secondly, its new institutions, the temples, became agents of Hinduization, and received by royal patronage. The Jagannātha temple is a striking example of such a development: one of the most important temples of India, patronised by many kings, enshrines a deity of tribal origin. The fame of the temple within the Hindu world has grown considerably since medieval times, and the peculiar iconography of its main images still testify to the important role which Hinduization must have played in the formation of the Jagannātha cult.

The political aspect of Hinduization within the framework of the royal temple policy will be dealt with subsequently (Kulke, chapter 7). The aim of this study is to analyse Hinduization as a process of religious change and to trace its impact on the development of the Jagannātha cult and the regional tradition of Orissa. The present and the next chapter will consider mainly the iconological and iconographical aspects of Hinduization whereas the ritual side will be discussed in the chapter on Prototypes of the Navakalevara Ritual.

HINDUISM AND TRIBAL RELIGIONS: FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENCES

To understand the dynamics of Hinduization it is necessary to see the basic functional differences between tribal religions and Hinduism, as well as the different levels through which this process acts. Hinduism in its codified form is naturally different in many respects from tribal religions. They may be said to represent different types of religion altogether.[5] However, as both types of religion are linked to each other through Hinduization, some of their aspects have to be compared. In this context, one main functional difference plays an important role: the way in which the presence of the deity is mediated to the devotees.

In Hinduism, it is mostly an image through which the deity appears and can be approached by men. Since post-Buddhist times, the gods literally "descended" to their believers, taking place in space—in an image (*mūrti*) and in particular sacred places (*tīrtha*)—and in time—at particular festivals. The possibility to visit and to "see" (*darśana*) the gods at certain places and times was and is one of the great attractions

[4] cf. Nandi, 1973, p. 141f.

[5] In Comparative Religion the great or "High" religions (*Hoch-religionen*) are usually opposed to the "Natural" eligions (*Naturreligionen*) or "primitive" religions. The term *animism*, introduced by Tylor in the nineteenth century, implies a whole theory of religion and its origin, and is therefore not used here. For a discussion of the term and its history see Waardenburg, 1973, p. 32ff.

of the temple cult. Theologically, of course, the god is never entirely identical with his image—he is essentially beyond and above. By descending, or partially descending into the image, the deity voluntarily enables men to approach her.

The real presence of the deity in her image is ritually ascertained by the performance of the sixteen "services" (*upacāra*), commonly called *pūjā* ("worship"). The first *upacāra*, consists of calling the deity, or inviting her (*āvāhana*) and to offer her a seat (*āsana*). After purifications of the priest and of one of the main ingredients of the ritual, water, the god is welcomed and made comfortable, as if he were a respected guest or a king. Water is purified (*arghya*), the feet of the deity are washed (*pādya*), and some water is offered her to cleanse her mouth (*ācamana*). After offering light refreshment (*madhuparka*) the toilet of the deity, so to speak, begins. The image is given a bath (*snāna*), is clothed (*vastra*) and invested with the sacred thread (*upavīta*). Then offerings are presented: sandalpaste (*gandha*), flowers (*puṣpa*), incense (*dhūpa*), a lamp (*dīpa*), something to eat (*naivedya*). Finally the worshipper bows to the Deity (*vandana*) and utters pleasing words to her. It is only after the presence of the deity in the image has been ascertained, that the devotees are admitted to its presence—at the earliest when the offerings begin, usually only for the last two *upacāras*. They mark the communion between the deity and the devotee: a lamp is brought out of the *sanctum* and offered to the devotees (*nīrājanā*), and the image is circumambulated (*pradakṣiṇa*).[6]

The function of the image, to mediate the presence of the deity, is mostly expressed also in its iconography: Most Hindu temple images are anthropomorphic and render a certain aspect of the deity in every detail.

In important temples, the *upacāras* are offered as often as five times a day. The presence of the God, whom the devotees come to "see" is dependant on the *upacāras* being offered as often as possible. Regular, frequent and elaborate rituals are therefore a main feature of Hindu temple cult.

The vital importance, which is attached to the regular and frequent performance of the ritual, naturally tends to develop more and more complicated rituals, and this again calls for a great number of executants. Division of labour and a complex, possibly hierarchical, social organization amongst the priests is another consequence.

As opposed to that, "in tribal India, anthropomorphic images of the gods are rare".[7] Tribal shrines may be completely empty (see fig. 60), or else contain uniconical symbols—wooden posts, earthen posts—or elementary symbols like stones and trees. But it is not to this symbol that the function, held by a properly worshipped image in Hinduism, is conferred. This function in tribal religion is with a living man. It is he, who conveys the very presence of the deity when possessed by her. Through him the deity speaks and confronts her believers. As the presence of the deity is

[6] Cf. Kane, 1941, II, p. 729ff. The sequence and nature of the *upacāras* differ slightly from region to region. Those performed in the Jagannātha cult are discussed by Tripathi below, chapter 15.

[7] Elwin, 1955, p. 577.

rendered by a human being, one might say that in a way, anthropomorphic images are not needed.

The human medium may become possessed by the deity at any time: it happens spontaneously and whenever it is needed or wished for. Therefore regularity in the performance of ritual is much less important to tribal religions than to Hinduism. Tribal cults are centered in the sacrifices. Sacrifices are offered at times of need and at very large intervals near the symbols of the deity. As in the vedic sacrifice it is to the place rather than to the specific image or symbol, that the gods are called in order to partake of the sacrifice.

The comparison shows, that those features which are of vital importance to Hinduism, namely regular and frequent performance of worship with all its consequences, are so to speak not, or only to a lesser degree, needed in tribal religions. where the deity manifests herself and is approached not through an image, but through a living person. Hinduization acts in between codified Hinduism and tribal religions Itis therefore bound to combine and transform these main functional characteristics of both types of religion. Within this process several main stages can be distinguished.

LEVELS OF HINDUIZATION IN REGIONAL TRADITION

Hinduization may be defined as a continuum operating in both ways between the two poles of tribal religion and codified or "High" Hinduism. The character of a continuum is as important as the fact, that the process of Hinduization acts in both ways: it does not only mean that tribal elements are incorporated into Hinduism, but also implies that features from Hinduism are integrated into tribal cults.[8] Strictly speaking, only the ends or poles of that continuum can be defined: Tribal religion is found in the cults of entirely or almost entirely tribal communities. "High" Hinduism is represented in those great temples where worship is performed according to the rules codified in the scriptures, and which are generally recognized by all Hindus. This polarity suggests an application of the complementary concepts of "great" and "little tradition"[9]. But these two realms are usually not directly confronted to each other, they are combined through several intermediary stages within one special regional tradition.

[8] Mc Kim Marriot, 1955, p. 197; Gonda, 1963, II, p. 11.

[9] The process of communication between the two levels as defined by Redfield, has become increasingly a subject of analysis; "This . . . is perhaps the most important conclusion of recent athropological studies of Hinduism. It suggests that the unity of Hinduism does not exclusively reside in an exemplary set of norms and scriptures, such as those defined by Sanskritic Hinduism, or in an alternative "lower level" popular Hinduism of the uncultivated masses. The unity is to be found rather in the continuities that can be traced in the concrete media of song, dance, play, sculpture, painting, religious story and rite that connect the rituals and beliefs of the villager with those of the townsman and urbanite, one region with another, and the educated with the uneducated" (Singer, 1972, p. 47). However, there has been a certain tendency to concentrate on one particular medium of communication.

According to its character of a twofold process, first traces of Hinduization may already be found in purely tribal communities. It depends on how close they live, or have lived with Hindu communities. But Hinduization acts intensely only on the level of Hindu village cults, that is in such village communities, where tribal groups constantly live together with caste Hindus[10]. The next decisive stage of Hinduization is reached, when an aboriginal cult—either from the intermediate state of a village cult, or directly from the tribal level—becomes incorporated into a Hindu temple. Such a temple is distinguished from the village cult by three characteristics: daily performance of *pūjā*, recognition by all castes and more than local importance.

But such a temple cult is in no way already identical with the "great tradition" as the codified standard of Hinduism generally accepted all over India. Though presenting the basic elements of Hindu temple worship, such a temple may still be quite distant from "high" Brahmanical standards, as displayed in the great temples of all-Indian importance. Being of more than local importance and accepted by all castes in a larger area does not mean, that such temples are recognized everywhere in the whole region let alone country. They may be said to be of subregional importance, and might often have been the focus of a "nuclear area" (see Kulke, chapter 7).

The temple level as here defined, means the attainment of a definite stage of Hinduism, but not necessarily the end of the process of Hinduization. The further development will be less and less a question of Hinduization in the strict sense of the word, but indeed of Brahmanization. A temple cult which is subject to such a further development—for instance through royal patronage—might raise to regional importance and thus become integral part of the highest level of Hinduism valid for all India.

The importance of the regional traditions[11] in Hinduism cannot be underestimated. It is perhaps best illustrated by the practice of the Hindu authoritative texts which lay down not only the general rules for the performance of rituals, but prescribe also different regional variations (*deśācāra*). These *deśācāra* practices are not folkloristic additions which might be observed or not. They are binding

[10] Dumont (1970, p. 23) has pointed out:" The term 'village god' is ambiguous because it can have the broader meaning of the gods who have their temples in the village (which has a social implication, opposing as it does the popular gods to the official gods of the Brahmanic temples), or more strictly it can signify the gods of the local community. There is a difference between the two, for in a village gods and temples are found, which interest only a part of the inhabitanis. There are lineage temples in a village with one and the same caste, and there are temples belonging to sundry castes in a multi-caste village". The term "village cult" is used here for a cult recognised and sponsored by the totality of a multicaste village, yet peculiar to it. Hinduization within a "lineage cult" is referred to below (see below Eschmann, chapter 14).

[11] It must be remembered that inspite of its basic unity, the extent of a region may vary considerably for different elements of culture. For instance, a regionally characteristical type of dance may be typical for a greater area than that defined by the common language etc. These different elements of regional cultures and their interrelations may be described by several models (cf. Vatsyayana, 1976, p. 15).

prescriptions for the valid performance of a ritual. As opposed to that, the observance of the "local custom" (*lokācāra*) is facultative.

If one applies this classification to the different stages of Hinduization, one can roughly say, that the process operates in the sphere of *lokācāra* up to the temple level. The subsequent intensification of Hinduization of Brahmanization takes place within the *deśācāra* sphere and may eventually even attend the general all-India level.

This complicated process of interaction can be illustrated with the help of a graphic model: The canonised all-India Hindu tradition is a circle being composed by the segments of the regional traditions which are represented by ellipses. The regional traditions again are composed of the segments of several ellipses representing the subregional traditions, which are again interlocked with several popular and tribal traditions and so on. The model of interlocked ellipses demonstrates, as far as that is graphically possible—the character of a continuum typical for the process of Hinduization. Each stage or realm of the process is thought of as an ellipse and has therefore two foci. The ellipses being interlocked, every focus is relevant simultaneously to two realms. One may identify the foci with the main stages of Hinduization as surveyed above: tribal cults. tribal cults with elements of Hinduization, Hindu village cults, temples of subregional importance, great temples of regional importance.

Acting through and within the several stages of Hinduization, there are common realms, where identical manifestations tend to appear, which may or may not be the outcome of a historical development. In the present context, the most important of these realms is Folk Religion. To give an example, the *grāma devī* (village goddess") of a Hindu village, worshipped in the shape of a stone under a tree, might have originally been a tribal goddess. Might but not must: every village, regardless of its present or past connection with tribal cults, has a *grāma devī* [12]. Features which have been typologically classified as "tribal", for instance *possession* may thus at any time occur anew within popular Hinduism.

The description of such a complicated and manifold process with the help of a graphic model is always dangerous, because of the inherent tendency of such a model to oversimplification. Above all it must be remembered, that the process of Hinduization is a continuum: the realms marked by the ellipses are not rigidly cut off from each other, but the transitions are fluid. Moreover, this is only *one* possible model of Hinduization. It might be amplified or reduced. Its different stages do not necessarily represent a historical sequence. For example there might be instances of Hinduization, where tribal cults are incorporated directly into a temple, without having gone through the intermediate stage of being associated with a village cult. Or the focus of a tribal cult without elements of Hinduization may not be existent at all, in which case the end of the chain would have to be imagined as a circle.

The regional traditions of Hinduism, as characterised by the special *deśācāra*

[12] see below note 19.

norms, developed in the medieval period, i.e. that time, when the incorporation of aboriginal elements was particularly frequent. The process of Hinduization is therefore almost paradoxically interrelated to the regional tradition in a double way. That Hindu tradition which is the frame of reference for Hinduization, is at the same time its product.

In Orissa, both relations between Hinduization and regional tradition can be studied simultaneously. Important centers of Orissa's religious tradition, as the Jagannātha temple, have admittedly developed from Hinduized cults, and still prominently display elements of tribal origin. Moreover the same tribes, whose cults were incorporated, are also still living as tribal and semitribal communities in the region, and Hinduization can be observed "in the making". A study of Hinduization in Orissa can thus combine field observations with historical analysis. An attempt to establish a typology of Hinduization, as it occurs today, will be helpful in tracing the evolution of Hinduization within and towards the regional tradition.

THE ŚĀKTA TYPOLOGY OF HINDUIZATION

An Association and eventual identification of tribal with Hindu deities is possible only when there is some basic correspondence between both. Therefore, the number of Hindu gods, which can play a role in Hinduization—at least in its initial stage—is limited. Most of the tribal cults in Orissa, which are important enough to be Hinduized, are related to a female deity, who protects the men, ascertains the fertility, and accepts blood sacrifice. It must be left to further studies to analyse, how far this predominance of female deities as subjects of Hinduization is a significant feature of the Orissa regional tradition.

The most frequent and in a way logical association or identification of such goddesses is towards Durgā. They can thus continue to accept animal sacrifice and to assure fertility, they may even retain their original names. Such a connection between a tribal goddess and Durgā, may start on a purely tribal level. In many Khond villages, for instance, there is no apparent Hinduization whatsoever, except for the fact, that when the post which represents the goddess (see figs. 62, 63), is renewed—which happens perhaps every thirty years—a Brahmin is called to impart the *prāṇa pratiṣṭhā-mantra* of *Vana Durgā* (the "Durgā of the woods") and thus theoretically acknowledges the post as a *mūrti*. Referring to the model of Hinduization drawn above such cults would form the Hinduized focus of the tribal elipse, as opposed to a "purely" tribal focus.

On the level of village cults, the iconological connection of these goddesses with the great Hindu mother goddess tends to be very loose. In most cases, the aboriginal goddess retains her name and her personality. With the exception of the *pratiṣṭhā mantras*, she is not immediately identified with Durgā or Kālī in her main aspect, but such a goddess may herself enter, or else be associated with that group

of goddesses who, like Maṅgalā, Pītabalī, Hiṅgulā, Bāunthī, and Stambheśvarī,[13] play an important role within the folk religion and regional tradition of Orissa. Some or even most of these are none but aboriginal deities which have been Hinduized in earlier times. Though not appearing in Brahmanical all Indian theology they "were acknowledged as members of the documented theology of the society in whose contact the tribes lived".[14]

Stambheśvarī is an excellent example for such an acknowledgement as well as for the double relationship between Hinduization and regional tradition. The goddess is known in Orissa since about 500 A.D., she was the tutelary deity of the Śulkī and the Bhañja dynasties (see below Kulke, chapter 8) and is still widely worshipped in Western Orissa[15]. Her name *Stambheśvarī*, oriya *Khambheśvarī*, "lady of the post" expresses the difficulty of Hindu theology to name a goddess who was represented by a post only. In some places the Stambheśvarī cults are indeed iconographically linked with wooden posts, as shall be seen below. But not everywhere: the goddess may also be worshipped through stones.[16] This is partly due to the complicated ritual necessary to renew the posts which cannot always be performed (see chapter 14). But it is also due to the fact that the name of the goddess has become so prevalent and familiar in Western Orissa that it is no more necessarily linked to the idea of a post.

The decisive step in the process of Hinduization which marks the level of the village shrine, is a consistent change in the ritual: the original symbol is ritually treated as an image in the Hindu sense, a *mūrti*, through the consistent performance of *pūjā*. The basic five *upacāras* viz. *gandha* (sandelpaste), *puṣpa* (flowers), *dhūpa* (incence), *dīpa* (lamp) and *naivedya* (something eatable), and sometimes also *snāna* (bath) are offered regularly though not daily.

The beginning of a change in the conception—from symbol to image—becomes particularly clear in the words of invocation spoken by a Khond priest who, on behalf of a village with mixed population, worships *Khambheśvarī* represented by a stone under a tree. This invocation, written down by the grandfather of the present priest[17], is in Oriya and contains verses as:

[13] These goddesses are widely worshipped on different levels all over Orissa. Pītabalī is found in multicaste villages, but also in almost entirely tribal areas in the Khond Mahals. Maṅgalā is worshipped almost in every village every tuesday on the open road, if there is no shrine for her. She has an important temple in Kakatpur which also plays a role in the Jagannātha cult (see Tripathi, Navakalevara, ch. 11 and Eschmann, Prototypes, ch. 12). Hiṅgulā is also widely worshipped in the villages, especially in April/May when fires are set up and also fire-walking is performed in her honour so that she may be *satisfied* and not cause the outbreak of fires during the hot season. She has an important shrine in Gopalprasad near Talcher, see below. Bāunthī is worshipped particularly in the villages of the Sonepur region. For Stambheśvarī see below.

[14] Nandi, 1973, p. 120.

[15] Cf. Majumdar, 1911; Patnayak, 1922; Nandi, 1973, p. 121ff; Kulke, 1975, p. 12ff.

[16] For instance in the shrine at Bamur, in the Angul area, Khambheśvarī is represented by a simple stone worshipped daily by a *dehuri* of the *śuddha* caste, a caste of tribal affiliation.

[17] Bīra Dehuri Khonda from the village Barimul in the area of Baramba.

Sindūra mantra:

"*Sindūra* (vermillion) adorns the forehead of the Goddess. With *sindūra* in your eye, please look on the world . . . Oh mother, in your eyes there is *kajjala*[18]. Oh . . . goddess, please come and sit here. I will offer you *bhoga*."

Mantra spoken while giving flowers (*phūladiā mantra*):

"Please take the sweet scented flowers. Take the garlands . . . and keep them round your neck. Oh mother Khambheśvarī, please come to this area. I salute you. . . ."

From the words alone one should suppose that an anthropomorphic image was addressed, but in fact the goddess is represented by a stone under a tree. The blending of the conception to call the goddess to the area in general, with the idea that she is indeed residing within her symbol-image which can be adorned as the body of human woman, is obvious.

As already mentioned, on the "village level" a diety of tribal origin may be worshipped as—or be associated with—the worship of the village goddess *grāmpatī* or *grāmdevī*. Her cult is of a very "tribal" typology: the goddess is represented by a uniconical symbol—which often can hardly be distinguished from its surroundings and is only occasionally worshipped with animal sacrifices by a non-Brahmin priest.[19] But in most of the cases the *grāmdevī* is separated from the goddess we are concerned with.

Such is the case in the example of the Khambheśvarī shrine mentioned above. Here the *pūjā*, i.e. the five *upacāras*, is given once every month on a day marked by the solar *saṃkrānti*. But the main festival takes place usually only once a year[20] or when a special need arises. It is then, that sacrifices are performed and that the deity appears through a human medium. After having worshipped the stone, the Khond priest himself will become *ubha* "possessed" (Fig. 94). Thereafter the priest performs the sacrifice and cooks the *bhoga* to be offered to the goddess, whereas the *bhoga* which at the end of the festival is to be shared by all, is cooked by a Brahmin specially called in for this purpose.

In other examples of Hinduized cults on village level a division of labour is often combined with a differentiation in caste: *dehuri* and *kālisī* (the person who becomes possessed) may belong to an accepted caste (often mālī "gardner") whose tribal origins can sometimes still be traced, whereas the killing of the sacrificial animals and the drumming is left to "Harijans".

Shrines with uniconical symbols as described above are frequently found in the Hindu villages. The outer appearance of the shrines, might differ—under the open sky or in mud-houses—and the frequency of offering *pūjā* can vary from a few times a year, over once a month, once a week—usually Tuesday[21]—to once a day (at noon).

[18] *Kajjala* (collyriam) is black soot used for the traditional Indian eye make-up.

[19] Cf. Whitehead, 1921; Crooke, 1925, p. 83ff.

[20] On a tuesday of the bright fortnight of *pauṣa*.

[21] Tuesday, in Oriya *maṅgalabāra*, is selected because it is sacred to the goddess Maṅgalā (see above note 13).

But essentially the ritual and the mode of worship remain the same: more or less elaborately the five *upacāras* are offered to the uniconical symbol of the goddess. At special occasions as festivals or situations of great need, animal sacrifices and *puñji* (heaps of uncooked rice) are offered and the goddess manifests herself through possessing a human being. The simultaneous occurrence of the two media conveying the presence of the deity—a symbol treated as image and a living person—is typical for this level of Hinduization and for popular religion altogether.

The functional equality of both these media is actually demonstrated in the Hiṅgulā shrine of Gopalprasad which is, so to speak, at the verge of the temple level being of more than local importance and generally recognized, but without daily *pūjā* (see Prototypes, p. 13). Here the *kālisī*, in order to be possessed by the deity, has to undergo the same ritual which is offered previously to the pebbles and poles which represent different goddesses. The *kālisī*, having fasted and put on new clothes, sits in front of the *dehuri*, who worships his limbs, pours water over him, then milk, then molasses, offers him incense, a lamp etc. and finally a garland which has been offered to the deity in the morning.[22] It is very impressive indeed to watch, how during this process the *kālisī* begins to tremble all over more and more strongly until in a wild dance he races towards the fire in which the goddess Hiṅgulā is thought to have appeared on this occasion.

Mostly the iconography of the uniconical symbols worshipped as *mūrtis* is not changed at this level. On the contrary, in village shrines, Hindu divinities, which are iconographically well defined, will often be represented by symbols, small heaps of mud, platforms, stones, posts or red marks only. Hanumān is very often thus represented, but one might even find three mud heaps or three stones to represent folk goddesses as well as the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and in the mind of some believers even both[23].

HINDUIZED GODDESSES ON TEMPLE LEVEL

As has been said above, the next decisive stage of Hinduization is reached when a temple is established for the cult of tribal origin. It has been said, that such a temple is defined by the occurrence of three elements: daily performance of *pūjā*, general acceptance by all castes and more than local importance. The existence of an elaborate daily *pūjā*, as required in a temple, is linked to the presence of land donations which ensure its performance. The attainment of the temple stage is thus dependent on donations which may be given by kings or other wealthy persons. Such donations,

[22] This practice recalls the use of the *ājñāmālā* "garland of command", which are offered to the Jagannātha figures and then taken by the Pati Mahapātra and the three chief Daitas before they set out to search for the new log at the beginning of the Navakalevara ritual (see below Tripathi, chapter 13).

[23] Such "images" of Hanumān are found for instance in Narsingpur and in the village Khuntapalli near Barpalli in the Sambalpur area. Mud heaps to represent goddesses and/or the Hindu trinity are found for instance on the roadside shortly before Konarak and South East of Daspalla.

which change the status of a cult, do still occur, as can be seen from the example of the Svapneśvara temple in Bainda built some years ago, which will be discussed below.

Worship at the temple level concentrates on the *mūrti*. Possession may occasionally occur, but basically the medium of the deity is supposed to be her image in the Hindu sense. It is therefore at this stage mainly, where the performance of *pūjā* is so much intensified, that the need for a "proper" image, at least basically corresponding to Hindu standards, becomes predominant.

There are two possibilities to satisfy this need: either a "proper" image—usually an image of Durgā or Cāmuṇḍā (Fig. 71) is just added to the symbol and may eventually totally replace it, or the symbol itself is changed in such a way as to look more like an image.

The first possibility is theoretically not limited to cases, where the Hinduization has led to an association of the tribal deity with Durgā, though mostly found in this realm. In many temples of Hinduized mother goddesses in the Hinterland, stones or pebbles are worshipped along with the main image in the *garbha gṛha*[24]. Frequently stones or wooden posts stand outside such temples or even in their compounds. Mostly these symbols are daily worshipped along with the main image. It is usually in front of them, that the sacrifice is performed, and to them the blood is offered and not to the main image, which on the contrary may be sheltered by closing the doors of the temple[25]. The symbols represent the main goddess, they are thought of as another *mūrti* of her or of a related gooddess, a "nonvegetarian sister". The tendency to separate the sacrifice from the main cult is evident and one might say natural at this stage of intensive Hinduization.

When the symbol of the goddess is a wooden post, there is a further possibility to combine images and symbols. The post may become the movable image (*calantī pratimā*) of the main image. For instance in the Samalāī temple at Sonepur, besides the main image, a wooden post, wrapped in a sari, represents the goddess Bāunthī and is daily worshipped along with Samalāī (see fig. 68). At Daśaharā this representation of Bāunthī visits the shrine of an old tribal deity, *Būḍhā Rājā*. Wrapped posts in the same function are found in Ranpur, representing the goddess Khilamuṇḍa (from Oriya *khila* "waste land" and *muṇḍa* "trunk") and in Banpur for Bhagavatīkāṭhi (Oriya *kāṭhi*, "piece of wood").[26]

It has been pointed out by Kulke[27] that the use of the original symbols of

[24] For instance in the temples of Somalāī in Patnagarh and Barpali (District Sambalpur) and in the Khambheśvarī temple of Aska.

[25] Stones as the representatives of the goddess, accepting sacrifices in her stead outside the main temple are found for instance in the Bhairavī temple in Puranacuttack (near Baudh), in the Maneśvara temple near Sambalpur and, in the Samalāī temple of Baragarh. Posts in the same function are found in the Bhileśvara temple in Huma (Sambalpur area), in the Patneśvarī temple in Sambalpur, in three temples of Sonepur (see below Eschmann, chapter 14).

[26] Cf. Kulke, 1975, p. 40f.

[27] Kulke, 1971.

the deity as *calanti pratimā* may explain the strange appearance of the *Sudarśana cakra*, the disc as weapon of Viṣṇu, worshipped along with the Jagannātha figures. The Puri Sudarśana bears no disc but consists of a wooden pole wrapped in cloth very similar to that in Sonepur. It is to be assumed, that the Puri Sudarśana was originally the *calantī pratimā* of Jagannātha. Indeed at some festivals (e.g. on the eighth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada) *sudarśana* has still this capacity, being carried around the city. Moreover, its iconology retains an early stage of the development of the Jagannātha theology, namely the identification with Narasiṃha.

In some cases, the new temple with the proper image and Brahmins to worship it, is constructed near the palace of the Hindu king, while the aboriginal symbol continues to be worshipped mostly by non Brahmin priests in the old place[28]. It may be, that this type of Hinduization, where a regular *mūrti* is added to the original symbol, is typical for Hinduization occurring under royal patronage, (see v. Stietencron, ch. 3). Under royal patronage, Hinduization may suddenly be imposed on a predominantly tribal community, and there might not have been time, so to speak to develop or anthropomorphize the original symbol itself. However, this possibility cannot be taken as a proof of the fact that Hinduization under royal patronage acted exclusively in this way. Royal patronage was mainly granted to local cults (see Kulke, ch. 7), whether already Hinduized or not, and may moreover also have induced the anthropomorphization of the symbol itself, as can be seen from the example of Samalāī in Sambalpur and Bargarh (see fig. 67).

The type of Hinduization at temple level, where a proper Hindu image is combined together with the aboriginal symbol, presents the least difficulties. There is no need for a special mythology or for iconological legends—the close association if not identification of the Hinduized goddess with Durgā is just emphasized by the Durgā image representing her. But iconological legends are needed and will be found in the second case, namely when the symbol itself is anthropomorphized.

The first requirement for an anthropomorphic image is certainly a head. Therfore the attempt to develop a simple stone into an image often starts from the notion of taking it for a head and supplying it with eyes. To offer a pair of eyes to a goddess, is a very current vow. One can thus find representations of goddesses consisting of stones actually covered with eyes[29]. A head by itself is often found representing Devī even in places where a full image could easily be set up, for instance, in the Svapneśvara temple in Bainda. The anthropomorphization of symbols into a head or a figure, whose most prominent feature is the head, thus corresponds to

28 For instance the cult of the goddess Maṇināgeśvari at Ranpur. As *iṣṭadevatā* of the king, she is worshipped through a bronze *mūrti* by Brahmins in the palace. Nevertheless, her original shrine still exists on the top of a hill, where a simple stone is worshipped—in former times perhaps with human sacrifices—by a priest called Harihara Jāni (for details see Kulke, 1975, chapter I, 3). As *jāni* is a current name for the Khonds in Western Orissa, the tribal affiliation of the priest is obvious.

29 For instance at the shrine of Kandā, Kandunī and Malvalī on the side of the trunk road south of Rambha (Ganjam). Cf. also the "additional" eyes of the Samalāī of Sambalpur. Eyes are also donated to Tārā Tāriṇī by pilgrims (see below).

—or has originated from—a particular popular iconography of Devī, obviously associated with the idea of sacrifice. The Hindu iconography shows Devī with garland of heads[30]. The head of sacrificial animal is often separately offered to the goddess, and in tribal cults and their Hinduized forms, even worshipped by the priest[31].

One of the most important temples in South Orissa enshrines two stones with silver eyes as main images. They represent the goddesses Tārā and Tāriṇī; two fully elaborated brass heads standing in between them, are their *calantī pratimā*. The fact that the "giving of the eyes" is an addition to the original symbol, necessitated by a ritual which at this stage constantly addresses the symbol as an antropomorphic image, is here beautifully exemplified. Every morning at the beginning of the elaborate *pūjā* the image character is, so to speak, dismanteled. The silver eyes are taken away to be kept by the priest, the red colour is washed down and for a moment the stones appear as what they really are. But immediately they are again covered with vermillion and given new eyes out of a stock continuously replenished by the pilgrims.

As the name (*tārā*) suggests, there are Buddhist elements in the cult of Tārā Tāriṇī which seem to suggest that the Hinduization was preceded by an incorporation of a tribal cult into Buddhism.[32] The aboriginal elements of the cult however, are still evident: At Daśaharā festival animals are sacrificed in front of the temple over a beautiful platform, and their blood is offered to the goddess within the *garbhagṛha*. No Brahmins are attached to the temple. Interestingly enough, there are two different legends to account for the extraordinary form of the image. One is an attempt to join the temple with the Brahmanical tradition by explaining it as one of the *śākta-pīṭhas* which originated from the limbs of the corpse of Devī or Satī. In his sorrow over the death of his wife, Śiva could not separate himself from her body and carried it with him all over India. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śani entered by *yoga* into the body and disposed of it gradually bit by bit: Wherever a limb fell, a *śākta-pīṭha* originated[33]. At Tārā Tāriṇī it is said, that her breasts fell and that this is the reason, why the two images have such a peculiar shape. The attempt to raise this *tīrtha* to the level of all Indian tradition seems to have been successful, at least there is one Tārā Tāriṇī mentioned in one of the Sanskrit lists of the *pīṭhas*[34].

30 Extremely interesting in this connection is the Gaṅgeśvarī temple in Gop near Konarak, where a head is worshipped. According to the local priest, this head represents a pig (boar?). The head is sculptured. There seem to be a relation between this "image" and the outer ornamentation of heads—apparently lion-heads. Vārāhī is represented as one of the *pārśva devatās*. Whether the Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī sculpture worshipped nearby originally stood within the temple is not clear. Unfortunately this beautiful temple is in a very bad condition.

Significant in the present context may perhaps also be, that the female figures represented at the outside of the *yoginī* temple in Hirapur, are standing on heads.

31 See below, Eschmann chapter 14, foot note 6.

32 A small Bodhisattva image is worshipped together with the goddess in the *garbha-gṛha*. Tāriṇī is also the name of a tribal or semitribal goddess worshipped in the Keunjhar area.

33 Cf. Sircar, 1973, p. 6f. and *Śrī Tārātāriṇī Debī Kṣetramahātmya* (Oriya) by one of her priests, Yogīraṇa Sebaka Bhuṣaṇa.

34 Sircar, 1973, p. 39.

The other story, locally told, is certainly the original, though not very clear. Its gist is, that Durgā herself appeared once upon a time in the form of two beautiful girls. After having lived for sometime in the house of Vāsu Prabharāja Arjhaka, they suddenly disappeared. Their foster father searched everywhere for them until they appeared to him in a dream and announced that "we have installed ourselves as a deity", and wished to be worshipped in the guise of stones on the top of the hill. The descendants of Vāsu Prabharāja Arjhaka are still the priests.

The legend in its present form is no more very elucidating. However, its main elements are clear: the goddess appears through a human being in a low class or even tribal surrounding. It is her order to be worshipped in surroundings by low caste people through a uniconical symbol. Her "sudden disappearance" may originally have referred to a sacrifice[35].

A further step in the development of Hinduized iconography is reached by the goddess Samalāī. According to her legend, the goddess was originally worshipped by tribes through a piece of rock under a tree near Sambalpur. She assisted the conqueror who became king of the place, and constructed a temple for her[36]. It can no more be established whether this "original" cult was merely tribal, as the legend says, or had already been Hinduized. However, the main image of the goddess is a stone with metal eyes. The shape and size of the stone is very peculiar, not only of imposing dimensions, but also with a protrusion which looks like a trunk.

Whenever the aboriginal symbol is Hinduized also in its iconography, it becomes the main worshipable image *mūla-bimba*, ("root image") of the cult. In Tārā Tārinī the two brass heads are almost of the same size as the stone-heads. But it is well understood, that the brass heads are only secondary. However, the goddess which is worshipped through an antropomorphized symbol in her main temple, is usually elsewhere represented by an ordinary *mūrti* of Durgā or Cāmuṇḍā. Samalāī is an exception. The peculiar shape of her stone-face has become an iconographical type of its own and is copied also in other temples. The main image in the Samalāī temple in Baragarh for instance, is a careful copy, which even exaggerates its features, mainly the trunk (fig. 67).

KHAMBHEŚVARĪ AND SUBHADRĀ

The examples surveyed so far have shown one iconographical similarity: the symbol which was turned into an image was always a stone. In view of the wooden Jagannātha figures, whose origin is to be traced, one has of course to look for examples where wooden posts have been anthropomorphized and converted into images. The

[35] A human sacrifice, i.e. a member of the tribe of the respective territory, who is killed and afterwards worshipped by the conquering Hindu king, is often recorded in the legends of Hinduized cults under royal patronage (cf. Kulke 1976b).

[36] An account of the legend is given in the Sambalpur Gazetteer 1971, p. 538. The present temple is said to have been built in 1691.

most important example is found in the Khambheśvari temple in Aska (Ganjam) (fig. 63).

The legend of the temple is very similar to the second legend of the Tārā Tāriṇī temple. As told by the priest[37], it says, that once upon a time a Ṛṣi Khambhamuni used to live there in the forest. The goddess Khambheśvarī appeared to him in a dream and expressed the desire to be worshipped by him. He agreed on the condition that she should live as a daughter in his house, which she did. People passing through the forest had their suspicions about the old man living alone with a beautiful girl. The old man first refused to put things right, but finally disclosed the secret of her true nature. The goddess convinced the people of the truth of this by miraculously escaping them. But thereafter she played mischief with her protector. She bought bangles, and let him pay for it and frightened him by suddenly appearing holding a baby cut into pieces in her arms. The old man finally became so annoyed, that he slapped her so that "her face turned to one side". Thereafter the goddess announced that her *bālya līlā* ("childhood play" or "disguise") was over, that the old man would die, and that she would be worshipped on the spot by one of his sons. The legend shows similar elements as the Tārā Tāriṇī legend: the goddess appears in a low-caste family, disappears suddenly with the order to be worshipped by the low caste or tribal people on the spot. The feature of the baby cut into pieces suggests the idea of human sacrifices or at least Tantric practices. In its present form the legend does not account for the peculiar nature of the image, but only for the affiliation of the priests, who are not Brahmins and call themselves *śūdra muniś*[38]. They worship the goddess according to a formula adapted to Vana Durgā, and offer her non-vegetarian *bhoga* cooked by them. On Daśaharā goats are sacrificed, and on that occasion the *bhoga* cooked by these "*śūdra*" priests is taken by all castes.

The main image of Aska is striking (fig. 63). It consists of a stone pole, which has been antropomorphized by the addition of a disk as head. Nose and mouth are slightly carved, the three eyes and the protruding tongue, as well as the nose ornament, are of gold. The image of Khambheśvarī confers both: the impression of a real Hindu image—whose body and limbs are mostly not to be seen because of the dresses and ornaments,—*and* the impression of the pole, whose form is still evident in spite of the dress. It is thus a very happy combination, much more impressive and striking than other attempts to combine symbol and image which can be seen on popular paintings in Parlakimedi where Khambheśvarī appears for instance as a human being somehow imprisoned in a post, her head and feet only protruding from it.[39] In Aska the

37 By the oldest member of the priest family, Rāmacandra Muni.

38 Interestingly enough, whereas the older priest uses the term *śūdra muni* in a matter of fact way, it is, if possible, avoided by the younger priests who very much prefer to say just *muni*. This change in language may be an indication as to how the tribal or low-caste origin of such a priest-family could be gradually overcome, or at least made less obvious.

39 Such an image is found for instance in a wall painting in the Nīlimā temple in Parlakhemundi. A painting, in which a similar figures of Khambheśvarī is seen together with Bhairava, Dekṣiṇa-Kālī and Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī is in the possession of Prof. Padmashri S.N. Rajguru.

symbol having thus become an image, is present as a symbol as well: In front of the main image, opposite the main door stands a wooden pole presiding over the sacrificial pit.

The figure of Khambheśvarī in Aska resembles very much the figure of Subhadrā in Puri (see fig. 21). There are only marginal differences: the shape of Subhadrā's head is slightly different, more oval, and the present Jagannātha figures all have a waist line, whereas the "body" of Khambheśvarī in Aska is a straight pole. As we know from the Konarak sculptures, the waist lines of the Jagannātha figures must be later additions (see fig. 38 and chapter 10). We can thus suppose that in ancient times, probably before Rāmacandra, (see Prototypes, chapter 12) of Subhadrā must have been even more similar to the Aska Khambheśvarī as today.

Subhadrā and Khambheśvarī are not only similar in their iconography, but also to a certain extent in their iconology. Subhadrā, is worshipped with the Bhuvaneśvarī mantra. She is thus, inspite of her appearance as a Vaiṣṇava goddess, basically identified with a śākta goddess. (see Tripathi, chapter 15).

As the worship of Khambheśvarī is known since the fifth century A.D. her Hinduized iconography might be taken as the prototype for the development which led to the Subhadrā figure.[40] Whether the process of Hinduization which led to the Subhadrā figure, could have taken place only in Western Orissa, where also the Khambheśvarī worship developed, or in Puri itself, will be discussed below (see chapter 10).

ŚAIVA TYPOLOGY OF HINDUIZATION

The examples of Hinduization so far surveyed, were all based on the association and eventual identification of the aboriginal goddesses with Devī or forms of Devī. Therefore, though the iconography might be changed considerably in order to comply with Hindu standards, and special legends to explain its peculiar look were needed, no essential change occurred in the iconology. But an association with Devī is not the only possibility of Hinduization. An association of an aboriginal deity with Śiva in his furious (*ugra*) aspects is theoretically equally possible.

It has been seen in the śākta typology, that the Hinduization on the level of village cults acts through an identification of the aboriginal goddess with a diety from the popular pantheon. In analogy to the fact, that the first step of iconological identification is not with Durgā or Kālī herself but with a popular deity believed to be an aspect of her, one would not usually expect to find a tribal deity being right away identified on the village level already with Maheśvara himself. One would expect here to find popular forms of Śiva mainly Bhairavas. But Bhairava, well known in this connection elsewhere in India[41] is conspicuous by his absence in Hinduized

[40] Without refering to this resemblance in the iconographic development, a link between Stambheśvarī and Subhadrā has been recently suggested by Mishra (1971, p. 15).

[41] How pastoral deities of undubitably tribal origin have been Hinduized by being thought of as Bhairavas, has been comprehensively analysed by G.D. Sontheimer (1976).

cults of Orissa.[42] An identification of tribal cults with Śiva on the village level is rare in Orissa. It might be possible, though, as seems to be indicated by several shrines near the trunk road leading through the Khond Mahals in the Phulbani district. Along the road which marks the presence of civilisation and Hindu culture, stone pillars have been set up to the same goddesses which in this region are mostly represented by wooden posts.[43] The form of the pillars resembles the usual form of the wooden posts and it is of course known that they stand for goddess, for instance Pītabalī and Khambheśvarī. Nevertheless, they are frequently and proudly referred to by the people as *liṅga*.

The example shows another problem of the Śaiva type of Hinduization in Orissa, namely that most of the deities to be Hinduized are female. The association with Śiva has therefore necessarily to be made over his association with Devī. Whenever she is worshipped, the worship of her husband can be quite naturally introduced as well. Thus we find the Śiva typology of Hinduization acting in Orissa mainly as a secondary development on the temple level. The worship of Śiva is added to that of the Hinduized Devī, as is very well exemplified in the shrine of Bāralā Ṭhākuraṇī in Balasgumpha (Phulbani). The shrine is, so to speak, on the verge of the temple level. It has daily *pūjā* and is of more than local importance, but only in the process of being accepted by all castes.

The outer appearance is that of a usual tribal shrine of this region (see fig. 60), but of imposing dimensions: an open mud house with thatched roof, a wooden post. The need for a worshipable image in the Hindu sense is satisfied here by adding a small temple, also a mud house, where Śiva and Pārvatī are worshipped. How much the main emphasis of the cult here still is with the worship of a female deity, is therein exemplified : Śiva is represented by a very small *liṅga* and the *śakti* is formed of mud. The dominating feature of this shrine, however, is the image of Pārvatī : a great head raised from the mud wall and painted vermillion. Though originally all of tribal stock, the priests by now belong to different groups; the *dehuri*, the main priest is a *śuddha* (a tribal caste), the *kālisi* and the *bāhuka* (the man who kills the sacrificial animal) only are pure Khonds.

This temple exemplifies very well one typical feature of the temple level of Hinduization; the rise from local to subregional importance of the deity. In other tribal or "mixed" areas, Bāralā Devī has a shrine and is worshipped in every village. Not so near Balasgumpha; there, in a considerable radius, the people of different villages go to *the* Bāralā Devī of Balasgumpha. This is a typical feature of what happened at the beginning of the establishment of many feudatory states—a local, but widespread cult was not only raised in status, but so to speak concentrated in one place through the temple built by the king, which became the centre of a "nuclear area" (see Kulke, chapter 7).

[42] Bhairavī is sometimes found in Hinduized cults in Orissa, for instance in Puranacuttack, in the Bhileśvara temple (see note 25), and in the Maneśvara temple near Sambalpur.

[43] For instance in the villages Khokarupalli and Madhupur,

Iconographically the transition from the original symbol of the goddess to a representation of Śiva is particularly easy. As opposed to most Hindu gods Śivas worshipable image is usually not anthropomorphic : the *liṅga* is an uniconic *mūrti*. Moreover the *liṅga* is always encircled by the *śakti*, so that one could say that this very *mūrti* constantly displays the unity of both, male and female. There is one variety of *liṅgas* which are predisposed for Hinduization and probably originated from the need to Hinduize: the "self originated" (*svayambhū*) *liṅga*. As opposed to the usual, carved and polished form, the *svayambhū liṅga* consists of a natural rock or stone encircled by a *śakti* (see fig. 65). This form of *liṅga* is considered to be particularly holy.[44]

Stones as uniconical symbols of aboriginal goddesses might thus just be reidentified as *svayambhū liṅgas*. The beginning of such a reidentification, may be seen in front of the Bhairavī temple in Puranacuttack (Phulbani). A rock, representing the goddess is encircled by a *śakti*, so as to look exactly like *svayambhū liṅga*, an arrangement which actually seems to call for an identification with Śiva-Bhairava.

A similar identification must have taken place at the Svapneśvara temple in Bainda,[45] where the Śiva worship has only recently dominated the worship of the mother goddesses. The temple for Svapneśvara in the usual Oriya style and of respectable proportions has been built in 1969 only along with a small shrine for Pārvatī through the donations of a rich merchant. The original shrine, a mud house now sadly decaying, is still standing nearby. Kālī is worshipped there, represented now by a *papiermaché* mask of a head. According to the priest,[46] it was here, that originally the *svayambhū liṅga*, now enshrined in the temple, stood. A replacement is indeed quite possible, as the *svayambhū liṅga* is a relatively small stone, surrounded by a *śakti* out of metal, which now, in the great temple, is set into another *śakti* built of concrete (see fig. 65).

In between the old shrine and the new temple nine goddesses represented with one exception by stones and posts[47] are worshipped by the non rahmanical priests: a *gauḍakṣatriya* and—acting as his substitute—a *mālī*. It is in front of those deities, that at Daśaharā or whenever it is needed, goats and possibly buffaloes are sacrificed.

In the further development, i.e. Brahmanization of such a temple, the cult of Śiva may become more and more dominant until finally banishing the practice of sacrifice at the outskirts of the temple or even totally, as can be observed in the Huma temple near Sambalpur and the two related temples built subsequently.[48]

[44] Cf. Gopinath Rao, 1971, I, I, p. 79 ff.

[45] On the road between Angul and Hindol.

[46] Kīrtan Mahapātra.

[47] Namely: Kālī and Maṅgalā (the posts of a swing), Maheśvarī (a post of *sāl* wood), Umā, Kātyayanī, Gauḍī, Bhairavī, Dakṣiṇa Kālī (stones) and Durgā (a coarse stone image).

[48] These temples as well as the whole problem of the śaiva typology of Hinduization in Orissa will be thoroughly discussed in my paper "Tribal Origins of Śaiva Temples in Orissa", in: "Religion and Change in South Asia" ed. by Fred M. Clothey, Amsterdam-Delhi (in preparation).

The most famous *svayambhū liṅga* worshipped in Orissa is the Liṅgarāja in Bhubaneswar, whose temple was built in the eleventh century.[49] The temple has two classes of priests: Brahmins and a class called *Baḍus* who are ranked as śūdras and said to be of tribal origin. Nevertheless, they are not only priests in this important temple; their duties bring them in the most intimate contact with the deity whose personal attendants they are. Only Baḍus are allowed to bathe the *Liṅgarāja* and to adorn him and at the times of festivals when the god, represented by his *calantī pratimā*, leaves the temple only Baḍus may carry this movable image. Without them, it is said, the god "cannot move one step". The Baḍus are of course not allowed any contact with the bhoga—indeed they have to leave the *garbagṛha* when it is offered to the god by a special class of the Brahmin attendants.

The temple legend, given in the Sanskrit *Ekāmrapurāṇa* a text probably composed in the fourteenth century, and two subsequent texts, the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* and the *Ekāmra-candrikā*, corroborate and "explain" the tribal origin of the cult. They indicate, that the deity was originally under a mango tree—hence the name *eka-āmra*—and it was not seen as a *liṅga* in the first two ages, Satya and Tretā. In the Dvāpara and Kali ages it revealed itself as liṅga but had no temple. Only when the king Śaśāṅka came and recognized the liṅga, he built the great temple. The Baḍus are described by the legend as tribals (*śabaras*) who originally inhabited the place and worshipped the liṅga under the tree.[50]

Whether in the case of Bhubaneswar there was, as in the other temples surveyed, an intermediary stage where the aboriginal deity was worshipped as a female Hindu deity, can only be ascertained by a thorough study of the Liṅgarāja cult.

In the present context two results of this brief survey on the Śaiva typology of Hindization are relevant: the cult of Bhubaneśvara, which competed with Puri for regional dominance (see Kulke, ch. 8 and Eschmann, Kulke, Tripathi, ch. 10), is a Hinduized cult as well. Secondly it could be shown that the śaiva typology of Hinduization in Orissa is mostly a secondary development, connected with the uniconical *mūrti* of the *svayambhū-liṅga*.

[49] Cf. Pānigrahi, 1961. p. 164f.

[50] Ibid, 219. I am indebted to Dr. K.N. Mahapatra for his informations on the role of the *Baḍus* in the cult of Liṅgarāja—Bhubaneśvara.

CHAPTER V

THE VAIṢṆAVA TYPOLOGY OF HINDUIZATION AND THE ORIGIN OF JAGANNĀTHA

A. Eschmann

THE PROBLEMS OF JAGANNĀTHA'S ORIGIN

The Jagannātha cult is of tribal origin. The legend of the Puri temple, the Indradyumma legend, narrates that the deity was originally worshipped by the aboriginal *Śabara* chief Viśvāvasu in the woods, and only later on miraculously appeared in Puri.[1] Accordingly, the Jagannātha figures still display what seems to be a "tribal look". The wooden figures may be called "crude" and certainly differ considerably from the images worshipped in other great Hindu temples which correspond exactly to the described iconographical canons.

As in other legends relating to Hinduized cults, the extraordinary appearance of the figures is "explained" and related to the will of the deity herself. When the sacred log (*dāru*) appeared in Puri, nobody could carve it. Finally Jagannātha (in another version Viśvakarmā) appeared as a feeble old carpenter, who was at first derided by the king. The divine carpenter undertook the task to carve the figures, on the condition of not being disturbed. The queen Guṇḍicā could not restrain herself, she peeped in, and so the figures remained unfinished.[2]

The tribal origin of the figures is emphasised by the existence of a special

[1] *Puruṣottama Mahātmya, Skanda Purāṇa,* VII, 16 ff. Cf. Geib 1975, p. 80ff. The whole Indradyumna legend and its Oriya folk-versions (*Muṣali-Parva* and *Vana-Parva* in Śāraḷa Dāsa's *Mahābhārata* and *Deuḷa Toḷā*) has been extensively analysed by Geib (1974 and 1975).

[2] *Deuḷa Toḷā*, 375, (cf. Geib, 1974, p. 164.) The version of Śāraḷa Dāsa's Vana Parva is shorter: Viśvakaramā is disturbed by the king himself, because, hearing no noise, he is afraid, that the old carpenter might have died (*Vana-Parva* 195 ff. Cf. Geib, 1975, p. 156, *Muṣaḷi Parva*, 12, 127 ff; Cf. Geib, 1975, p. 144). An interesting feature in the *Muṣaḷi Parva* is, that Indradyumna thinks only a *Śabara* is capable of carving the figures, but in reality it is done by a mysterious Brahmin, who is none else than Viśvakarmā himself.

group of priests, the *Daitas*, who are thought to be the descendants of the original tribal worshippers. The Daitas are called the "relatives" of Lord Jagannātha and supposed to be the descendants of the aboriginals in the Oriya legends who worshipped the god in the beginning.[3] As the *Baḍus* in the Liṅgarāja temple (see above Eschmann, ch. 4), the Daitas are specially entrusted with those services implying a close contact to the figures, for instance dressing or moving them. Tradition and present practice thus clearly indicate the tribal origin. Nevertheless, it has so far not been possible to explain satisfactorily or to trace this origin. This is partly due to the fact, that for a long time research on Jagannātha has mainly been focused on its possible Buddhist origin thereby neglecting the investigation of its tribal background.[4]

Most of the authors have therefore contented themselves by assuming the tribal origin of the Jagannātha iconography to be within the realm of one present Saora tribe (usually that one in Ganjam), because the aboriginals mentioned in the texts are called *Śabaras.*[5] Indeed, there are anthropomorphic images amongst the Saoras of Ganjam, the *Kitungs* and the *Sahibosums*. But in accordance with the general features of tribal religion in India (see above Eschmann, ch. 4), the worship of these figures is not a central element of the Saora cult, as one would expect, if these gods had been so important as to have been incorporated into a Hindu cult. Kitungs occur very rarely,[6] and the Sahibosums the "Sahib gods"[7] are definitely of late origin. They are actually caricatures of British "sahibs", and nowadays of police officers with hats, set up at village boundaries to frighten away evil spirits. The theory that the Jagannātha figures were just taken over from the Saoras is thus not very likely.[8] The peculiar shape of the Jagannātha figures is certainly a result of their tribal origin but, as has been shown, not because such figures are typical of tribal religion, but because such figures are typical products of the process of Hinduization. At a certain stage, the original uniconical symbol is anthropomorphized in order to comply basically with the needs of Hindu image.

The only author who has so far touched this problem is B.M. Padhi in his

[3] Cf. Geib, 1975, p. 144, p. 153f, p. 165.

[4] N.K. Sahu, 1965, I, p. 4ff.

[5] For instance K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 15ff, Nilakantha Das, 1958, p. 25.

[6] Elwin, 1955, p. 355.

[7] Elwin, 1955, p. 360.

[8] N. Das in his article "*Hints at the significance and history of Jagannātha* (1958), shows two pictures of a "Neemwood image in a present village in Parlakimedi Savara area", with the remark "by courtesy of Prof. B. Padhi". There is no further specification but it seems to be inferred that similar images are current in other Saora or aboriginal villages, which they are not. Curiously enough, these very figures are not mentioned in Padhi's own book, which appeared eleven years later. Most probably the figures shown in the photograph are actually Jagannātha figures worshipped in the area.

As to the traditions current amongst the Saoras themselves, it is very doubtful whether one can rely on them. Given the fame and the importance of Jagannātha, traditions relating to his origin are found all over Orissa along the Mahanadi as well as in the Mayurbhanj area.

Dāru Debatā, where he assumes, that an aboriginal worship of trees developed into the worship of wooden figures.[9] But how?

The previous survey showed how iconographical changes of an aboriginal symbol may occur at a certain stage of Hinduization, and that these changes are not arbitrary. Thus, the Śākta typology of Hinduization very often converts a stone into a head, or adds a head to the post. This change not only fulfils the basic requirements of an image, but also corresponds to the iconography of Durgā, where a head, either as attribute or as representation of the goddess herself, plays an important role.

The Jagannātha figures differ from each other. Subhadrā, the smallest of the three, consists of a trunk and a head, and thus corresponds to the Śākta type of iconographical Hinduization (see above, Eschmann, ch. 4). The other figures, Jagannātha and Balabhadra, basically also consist of a trunk and an over-dimensional head. But, in addition, they have arm stumps and are considerably greater in size (see fig. 8). The heads of Balabhadra and Subhadrā are similar: oval in shape, and with almond-shaped eyes; they comply, as Tripathi first remarked, with the general Indian beauty standard. As opposed to this, the head of Jagannātha has a very curious shape. It is flat on the top, and moreover dominated by enormous round eyes. According to what has been said so far, there must be an iconological reason for those significant differences with a reconstruction of the process of Hinduization which led to the establishment of the Jagannātha figure, should be able to explain.

The survey of the Śākta and Śaiva typology of Hinduization has also shown, that only certain divinities of the Hindu pantheon, those with a certain affinity to the character of tribal deities, can directly be associated with them. This means a special problem in the case of Jagannātha, who is Puruṣottama. As Tripathi has shown, Puruṣottama has Tantric elements in his character, but they are mainly evident in his amorous relationship to his wife Kamalā (Tripathi, chapter 2). Puruṣottama is certainly no folk deity and has no affinity towards tribal deities. It seems, therefore, from the very outset almost impossible that the concept of Puruṣottama was directly associated with a tribal cult.

VARĀHA AND NARASIMHA

The survey of the śaiva and śākta typology of Hinduization showed, that in both cases there are no major iconological problems: Devī in her violent aspect

[9] Padhi 1964. Padhi presents a comprehensive description of the aboriginals as referred to by the texts and emphasizes their role against the invasions of Aryans and Dravidians. It is a great attempt to point out the significance and the impact which the tribal culture has and has had within Hindu culture. However, the reconstruction of tribal history remains in large parts hypothetical, because he mainly relies on Hindu texts, rather neglecting other historical evidence and the traditions of the aboriginal groups themselves. It is extraordinary that while emphasizing the Saoras in Ganjam, he does not quote the comprehensive work on this very tribe, by Elwin, which appeared some 10 years earlier.

where she accepts sacrifices, is herself probably the outcome of Hinduization, has been established within Hinduism through the incorporation of autocthonous elements. Śiva in his *ugra* aspect, can present iconological points of connection towards tribal deities as well. Moreover his close relationship to Devī as well as the fact that his worshipable image is uniconical, facilitates the association and eventual identification. To find an iconological link between aboriginal deities and Vaiṣṇava gods is considerably more difficult, the character of Viṣṇu being alien to elementary cults of tribal deities. The only aspects of Viṣṇu, which may be associated to such cults and deities are his forceful *avatāras* as *Varāha* ("boar") and *Narasiṃha* ("man-lion"). Both, Varāha and Narasiṃha may be called Vaiṣṇava versions of Tantrism, and are thus related to Śāktism, and to a certain extent to Śaivism as well.

The fact, that Narasiṃha dismembers his foe, Hiraṇyakaśipu, may evoke the idea of sacrifice. It is therefore this image which, as the only Vaiṣṇava amongst Śaiva and Śākta images is represented as a fresco in the *garbha-gṛha* (inner chamber) of the Samalāī temple in Sambalpur referred to above. In Tantrism, Varāha and Narasiṃha are also worshipped in their female aspects: Varāhī and Nārasiṃhī. Varāhī is one of the "seven mothers" (*sapta mātṛkās*), which play an important role in Śaktism and are widely worshipped in Orissa, mainly in Jajpur and Puri Nārasiṃhī is often added when instead of seven, eight or nine *mātṛkās* are worshipped. Both Varāhī and Nārasiṃhī, or Siṃhamukhī ("the lion-faced"), are represented in Orissa's Yoginī-temples.[10]

The theriomorphic iconography of Varāha and Narasiṃha seems to facilitate their being iconographically identified with an uniconical symbol. A famous example for such identification is the temple of Simhachalam near Vishakapatnam where both Varāha and Narasiṃha are worshipped in the guise of a stone *liṅga* covered with sandal paste. It has been convincingly suggested that this temple, situated at the top of a hill, originally was a tribal place of worship.[11] Whether the connection between the *liṅga* and Narasiṃha and Varāha, who are considered to reside within, was present from the very beginning (see below) or whether the Viṣṇuization was a secondary development due to the intervention of Rāmānuja[12] must be more closely analysed.

A certain affinity between the two Vaiṣṇava gods Varāha and Narasiṃha is also expressed by the fact that they are particularly often represented on Śaiva temples, often even as the only Vaiṣṇava figures in the whole complex. This can be observed in some temples of Ellora[13] as well as in Śaiva temples of Orissa.

Of the two, Varāha is seldom worshipped by himself, whereas the worship of Narasiṃha is widespread all over Orissa. The list of temples with land

[10] Fabri, 1974, p. 79 ff.

[11] Jaiswal, 1973, p. 79 ff.

[12] The secondaiy Viṣṇuization is a suggestion from Tripathi.

[13] Ellora, Cave 15 for instance, where Narasiṃha and Varāha play a prominent role. Narasiṃha is also prominently placed in the Kailāsa temple.

endowments, prepared by Stietencron shows, that after the deities associated with Jagannātha and with Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya, Narasiṃha is the Vaiṣṇava god, to whom most temples are dedicated and that there is a strong concentration of those temples along the coast.[14] However, the spread of the Narasiṃha worship is certainly wider as he is also prominent in popular cults which are not endowed with land and have therefore not been listed. Narasiṃha plays an important role in both realms: "high Hinduistic" Vaiṣṇava theology—the story of Prahlāda has become a centre of this theology--and popular religion, and this makes him almost an ideal agent of Hinduization.

NARASIMHA'S RELATION TO ŚIVAISM AND TRIBAL CULTS

The famous story of Narasiṃha narrates, that Viṣṇu appeared out of a pillar in the palace of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu ("the golden clothed"), in order to save Prahlāda, the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, who, in spite of the terrible wrath of his father, had not faltered in his devotion to Viṣṇu. Hiraṇyakaśipu had obtained a boon from the god Brahmā, that neither man nor animal would kill him, neither at day nor at night, neither within the house nor without and therefore Viṣṇu appeared as man-lion, half animal half man at dusk and killed Hiraṇyakaśipu on the threshold.

According to the iconographic canons, this *sthūṇā* Narasiṃha can be shown alone coming out of the pillar, or, with the same background already in the act of ripping open the belly of Hiraṇyakaśipu who lies sprawling in Narasiṃha's lap.[16] The fact that Narasiṃha appears from a pillar is often taken as a special relationship of this god to an uniconical symbol. This of course is very important for Hinduization. It offers both the iconological and iconographical possibility to associate the symbols representing "terrible" tribal deities with this furious god, as shall be seen below. But the concept has another bearing as well.

[11] According to a preliminary draft ("Divinities of Orissa. An alphabetical list indicating the number and the geographical deitributions of their Temples") prepared by G.C. Tripathi out of the material collected by H.v. Stietencron, there are 105 Narasiṃha temples with land endowments in Orissa, distributed as follows:

Ganjam:	12 + 5 Lakṣmī-Narasimha
Puri:	21
Cuttack:	51 + 5 Lakṣmī-Narasimha
Balasore:	2
Bolangir:	1
Sambalpur:	10
Dhenkanal:	2
Mayurbhanj:	2

The geographical distribution is clearly concentrated in South western Coastal Orissa with a second, minor centre in Western Orissa.

[15] The main versions of the myth are found in the *Padmapurāṇa*, 5, 42, 1-197, and in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 17-20. Cf. Hacker, 1960, I, p. 29 ff and p. 60ff.

[16] Gopinath Rao, 1971, I, II, p. 151ff.

The story of Prahlāda and his unfailing devotion to Viṣṇu has not only become a heart piece of Vaiṣṇava theology but is an important link between Viṣṇuism and Śivaism. Narasiṃha is the furious (*ugra*) aspect of Viṣṇu *par excellence* and therewith also that aspect of Viṣṇu with the highest affinity to Śiva. It is therefore to a considerable extent within the realm and in terms of the Narasiṃha mythology that theological fights between Śivaism and Viṣṇuism were carried out. There are later versions of the myth which are actually Śaiva, and others, which are pronouncedly antiśaiva. In some cases the fact that Hiraṇyakaśipu was originally a devotee of Śiva and yet was conquered by Viṣṇu, is stressed and turned into an example of "antiśivaite propaganda" demonstrating Viṣṇu's superiority.[17]

Whereas in the original version it is Viṣṇu who saves his devotee and the world from the terrible demon, in the Śaiva versions it is Śiva who saves mankind. After having killed Hiraṇyakaśipu, Narasiṃha's fury cannot be appeased; he boasts of his omnipotence and becomes a danger to the world. Śiva assumes the form of Vīrabhadra and Śarabha,[18] defeats Narasiṃha, and "incorporates" him in the literal sense of the term: "he makes him part of his body declaring that now Viṣṇu is completely included in Śiva, like water poured into water. Vīrabhadra tears off the lion's skin, which is henceforth worn by Śiva".[19]

This incorporation of Narasiṃha by Śiva is more than only a theological demonstration of Śiva's superiority—it seems to sanction the worship of Narasiṃha within Śivaism. This is, according to Gonda, the relevant difference between the Viṣṇuitic anti-Śivaite and the Śivaite forms of the myth: "Whereas the Vaiṣṇava text condemns the cult of the rival religion . . . the Śaiva is willing to permit the worship of Viṣṇu-Narasiṃha, but only on the understanding that actually Viṣṇu is completely identical with Śiva".[20]

The affinity between Narasiṃha and Śiva has also an iconographic aspect. The representation of *liṅgodbhava* where Śiva appears within or from the endless flaming *liṅgam*, usually represented as a huge column, resembles the scene of Narasiṃha bursting out of pillar. It was probably such an association which stands behind an image used in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, where a devotee worships the Śiva-liṅgam until he has a vision of Narasiṃha appearing from it.[21] But the imagery of Narasiṃha must have been in itself so important that it was also directly taken up into Śaivism : "No doubt in imitation of his rival", Narasiṃha,

17 Gonda, 1976, p. 105. Cf. *Narasiṃhapurāṇa*, 40ff and *Padma purāṇa*, 6, 265, I-156; Hacker, 1960, II, p. 156ff and p. 165ff.

18 Śarabha is "a mythical creature held to be partly bird and partly the beast lion" (Gopinath Rao, 1971, I, I, p. 155). While killing Narasiṃha, Śiva is called alternatively Śarabha and Vīrabhadra, a Bhairava form of Śiva which he usually assumes when dissolving the world (Hacker, 1960, II, p. 923). The main Śaiva versions of the Narasiṃha myth are found in the *Śivapurāṇa*, *Rudrasaṃhitā* 5, 43 and *Jñānasaṃhitā*, 5961; cf. Hacker, 19-60, II, p. 174 ff.

19 Gonda, 1976, p. 107.

20 Ibid.

21 Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa III, 354. I'm indebted to Prof. M. Biardeau for this reference.

Śiva is "said to have appeared in his Bhairava form in the same way from a pillar which cleft asunder with a loud noise".[22]

The fact that the imagery of Narasiṃha has been applied to Bhairava is very interesting in the connection of Hinduization. It has been shown above that Hinduization on the level of the village cult acts mostly through the medium of a popular deity. Thus an identification of a deity of tribal origin with Śiva Maheśvara could only be found on the level of temple worship. Bhairava being a popular god, he could have had to "lend" the imagery. It is certainly an advantage of the Narasiṃha concept, that it is simultaneously important in both realms: popular religion and sophisticated theology.

The importance which the association of Narasiṃha with an uniconical symbol has in both realms viz. Hinduization and the relationship between Śivaism and Viṣṇuism, is most impressively represented in an early Śiva temple in Orissa near Baramba[23] called *Siṃhanātha* "Lion Lord". The cult is certainly of non-Hindu origins. It enshrines a *svayambhū liṅga* (see fig. 65) and its worship is exclusively conducted by non Brahmin priests. They are actually *mālīs* and intermarry with the *mālī* priests who serve at the Bhaṭṭārikā temple in Baramba[24] which is beyond any doubt of tribal origin.[25] Curiously enough, there seem to be no trace of sacrifice in this temple though there is a shrine for Dakṣiṇā Kālī outside the compound, included into the daily *pūjā*. Worship is offered five times a day as in the great temples, but it is rather simple consisting only of the five *upacāras*.[26] The *bhoga*, cooked by the *mālī pūjārīs*, is shared only by the local fishermen. At special festivals uncooked *bhoga* is offered to pilgrims.

Amongst the many sculptures on the outer wall of the temple, representations of Varāha and Narasiṃha are prominent. But what is most important: the figure of Siṃhanātha is carved on the front near the entrance; a standing human figure, with a lion-head holding a trident (see fig. 55). This figure proves that the association suggested by the name of Siṃhanātha is intended. But for the trident, nobody could hesitate to identify this sculpture as Narasiṃha. The deity worshipped here was obviously imagined as a sort of śaiva Narasiṃha or Śiva incorporating Narasiṃha, as in the myth. Indeed, it seems no coincidence that the great twin temples of

[22] Gonda, 1976, p. 208, note 145.

[23] dated by Fabri (1974, p. 115 and p. 130ff) ca 750 A.D. V. Stietencron thinks it slightly later, towards the end of the eighth century.

[24] Informations from Caitanya Raṇa and Banamālī Raṇa, priests of the Siṃhanātha temple.

[25] Kulke, 1972.

[26] The formula is: *Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya gandha prasannā nātha dūpa dīpei naivedyaṃ iti canakalpanāya pañca upacāra kathitā nibedaṃ dattrā camana sudheyā bidheyā.*

[These words, given out to Dr. A. Exchmann as the Mantra of worship for the deity *Siṃhanātha*, donot form part of any Mantra (except the first three words "Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya" which is known as the "six-syllabic" Śiva Mantra) but only enumerate the five upacāras and say that after offering the food i.e. *naivedya*) to the deity, one should offer her water for cleansing the mouth. The correct version of this formula should, therefore, be as follows:

Oṃ namaḥ śivāya/gandha-prasūna-dhūpa-dīpa-naivedyam iti arcanākalpanāya pañca upacārāḥ kathitāḥ/naivedyam dattvā ācamanaśuddhir vidheyā/ G.C. Tripathi]

Viṣṇu and Śiva at Gandharādi were constructed by the same generation which raised the Siṃhanātha.[27]

It has been shown above that the identification of a tribal cult with Śiva is usually a secondary development and acts, through his association with Durgā who usually acts as mediator because Śiva himself is not a god of popular religion. One could assume that in this temple where the worship of Devī is not so prominent, the identification with Śiva occurred through his association with Narasiṃha who plays an important role in folk religion as shall be seen immediately.

GIRIJA NARASIMHA AND HINDUIZATION

The second main aspect of Narasiṃha is called *girija* "hillborn". He is thought to have appeared not from the pillar but from a mountain cave and is also called *kevala Narasiṃha*, "Narasiṃha alone". Because of the association with the mountain cave and the fury of the god which makes him dangerous, he has to be worshipped preferably on a hill and at any rate in a safe distance from human habitations.[28] The conception is ideally suited to the Hinduization of tribal cults. It sounds almost as a description of such cults which are indeed dedicated to dangerous and furious deities worshipped on mountains, far away from civilisation. There seem to be no evident connection between the idea that Narasiṃha is "hillborn" and his appearance in Hiraṇyakaśipu's palace and it has therefore been supposed that this concept is older than the idea of *sthūṇā* Narasiṃha.[29] One of the earliest representations of Narasiṃha[30] which has been recently discovered might throw some light on this aspect. The panel dates from the early fourth century (see fig. 53) and could incidentally be taken as something of a preview of the development of the Jagannātha cult. The figures represent, according to Khan's interpretation, from left to right: Kāma or Pradyumna, the two armed Viṣṇu, Narasiṃha, Kṛṣṇa, Saṃkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha. The Śrīvatsa, prominently placed on Narasiṃha's chest, seems to suggest Lakṣmī "who is supposed to reside in the Śrīvatsa of Viṇṣu".[31]

It will be shown (Tripathi, ch. 2 & 25, and Eschmann, Kulke, Tripathi, ch. 10) that the history of Jagannātha shows different stages in which the deity was subsequently interpreted as Narasiṃha, Kāma-Puruṣottama and Kṛṣṇa. Subhadrā has been interpreted as Lakmī and Balabhadhra represents the brother of Kṛṣṇa, Saṃkarśana. However, it is the peculiar representation of Narasiṃha which is

[27] Fabri, 1974, p. 115. As opposed to this, H.v. Stietencron thinks that the Gandharadhi temple is later by at least one century.

[28] Gopinath Rao, 1971, I, I, p. 149 f.

[29] Jaiswal, 1973, p. 143.

[30] My thanks are due to G.D. Sontheimer for having drawn my attention to this sculpture, as well as for many other valuable suggestions.

[31] Khan, 1964, p. 1.

interesting in the present context: "a very peculiar figure of a couchant lion with legs taut and tense and the face devoid of teeth ... at the level of the neck two hands are added, shown in uplifted position holding the attributes of Viṣṇu, *gadā* and *chakra* in his right and left hands".[32] As opposed to the usual representations, which show Narasiṃha as human being with a lion head, he is here depicted entirely as a lion. Khan writes, that "the text that has inspired the sculptor to carve this icon, however, is not available to us" but thinks it possible "that in the early period, i.e. early 4th century A.D. the anthropomorphic representation is an exception rather than a rule".[33]

One might go one step further and suppose that not a text induced the sculptor but perhaps the fact that the aboriginal god, worshipped in caves and mountains as Narasiṃha was, if at all pictured, thought of as a lion and that such theriomorphic god being associated with Narasiṃha was the cause of his *girija* aspect. The most important temple of Narasiṃha in Orissa, Narasiṃhanātha in Padampur (Sambalpur), is indeed dedicated to a fully theriomorphic deity and is certainly of tribal origin.[34] The image worshipped there is supposed to represent Narasiṃha in the shape of a cat. The head only can be seen, a piece of stone surrounded by a silver ornament on which eyes and a nose with whiskers—all of silver—have been applied (see fig. 66). It would be very interesting to see the whole figure. However, the face shows the iconographic change characteristic for the temple level: the uniconical stone is made into an icon with the iconographically most relevant feature, in this case a head with whiskers, to represent the cat (or the lion?).

The local legend says that once Bhagavān or Narasiṃha wanted to kill a demon living in the hills. He therefore assumed the form of a cat and hid in the hills to watch the giant. An old Khond woman went to the hills to dig for roots. While digging, she struck the head of the hidden cat which mewed. Frightened, the old woman ran away and sent back her male relatives who started an exorcism (*guṇi*). Bhagavān appeared, explained that he was neither an evil spirit (*bhūta*) nor an ordinary god but that he had revealed himself because of the old woman's *bhakti*. He ordered himself to be taken to the foot of the hill and to be worshipped there by the descendants of the Khond family. Today's priest claim to be the substitutes of this descendance and call themselves "forest brahmins", (*āraṇyaka brāhmaṇa*). They offer *pūjā* and vegetarian *bhoga* four times a day. The official *māhātmya* stresses the link to the 'great tradition' in an elaborate introduction which narrates the progeny

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., p. 2.

[34] There is an inscription on the temple dated 1413, but the temple itself is certianly older. Fabri is of the opinion, that" the entire temple belongs to the 11th century (door-frame and tower,) and that only the maṇḍapa with its four pillars is a more ancient structure, raised in the new temple when the Buddhists were succeeded by the Vaishnavas. The 15th century inscription would thus be a later addition" (Fabri, 1974, p. 39). Curiously enough, Fabri failed to notice the main image, which stands in a recess behind the *maṇḍapa*, but saw only "poor copies of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balabhadra", whom he supposed to be "the present images" (p. 38).

of the demon and the necessity to kill him.[35] The link to the great tradition is intensified by another legend telling how the Pāṇḍavas used to live on this hill for some time.

Other temples of this type are found in Andhra, in Mangalagiri and Akkirapalli, where heads of lion and tigers are worshipped as Narasiṃha. At Mangalagiri the lion head in a cave on a mountain is said to have appeared of its own (*svayaṃbhū*) and the deity is still so furious, that she has "to be constantly appeased by offerings of sugar water".[36] Narasiṃha is mentioned as the god specially worshipped by tribes, for instance, the Bhumiyas.[37] That Narasiṃha has abrorbed aboriginal cults is also testified by texts, which mention him not as manifestation of Viṣṇu but list him amongst the 52 *vīr*, to whom spirits of certain deceased, but also Mahāsura and Bhairava are counted.[38] Narasiṃha still plays a dominant role in Hinduization in Andhra where the early "*girija*" panel was discovered. This is most impressively documented for Andhra Pradesh by the monumental series on "Fairs and Festivals" of the 1961 Census.[39] For Andhra, not only every shrine where a fair is held, is listed, but there are also informations about the nature of the deities, their *mūrtis*, and their priests. There is an extraordinary number of Narasiṃha shrines or temples, namely one hundred and sixty-nine,[40] and amongst them roughly seventy per cent are Hinduized cults—having an uniconical *mūrti*, mostly a stone, and non Brahmin priests.

[35] Cf. *Orissa District Gazetteer*, Sambalpur, 1967. p. 534. It seems almost incredible, but the young priest I talked to at Padampur said, he did not know the classical story of Narasiṃha and Prahlāda. The priests officiating at the Narasiṃhanātha temple are all very young; they are not allowed to perform woship after their marriage.

[36] Biardeau, 1975, p. 59.

[37] *Orissa District Gazetteer*, Bolangir, 1968, p. 103.

[38] Sontheimer, 1976, p. 56f.

[39] *Census of India*, 1961, Volume II, Andhra Pradesh VII B. Unfortunately, the lists of Fairs and Festivals for other provinces are—as far so published at all—very much below the standard set by Andhra Pradesh.

[40] For four districts only there were no data available. The distribution is as follows:

East Godaveri:	4
West Godaveri:	2
Krishna:	4
Guntur:	12
Nellore:	7
Cudapak:	5
Anantpur:	10
Mahubhnagar:	27
Hyderabad:	12
Medak:	13
Nizamabad:	9
Adilabad:	1
Karimnagar:	21
Warangal:	16
Khamman:	6
Nalgonda:	20

Sometimes even the location of these temples "in some distance from the village" is mentioned as if to describe the *girija* aspect of Narasiṃha and its importance for Hinduization. Sometimes there are two temples one on top of the hill and one below.[41]

Unfortunately, for Orissa there is so far no such comprehensive documentation. However, one can infer, that an analysis of the Narasiṃha temples in Orissa would bring similar results. The idea to worship Narasiṃha in an uniconical form seems so common that it is done even where there does not seem to be an apparent necessity in terms of a tribal cult to be Hinduized. Thus, for instance, in the Narasiṃhanātha maṭha in Aska the main image worshipped amidst brass idols of Narasiṃha is a *śālagrāma* Narasiṃha", i.e., *śālagrāma* stone with eyes and a nose of silver applied to it.

THE FOLK-ICONOGRAPHY OF NARASIMHA AND HINDUIZATION

In the folk religion of Orissa, Narasiṃha can be represented in an abbreviated mannner. The emphasis is concentrated on the head and the arms whereas the figure which is dismembered and the lower portion of Narasiṃha's body is neglected or even omitted. Such an image (see fig. 56) is found in a hut on the side of the flight of steps leading to the temples on the Kapilas hill (Dhenkanal). It is worshipped with the Narasiṃha mantra by the Mahant of the *Pādapāda maṭha* nearby, who in a charming cave worships also Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and Durgā. Interestingly enough, bypassers, even people living there, when asked, mostly identify the Narasiṃha image as representation of Durgā, probably mislead by the prominent head and the apparent depiction of a sacrifice.

Popular representations like this one which represent hardly more than a head with arms, sometimes holding an indefinite object, resembles very much the representations of Rāhu and Kīrtimukha. This resemblance is remarked upon in some texts. Being the son of a lioness called Siṃhikā, Rāhu himself is sometimes called after her Saiṃhikeya.[42] As B.N. Mohanty has shown, the relation between Kīrtimukha and Narasiṃha is even closer, and related to his Śivaitic aspect.

A Śaiva tradition recorded in the Padma-Purāṇa[43] explains Kīrtimukha as having been created by Śiva. At the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī, Rāhu disturbed the couple. To frighten him, Śiva created through his third eye a horrible animal with a lion head which, "furious like Narasiṃha", began to throw itself on Rāhu. At the very last moment it was stopped by Śiva who made it vanish almost completely—only the head remained. A Liṅgayata version of the legend is even more explicit on the identity of Kīrtimukh with Narasiṃha. As in other Śaiva versions of the Narasiṃha legend, the family of Hiraṇyakaśipu including his sister Siṃhikā, the mother of Rāhu is described as Śaiva and the real offence of Prahlāda is seen in the fact that he worshipped Viṣṇu. Śiva assumes the form of Śarabha, and kills Narasiṃha. The special addition, the Liṅgayata version gives to this legend fairly common in the south,

[41] Biardeau, 1975, p. 59.
[42] Dowson, 1973, p. 253, Mohanty, 1966, p. 104.
[43] *Padmapurāṇa* 10, 10, and 11, 36-44. Quoted after Mohanty, 1966, p. 104.

is to states that Śarabha tore up Narasiṃha completely leaving only that horrible head which became known as Kīrtimukha.[44]

One is led to suppose, that there is a link between this popular "Kīrthimukha iconography" of Narasiṃha and the old theriomorphic representation. The main feature of the ancient theriomorphic image (see fig. 54) is indeed the head and the "arms", i.e. the staunch legs. These main elements are taken up in the interesting Narasiṃha sculpture from the Uttaresvara temple in Bhubaneswar. Though slightly dilapidated, the main features are still well discernible (see fig. 54): the whole upper part of the sculpture is theriomorphic.[45] The head and the enormous arms are obviously those of a lion. As in the folk iconography of Narasiṃha worshipped on the Kapilas (see fig. 56), the main emphasis is on the head and the arms. The lower part of the body and the shape of Hiraṇyakaśipu being torn up, is only roughly sketched.

The fact that the folk-iconography of Narasiṃha represents him with or without his victim or with only an abstraction of his victim while emphasizing the theriomorphic aspect, constitutes a relationship between the theriomorphic *girija* and the half theriomorphic *sthūṇā* aspect which deserves a further analysis.

In Orissa, images of Narasiṃha and Nārasiṃhī in this "abbreviated" iconography are found on the wooden posts representing the goddess Khambheśvarī. The post worshipped as Khambheśvarī near the Gandharādi temple, for instance, bears such an image (see fig. 69). The lower part of what should be Narasiṃha's body is left out completely and the victim to be dismembered is so to speak just hinted at by a sort of arch held by the arms protruding from the head. This representation is often mistaken for an image of Rāhu. And indeed it resembles so closely the many extraordinary sculptures of Rāhu found on Orissa temples that one is inclined to doubt whether those too may have sometimes been meant to represent Kīrtimukha-Narasiṃha. A similar image representing Nārasiṃhī used to be carved on the Khambheśvarī-Durgā post standing within the royal palace in Sonepur. It is described as a fierce looking head with arms protruding from it, looking like Rāhu. The post, standing in the open, is decaying and the carving is no more descernible, but it is stated that it was under this imag: of Nārasiṃhī that the golden nail, the "heart", was inserted when the post was renewed fifteen years ago.[46]

The relationship between Narasiṃha and wooden posts in general has been elaborated in Oriya folk religion. The pillar in the palace of Hiraṇyakaśipu out of which Narasiṃha appeared, has been turned into a wooden post as those widely worshipped in Western Orissa. Popular paintings depict such a typical wooden

44 Mohanty, 1966, p. 105.

45 Panigrahi (1961, p. 15 and 155f) dates the temple between 700 and 900 A.D., stating that some of its sculptures must be older (p. 126 and p. 129f). Mohanty (1966, p. 137) thinks that the sculptures belong to the 6th or 7th century.

46 See below Eschmann, ch. 14. How rapidly such carvings decay on the wooden posts, I could myself observe: the carving on the Khambheśvarī post near the Gandharādi temple has considerably decayed since I first saw it in 1970 (see fig. 70).

Khambhesvarī post beside Narasiṃha tearing up the demon[47] and there are traditions saying that the strength to tear up Hiraṇyakaśipu was derived from the *śakti* residing within the post.[48] Whether the assimilation of an aboriginal "pillar deity" actually was the reason for introducing the motive of the pillar in the Purāṇic Narasiṃha account, is a problem which needs further analysis.

The iconological link between Narasiṃha and such tribal or semi-tribal goddesses represented by posts is offered by his Tantric character. He has also a female aspect and can be worshipped as Nārasiṃhī, as has already been mentioned. Moreover, also in his male aspect, he is often worshipped together with Lakṣmī. Only Lakṣmī had the power to appease him in his fury and the amorous relationship between the couple is an important element in the Narasiṃha mythology.

The association of Narasiṃha in his "abbreviated" iconography with the wooden posts commonly representing tribal deities in Orissa, could offer an explanation for the origin of the Jagannātha figure. One has only to suppose that the popular iconography, head and arms, was not, as in the case of the Khambhesvarī post, depicted on the post but added to its top to obtain a prototype of the Jagannātha. Such a development is not only rational within the process of Hinduization once it reaches the temple level, but actually also documented from elsewhere. In a village in Andhra, Narasiṃhasvāmī is worshipped personified by a pillar to which "a sheet shaped in the form of a lion's head is attached."[49]

The identification with Narasiṃha would also offer the iconological reasons for the peculiarities of the Jagannātha figures. The round eyes are a typical feature of Narasiṃha. His eyes are big and round because of his fury (*krodha*). And the curious shape of Jagannātha's head would no more seem curious if taken not for an attempt to reproduce a human head, but an animal's, a lion head, where the emphasis is on the lower parts, the jaws. The difference is very well explained in the early Narasiṃha panel (see fig. 53) where the archaic figure of the lion with its rounded face stands amongst human figures with oval faces.

The iconographical and iconological identity between the figure of Jagannātha and Narasiṃha is exemplified by the cult of two maṭhas in the villages of Jenapur and Sukhinda on the bank of the lower Brahmani. Narasiṃha is here worshipped in two *mūrtis* as *śālagrāma* and as Dadhivāmana, i.e. a single Jagannātha figure (see v. Stietercron Chapter 3). These two *mūrtis* worshipped side by side with one Narasiṃha

[47] Such a painting is found for instance in the above mentioned Svapneśvara temple in Bainda.

[48] Information by Padmashiri Dr. S.N. Rajguru. Naturally the scene of Narasiṃha appearing from a *Khambha* as told also in the Oriya Bhāgavata-Purāṇa will evoke the idea of Khambheśvarī in the mind of many listeners in Orissa. Interesting in this conncetion is that Narasiṃha is worshipped through a wooden image also elsewhere, for instance in Aholibam (Andhra), as Prof. M. Biardeau informed me.

[49] Jambulapadu, District Anantapur. Cf. Census 1961, Andhra Pradesh, Part VII-B (10), p. 94.

mantra,[50] are almost a symbolical representation of the Vaiṣṇava typology of Hinduization and its two main iconographical possibilities: the identification of Narasiṃha with a stone or with a wooden post which may be iconographically "developed". It is certainly noteworthy that in the area of these villages there are still many village shrines where the unaltered wooden posts are worshipped and regularly renewed.[51]

But before accepting this conclusion, it has to be considered how early Narasiṃha worship may have been present in Orissa and if and how, from the point of view of the Jagannātha theology, an identification of a tribal deity with Narasiṃha could have its beginning.

The first of these questions can only be briefly summarized here. As the panel with the theriomorphic image of Narasiṃha shows (see fig. 53), this god in his archaic form so important to Hinduization, was known South of Orissa at a very early date. One is therefore led to believe that so popular a deity must have come to coastal or central Orissa with the first wave of Viṣṇuism between the fourth and sixth century A.D. (see above Stietencron, Chapter 1). This is supported by the fact, that there are early Narasiṃha sculptures along the coast in Mukhalingam, Bhubaneshwar and up to Balasore, where the sculpture shows a certain resemblance to the full theriomorphic image.

It has been shown, that the worship of Narasiṃha can be integrated into Śivaism. The Siṃhanātha temple with its combination of tribal elements with a "Śaiva" Narasiṃha is a prominent example for such an occurrence at the border of Central Orissa. Viṣṇuism never completely vanished from Central Orissa. It can therefore be assumed that the worship of Narasiṃha not only continued, but perhaps even was emphasized under Śaiva predominance because it was acceptable to both Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas.

NARASIMHA IN THE JAGANNĀTHA CULT

The extraordinary importance of Narasiṃha for the Jagannātha cult has been repeatedly remarked upon. It may therefore here only be surveyed shortly. Narasiṃha "is the guardian deity of the temple and all the performances beginning from cooking to Pūjā are preceded by offerings to Narasiṃha first".[52] During the period of *anavasara* when Jagannātha cannot be seen because of his "illness", the main worship is offered to Narasiṃha and the prescribed meditations are focused on him.[53]

[50] Information from Śrī Jai Rāmā Puri, the Mahanta of the *Nṛsiṃhajī maṭha* at Jenapur.

[51] For instance in the village Hirapur, adjoining to Jenapur.

[52] K.C. Mishra, who continues (1971, p. 153): "It has a deeper significance. Nṛsiṁha is the emblem of Brahma as propounded in the Nṛsiṁha Tāpini Upaniṣada where Nṛsiṁha has been described as Brahma, i.e. Indeterminate Being, of whom Jagannātha is the Determinate form".

[53] Stietencron, 1972, p. 32. According to K.C. Rajguru, the Jagannātha figures are represented during this time by the following "movable images":

Jagannātha:	Madanamohan
Subhadrā:	Bhūdevī
Balabhadra:	Govinda
Sudarśana:	Narasiṃha

Khambha Narasimha, an image of Lakṣmī-Narasiṃha on the first pillar of the Jagamohana when entering from the south, is the *iṣṭa-devatā* of the Brahmin priests. The initiation of any new *paṇḍā* starts with worshipping this image. Moreover, it seems that the priests, if they want to consecrate *bhoga* at the time of *pāhuḍa*, that is, when the *garbha-gṛha* is closed, offer the food to this particular Narasiṃha image instead of presenting it to Lord Jagannātha. Narasiṃha plays also an important role in all the texts pertaining to the temple as the "portector of the wooden figures" who will punish whomsoever laughs at them.[54]

Narasiṃha is not only a very important feature within the cult, at one occasion the Jagannātha figures are actually considered to *be* Narasiṃha. The analysis of the Navakalevara ritual (see Tripathi, Chapter 13) shows that when the figures are renewed, they are addressed and treated as if they were Narasiṃha figures. All the mantras used pertain to Narasiṃha ; the tree, the log, the figures, all are ritually identified with Narasiṃha. Mantras pertaining to the present character of the deities are only added at the very last moment, as if an afterthought. The texts corroborate that this identification is old. The Indradyumna legends relates, that when the king installed the wooden figures, he suddenly perceived Narasiṃha in their place, and was admonished by Brahmā to worship the wooden gods "as Narasiṃha" (see Eschmann, Kulke, Tripathi, Chapter 10).

Tripathi has shown, that the iconological link between Narasiṃha and Puruṣottama is the erotic element. Both are "Viṣṇuite deities endowed with Tantric-Śāktic characteristics and are closely linked together" (Tripathi, Chapter 2). Seen in the context of Hinduization certainly the aspect of Narasiṃha must be the older. It is Narasiṃha, not Puruṣottama, who plays an important role in folk religion, and can be associated to tribal deities.

One can thus conclude, that the identification with Narasiṃha was indeed the beginning of the Jagannātha. This is supported by the local tradition of Puri, (cf. Pur. Māh. of Skanda Pur., 15, 8-18), which states, that the Narasiṃha temple is older than the Puruṣottama temple and is also suggested by early inscriptions.

NARASIMHA AND PURUṢOTTAMA IN INSCRIPTIONS

A close link, if not identification is attested by several early inscriptions.[55] The earliest is the Sirpur stone inscription (see Stietencron, Chapter 1) dated 800 A.D. The inscription begins with an invocation of Puruṣottama and then immediately proceeds to a lengthy description of Narasiṃha, *Om Namaḥ, Puruṣottamāya. Nṛsiṃha* : . . .[56] The Gayā inscription, "which belongs to about the seventh decade

[54] Geib, 1975, p. 131ff and 101ff.
[55] I am deeply indebted for the compilation of the following passage to Padmashri Dr. S.N. Rajguru.
[56] EI, XI, p. 190 f; Rajguru, 1971, p. 101,

of the ninth century",[57] invokes Puruṣottama and then immediately proceeds to describe and praise him:

> "who conquers as Jagatīnātha . . . who appeared as Narasiṃha, spreading his mane . . . who has destructed by his nails the king of the demons, that glorious Lokaikanātha."[58]

As S. N. Rajguru remarks, "it is not certain, if the author of the verse refers to the god Jagannātha of Puri by using the word jagatīnātha."[59] *Jagatīnātha* and *Lokaika-nātha* are general epitheta, which may be used for any god. However, the fact remains that this inscription constitutes a close connection between Narasiṃha and other names of the Puri deity: Puruṣottama, Jagannātha and the possibly also Lokanātha.[60]

An identity between the names Puruṣottama and Narasiṃha may have been intended by an inscription in Khajuraho, dated 953, i.e. eighty years later than the Gayā inscription, which coins a new word: *Puruṣasiṃha.* Vāsudeva is addressed as "He who incarnates in the form of boar and Puruṣasiṃha."[61] *Puruuṣa* may of course be used here in the sense of "man" only and the term literally means: "man-lion". But one cannot help feeling that the association to *puruṣa* and *Puruṣottama* as Viṣṇuite concepts (see Tripathi, Chapter 2) was intended.

It cannot be ascertained whether the Sirpur inscription refers to Puruṣottama as a Viṣṇuits deity or to Puruṣottama as the highest form of Viṣnu such as he is addressed in the Gayā inscription ("He who conquers as. ."). The distinction between both concepts may not always have been very clear. However this may be, these inscriptions are relevant in the present connection because according to S.N. Rajguru, they are the only inscriptions to invoke Puruṣottama at all up to the fifteenth century. Viṣṇu as highest god is usually invoked as Nārāyaṇa or just Viṣṇu.[62] There is thus a definite and almost exclusive link between the names, not necessarily the concepts, of Puruṣottama and Narasiṃha established for that time when in Puri a Narasiṃha of tribal origin was identified with Puruṣottama.

In this context an inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅga is most important. As far as we know, it is the only contemporary inscription where the god is mentioned whom Coḍagaṅga built a monumental temple. It states that in 1132 the king offered a "perennial lamp (*akhaṇḍavartikā*) to *Śrīpuruṣottama.*"[63] The location of this

[57] Rajguru, 1971, p. 149, note 1.

[58] EI, XXXV, p. 227; Rajguru, 1971; p. 127 and p. XXXIV where the full verse is given.

[59] Rajguru, 1971, p. 14?, note 2.

[60] Lokaikanātha, used as an epitheton in an inscription from 1147 (I.O. III I, p. 180; cf. Kulke, 1975, p. 25), is usually taken as an appellation of the Puri Jagannātha, however, H. v. Stietencron has repudiated this translation, see ch. 1 above.

[61] EI, I, p. 124f, cf. Rajguru, 1971, p. 103.

[62] Cf. the synopsis of verses invoking Viṣṇu and his *avatāras*, given by Rajguru, 1971, p. LXX.

[63] I.O. III, I, p. 137.

important inscription is very suggestive : it is on the door jamb of the Narasiṃha temple! The temple stands within the compound of the Jagannātha temple and may have been built before.[64]

Archaeological scrutiny only can ascertain, whether this was the original place of the inscription. But if so, it would be a proof for the fact that the Narasiṃha character of the Puri deity was still predominant at Coḍagaṅga's times. To place the promise of an offering to one god on the temple of another god would be uncommon,[65] particularly in the present case where the donation refers to that god whom Coḍagaṅga was shortly going, or had probably already started, to build one of the greatest temples in India. Given the identity between Narasiṃha and Puruṣottama this inscription—as well as perhaps the construction of the Narasiṃha temple altogether—makes sense and could be understood as a sort of prelude to the construction of the great temple.

There is another, though indirect, inscriptional reference to the identity of Puruṣottama and Narasiṃha in Puri at the times of Coḍagaṅga. In an inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III, the great-grandson of Coḍagaṅga, the poet Bhāskara has given an eulogy of the Gaṅga kings beginning with Coḍagaṅga, whom he describes thus:

> "In the line of these sovereigns of renown, the radiant halo of the person of Narahari incarnated itself as king Coḍagaṅga, whose sword used to give deliverance to the hostile kings, when they turned, so to say, Sanyasins on the bank of the sacred river, which flowed from the oozings of the elephants in fury of war . . . ."[66]

Two more verses describe Coḍagaṅga's glory. The composition is of course flattering court poetry at its heights and a comparison between mighty kings and Narasiṃha is not unusual. Nevertheless, the connection established between Coḍagaṅga and Narasiṃha does not seem to be chosen at random : the other kings described, are praised with equal skill but without being compared to any gods.[67] The inscriptions of Rājarāja, the father of Anaṅgabhīma, whose minister probably commissioned the present inscription,[68] show that Coḍagaṅga was well remembered as the constructor of the Puruṣottama temple. Accordingly the identity of Puruṣottama with Narasiṃha,

[64] Joshi, 1961, p. 47f.

[65] Inscriptions refering to donations are usually placed on the temples of those deities they are meant for. Exceptions are such temples, which function as a sort of archive. In Puri a similar role seem to be taken by the Pātāleśvara temple, on whose stone wall a great number of inscriptions are placed.

[66] EI, XXIX, p. 126, and N. Vasu, 1898; cf. also Chhabra, 1952, p. II ff.

[67] Besides Śiva whom the temple is erected, the only other god mentioned is Viṣṇu. The name of the minister who commissioned the inscription and built the temple being Viṣṇu, the poet says that no enemy could escape Viṣṇu, being either sent to his abode by being killed through the minister Viṣṇu or coming under his domination on this earth.

[68] Cf. Chhabra, 1952.

present in the cult, must still have been known. One might therefore conclude that the description of Coḍagaṅga as the "body of Narasiṃha" (*Naraharitanu*) was meant as an allusion to his close connection with Puruṣottama-Narasiṃha whom he had raised to a state deity (see below Kulke, ch. 8). It is interesting to note, that this description of the king as the "body" of his god, recalls the late ideology of the Gajapati kings, who, as Kulke has shown, named themselves the "movable Viṣṇu" in contrast to the "immovable", namely Jagannātha.[69]

The inscriptional evidence, in spite of its difficulties, leads one to conclude that at the time when Coḍagaṅga constructed the great temple, and also afterwards, the original identity of Jagannātha-Puruṣottama with Narasiṃha was still well-known. This probably also explains the difficult question of Coḍagaṅga's "conversion". Being originally a Śaiva, Coḍagaṅga started to call himself *parama vaiṣṇava* only after having conquered Orissa. Therefore, and because of his construction in Puri, it has often been assumed that he "converted" from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism. Against this Kulke has proved, that the construction of the Puri temple was essentially a political deed. Moreover he has shown, that Coḍagaṅga continued to name himself *parama śaiva* in the majority of his inscriptions even after having started with the Puri construction.[70] This extraordinary feature becomes quite logical if one considers the strong Śaiva element in the Narasiṃha worship noted above. Because Narasiṃha could be worshipped by both Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas, Coḍagaṅga could build a temple to this god while continuing to be a Śaiva and quite naturally call himself both *parama vaiṣṇava* as well as *parama śaiva.*

It is this "Śaiva" element in Narasiṃha which probably also made him eligible to be the tutelary god of the late Gaṅgas, a fact which certainly is also related to their connection with Narasiṃha-Puruṣottama in Puri.

CONCLUSION

The survey of Narasiṃha in the Jagannātha cult showed that both Narasiṃha and Jagannātha, are intimately linked and were identified at an early stage. Even today a Jagannātha figure is found to be worshipped as Narasiṃha. From the important role which Narasiṃha plays within Hinduization in Eastern India and his special relationship to tribal deities represented by wooden posts, it could therefore be concluded that the Jagannātha figure was the result of a process of Hinduization where a tribal deity represented by a wooden post was identified with Narasiṃha. The original symbol was changed accordingly by being combined with the popular iconography of Narasiṃha : a head with arms. This accounts for the iconographic particularities of the Jagannātha figure; the head is an attempt to represent a lion head, the round eyes are typical features of Narasiṃha's fury.

[69] Kulke 1974c, p. 74 and 1975, chapter 10.
[70] Kulke, 1975, chapter II, 2 and below chapter 8.

Narasiṃha is both, a god of folk religion and an aspect of Viṣṇu relevant in theology. It was therefore possible, that a tribal deity was associated with him on a popular level and later on when the identification was complete, became identified with other aspects of Viṣṇu: Puruṣottama as a specific deity sharing the tantric character with Narasiṃha and Puruṣottama as the highest form of Viṣṇu himself. Inscriptions suggest that such an identification between Narasiṃha and Puruṣottama was not uncommon. Moreover Narasiṃha could be incorporated into Śaivism and his worship is known to have been present in Orissa under Śaiva dominance. The identification of the aboriginal diety with Narasiṃha could therefore have happened during such times and the Śaiva character of Narasiṃha enabled him to be patronized by Śaiva kings such as Yayāti and Coḍagaṅga.

The question, which has not so far been considered, is, when and where the Hinduization of the tribal pole to Narasiṃha took place. The consideration of this question is only possible only when one more feature of the Jagannātha cult which determines its relationship to aboriginal cults is analysed namely the Hinduization of the ritual of renewal (see below Eschmann, ch. 14). As to the question, how and when the three Jagannātha figures were combined, it will be discussed at length in the article on the formation of the Triad (Chapter 10).

CHAPTER VI

THE ŚAIVA COMPONENT IN THE EARLY EVOLUTION OF JAGANNĀTHA

H.v. Stietencron

Some problems relating to the early history of the Wooden God (*dāru devatā*) will be discussed in the present Chapter. They refer to a time when temples were not yet built in honour of this god. Historical documents which could throw some light on this period of the god's development are totally missing. We therefore have to rely only on inference and deduction.

In the Chapter on types of Hinduization processes as observed in Orissa (chapters 4 and 5.) A. Eschmann tries to trace the structural pattern which may have governed the iconographical and iconological development of the Wooden God from a tribal symbol to a roughly Hinduized deity. To place such structural pattern into historical perspective and to say exactly at what time and place the initial transformation of the deity, i.e., its first Hinduization process occurred, is a different task. If the god's origin was tribal: from which tribe did he emerge? Did this tribe inhabit the area around Puri or did the Hinduized god migrate into coastal Orissa? At what time and under which circumstances did the Hinduization take place?

It is evident that the answer to these questions must be in accordance with the Hinduization pattern supposed to have been operating in the evolution of the god. And this Hinduization pattern itself should fit into the larger frame of the historical evolution of religion in the whole region, of which we can form a fairly reliable picture from literary and archaeological sources. The Vaiṣṇava Hinduization model with Narasiṃha as the agent or dominant factor producing the transformation of a wooden post from tribal symbol to Hindu deity appears in itself plausible. But when seen against the background of the history of Hindu religion in Orissa, it would appear that the time was ripe for this type of Hinduization rather late in Orissan History. It would perfectly fit into the Gaṅga and post-Gaṅga periods, when Narasiṃha worship was indeed a dominant factor in the country. This is the time

when elements of the Narasiṃha cult could easily have been incorporated into the rituals of Jagannātha. But I find it difficult to believe that Narasiṃha worship should have been dominant enough to provoke a Hinduization process as early as the pre-Somavaṃsī period when the first assimilation of the Wooden God into Hinduism is supposed to have occurred. The rare instances of ancient Narasiṃha images in Orissa do not seem to warrant such a conclusion.

Both the Śākta and the Vaiṣṇava model of Hinduization have been discussed extensively by A. Eschmann. The Śaiva model has also been refered to. It was often found to replace an earlier Śākta element and it was noticed that today the influence of Bhairava seemed to be absent in the Orissan semi-tribal Hinduized communities. Nevertheless, I believe that this model, too, deserves to be considered in connection with the origin of Jagannātha.

There are several reasons for exploring the possibility that the origin of the famous Vaiṣṇava deity Jagannātha might paradoxically be traced back to the religious impact of the Śaiva movement. We have seen in Chapter I that Śaivism was the dominant Hindu religion in Orissa throughout the period during which the Hinduization of the Wooden God must have taken place. For more than 550 years preceding the ascent of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty in Orissa, it had been one of the most important factors in the religious life of Orissa. It combined with Śāktism and absorbed Buddhism. Its vestiges are found in every nook and corner of the country; Puri itself was a Śaiva *kṣetra.*

Śiva was worshipped as Bhairava. This fierce aspect of Śiva which, as we know, was instrumental in the Hinduization processes of other regions of India, appears on many early temples throughout coastal Orissa. At least since the early Bhauma-Kara period he is shown in the peculiar form of Ekapāda Bhairava, the "Bhairava with one foot". Ekapāda Bhairava is a Tāntric deity. Associations reflected in Tāntric literature connect him with the Vedic Aja Ekapāda, with fire, with sacrifice, with the central pillar of the world and, lastly, with the Yoginīs. He is the supreme Lord.

Sculptural representations of Ekapāda Bhairava (see figs. 57-58) show a striking similarity with the Jagannātha image, especially with the earliest extant representations of Jagannātha from Konark (figs. 38, 40). In fact, none of the Narasiṃha images comes so close to the form of Jagannātha as Ekapāda Bhairava. Like Narasiṃha, he possesses the round eyes expressive of the *ugra* aspect of the deity. But unlike Narasiṃha, he really *is* a post (*sthāṇu*) with one foot only rooted in the earth, one leg only rising from the ground. The leg gradually increases in width to merge with the trunk of the deity. This gives to Ekāpada Bhairava the peculiar inverted conical shape, with a narrow base and a wide top, which is also present in the early Jagannātha images. It is found nowhere else. Narasiṃha is invariably shown with two legs one of which is slightly bent. He therefore also lacks the rigid static quality which is another characteristic of both Ekāpada and Jagannātha.

There are two signs on the body of Ekāpada Bhairava which, in addition

to the emblems held in his hands, characterise him as a manifestation of Śiva. These are his penis erectus (*ūrdhvaliṅgam*) and the tiger-skin which he wears on his hip. Both could easily be discarded when the cult of the Wooden God was appropriated by the Vaiṣṇavas at a later period.

It appears to me that the iconography of Jagannātha can be explained convincingly as derived from Ekādapa Bhairava. Reversely, Ekāpada Bhairava, in his more sophisticated sculptural representations appears as a Hindu representative of the Wooden God. The close formal relations between the two deities may explain the unusual popularity[1] of Ekapāda Bhairava in spite of the otherwise rather abstract concept of this God. Significantly, later concepts like Puruṣottama and Jagannātha are equally abstract. Nevertheless, the impressive primitive shape of the Wooden God always served to secure a continued contact between the people and their God.

A Hinduization of the Wooden God through identification with Śiva as Ekapāda Bhairava appears possible both in view of their close iconographical correspondence and in relation to the general development of Hinduism in coastal Orissa in the pre-Gaṅga period. Moreover, there exists also literary evidence confirming that at one stage of history Jagannātha was identified with Bhairava. In a passage recurring in different tāntric texts in connection with Śākta *tīrthas* of India and their presiding deities, Puri is mentioned with Vimalā as the Śakti[2] and Jagannātha as the corresponding Bhairava.[3] One of the texts in which this passage occurs, the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*, has been mentioned in a manuscript of the *Brahmayāmala Tantra* dated 1052 A.D., i.e. at a time corresponding in Orissa to the Somavaṃśī period.[4]

Historically, it can be confirmed that the worship of Ekapāda Bhairava in Orissa was widespread and flourishing in the Bhuma-Kara and Somavaṃśī periods. There are several stone images of the god in Puri itself, and numerous representations on the early Śaiva and Śākta monuments of coastal Orissa. The number of archaeological remains testifying to the presence of this god are indeed overwhelming when compared with the few early images of Narasiṃha. No doubt, Bhairava was, at that time, an important deity.

This changes abruptly in the Gaṅga period about the turn of the 12th to the 13th century. Other forms of Bhairava, e.g. Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, persist in the sculpture of the following centuries but Ekapāda rapidly disappears. It is a change which coincides with the major breakthrough of Viṣṇuism in coastal Orissa with the final conversion of the ruling Gaṅga dynasty to the Vaiṣṇava faith and with the full inclusion of the cult of the Wooden God into Vaiṣṇuism. There was no more need

[1] The god is known in other parts of India. But nowhere has he been represented as often as on the early temples of Orissa.

[2] Vimalā is considered as *ādiśakti* of Puri even today. She is also called *Piṭheśvarī* and *Śrīkṣetrādhīśvarī*.

[3] *Oḍreṣu Vimalā śaktir Jagannāthas tu Bhairavaḥ*.

[4] H.P. Sastri, *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* 1906-1911, p. 3. quoted by K.N. Mahapatra. 1954, p. 11. The dating of the manuscript is no reliable indication for the date of the quoted verse which may have been interpolated at a later period. A critical analysis of the Rudrayāmala and related texts is still a desideratum.

for Ekapāda Bhairava who had been a Hindu representative of the Wooden God after the latter was absorted by the rising Vaiṣṇava movement and re-interpreted according to the Vaiṣṇava theology.

It was, I believe, in the course of this Vaiṣṇava re-interpretation, that Narasiṃha became prominent in the history of Jagannātha. There is only one god in the Vaiṣṇava pantheon who can take the place of Bhairava: This is Narasiṃha. The *ugra* aspect of Śiva is exchanged against the *ugra* aspect of Viṣṇu. The latter now becomes the representative of the Wooden God and, consequently, gains popularity throughout Orissa.

It should be noted here that the two proposed Hinduizing factors Bhairava and Narasiṃha do not altogether exclude each other. Śaivism, as has already been pointed out, tended to include certain elements of Viṣṇuism as long as they could be subordinated to the Śaiva theology. Thus Narasiṃha was, in fact, assimilated as a subordinate Śaiva deity and connected with Bhairava. The Vaiṣṇava were more rigidly exclusive in their theology and religious practice. They did, on the whole, not incorporate Śaiva Gɔds. In other words, Narasiṃha could be absorbed by, or included into, the concept of Śiva Bhairava, but Bhairava was never absorbed into the concept of Viṣṇu Narasiṃha. Since the Jagannātha iconography has preserved visible features of Ekapāda Bhairava, the Hinduization must have occurred under Śaiva auspices (even if possibly including Narasiṃha elements), and not under Vaiṣṇava ones which would have excluded the Bhairava form When at a later stage the Vaiṣṇavas accepted the Wooden God, they emphasized only the Narasiṃha element while the Bhairava element was largely excluded from theology and ritual. This may partly explain why only the iconography of Jagannātha has retained traces of Bhairava while the ritual has not.[5]

The take-over of a Hinduized cult by the Vaiṣṇavas from the Śaivas could neither be effected rapidly nor with any amount of exclusiveness. For some time the Wooden God must have been worshipped by Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas alike. He was probably considered as Bhairava by the Śaiva community and as Narasiṃha by the Vaiṣṇava community. Since the latter came to enjoy full royal patronage at a later period they could fully appropriate the cult in the end. But the Śaiva tradition could not be totally wiped out. It is likely that two gods of the same shape were simply juxtaposed: Śiva Bhairava in his Ekadāpa form and Narasiṃha Puruṣottama. I have shown in Chapter I that this technique of placing Śiva and Viṣṇu on the same platform or *vedī* was already practised in Western Orissa since the beginning of the 10th century.[6] A similar attempt may have resulted in Puri in a duplication of the Wooden God, personifying his Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva aspects.

In the later Pāñcarātra interpretation which will be shown in Chapter 10 to have occurred in the time of Anaṅgabhīma III about 1230 A.D. they became the brothers

5 This statement may require modification after the evalution of further textual material. It is known that a Bhairava image was kept on the jewel throne of Jagannātha down to the British period.

6 H.v. Stietencron ,chapter 1.

Balabhadra and Jagannātha. Balabhadra, also known as Saṃkarṣaṇa, is indeed considered as representing Śiva already in the early Vaiṣṇava literature. In the *utkalakhaṇḍa* of *Skanda Purāṇa* (ca. 1300 A.D.) he is praised as Śiva's world-destroying fire (*kālāgnirudra*) and as *mahārudra*, i.e., Śiva[7]. He is considered as Śiva in Puri itself up to the present day. Iconographically, the change required only the addition of Balabhadra's snake hood, and a change in the form of his eyes. The white colour he has in common with the *śānta* aspect of Śiva.

The third image of the Puri triad, the image of Subhadrā, has iconographically a different origin.[8] Theologically she may have been related to Bhairava at an early stage. Being his *śakti* she stands at his left side. She retained this position, which is that of the wife of Śiva (who changed to Balabhadra) till today. And till today she is considered as Durgā Bhuvaneśwarī with whose mantra she is worshipped. Both her position and her mantra prove that she is associated with Bhairava rather than with Narasiṃha. In the course of the Pāñcarātra re-interpretation she was renamed as Subhadrā and officially considered as the sister of Balabhadra and Jagannātha. But G. C. Tripathi has shown (chapter 2) that her original status as consort of the Wooden God was also preserved in some Vaiṣṇava traditions, where she was conceived of as Lakṣmī, the wife of Jagannātha Puruṣottama.

From the point of view of the historian, the evolutionary process as outlined above with a Hinduization through the agency of Śiva Bhairava at its initial stage, fits better into the general background of the religious history of Orissa than the Hinduization theory on the Vaiṣṇava model. The theologian may find it difficult to accept that the famous Vaiṣṇava deity Jagannātha should have made its first entrance into Hinduism under Śaiva influence. But essentially it was not the god who changed. Considering the many centuries of his existence, he remained astonishingly unaltered. What changed was the Hindu interpretation of the god, the theological superstructure by which he was integrated into the Brahmanic tradition. We know of similar changes at other famous religious centres. Thus the Śaiva and Śākta tīrtha Śrīkūrmam was incorporated into Viṣṇuism and its deity re-interpreted as a form of Viṣṇu approximately at the same period by the same Vaiṣṇava movement which operated also in Orissa.

Changes in theology and ritual are, in fact, not uncommon. In the Jagannātha cult itself a second major change occurred within a century of its first inclusion into Viṣṇuism. Following the general trend of the time, the identification with Narasiṃha was replaced by an identification with Kṛṣṇa. The corresponding changes in the cult and theology may have been even more difficult than the initial Vaiṣṇava take-over from Śaivism.[9]

[7] *Utkalakhaṇḍa* 27, 45b (in praise of Balabhadra): *namaḥ kālāgnirūdrāya mahārūdrāya te namaḥ*.

[8] A. Eschmann, chapter 4.

[9] Bhairava and Narasiṃha have much in common. In terms of ritual and sacrificial practice, the change from the *ugra* aspect of both Bhairava and Narasiṃha to the *śānta* aspect of Kṛṣṇa was certainly no less decisive.

CHAPTER VII

ROYAL TEMPLE POLICY AND THE STRUCTURE OF MEDIEVAL HINDU KINGDOMS

H. Kulke

In the previous chapters the philosophical and the religious background of the early development of the Jagannātha cult has been analysed. Before entering into a detailed discussion about the historical context of this development and about the mutual relationship between the royal power and the Jagannātha cult, a few more general considerations about the religious policy and its influence upon, and function for, the formation of political power in medieval India may be helpful, notwithstanding the fact that they are still tentative and suggestive.

AUTOCHTHONOUS DEITIES AND THE EARLY NUCLEAR AREAS OF SUB REGIONAL-POWER

In its earliest history, Orissa had become a province and later even the centre of great empires under two of the most important rulers of early India, i.e., under Aśoka (3rd century B.C.) and Khāravela (1st century B.C.). These empires, on the one hand, were much more centralised than all the later kingdoms in Orissa and on the other, they were—except for their centres—less rooted in, and linked with, the respective local power structures. In Orissa, both empires, therefore, left little archaeological traces outside the central area around Bhubaneswar. Both empires, however, seem to have initiated in Orissa a political development on the local and sub-regional level. This development gained new and even stronger impulses through the example of the "classical" North Indian Hindu Empire of the Guptas in the 4th and 5th centuries

[1] I am indebted to the studies of B. Stein (1967/68 and 1969), R.S. Sharma (1965) and D. Rothermund (1975), to my colleagues of the Orissa Research Project: J. Rösel and G. Pfeffer, and A. Höfer of the South Asia Institute with whom I discussed several times various problems of Sanskritization and state formation in Orissa.

A.D. and by the early 7th century power struggle between the three great kings of North, East, and Central India, i.e., Harṣa, Śaśāṅka and Pulakeśin II, respectively who, one after the other, had temporarily conquered portions of Orissa.

Although influenced from outside, the development in Orissa during the early centuries A.D. is characterised by a territorial segmentation and a political development "from below". To students of the history of Orissa, this feature is well known through a number of rather confusing names of various small kingdoms and principalities scattered along the coast of the Bay of Bengal and in the hilly hinterland. Though the borders of these kingdoms and principalities often varied according to the power of the ruling dynasties and even some names, in the course of the history, were exchanged for new ones,[2] the topography of their centres and their spatial distribution remained almost unchanged from the 6th to the 11th and 12th centuries. In the 11th century, the Somavaṃśa dynasty, for a few generations, united, their homelands in Dakṣina Kośala in Western Orissa with Central Orissa. This first medieval regional kingdom of Orissa was followed in early the 12th century by the Gaṅgas who finally unified their southern homeland Kaliṅga with Central and Northern Orissa. The Gaṅgas superimposed their imperial power on the various small kingdoms and local principalities which had peopled the political map of Orissa.

In his very informative article on the "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India", Burton Stein delineated his conception of the "nuclear areas of corporate institution" as a major factor of integration in early South Indian history. These nuclear areas were characterised by four elements. They were (i) fundamentally independent and self-governing, (ii) autonomous economic units and (iii) in social and (iv) cultural terms centres of Hindu civilization.[3] The spatial distribution of these nuclear areas of well-organised and intergrated areas of settled, agricultural villages coincided in South India with the lower courses of three major rivers at the Coromandel coast and their gradual extension caused a "sustained displacement of tribally organized, pastoral and hunting society of forests and upland areas by caste-organized village-based societies".[4] B. Stein furthermore conceived the nuclear areas in South India mainly as "ecological systems" which had usually "only the lightest links to the great warrior families of Kanchi and Tanjore, the capitals of the Pallava and the Chola dynasties".

In the present paper, Stein's conception will be brought to bear mainly upon the *political* development of early state formation. In Orissa, during their early phase these territorial units are therefore conceived as *nuclear areas of sub-regional power.* It will be shown that, in a later phase, some of these nuclear areas of *sub-regional* power became the homeland (*janaka-bhū*) of the royal dynasties of the future *regional* kingdoms. Stein's thought-provoking concept of nuclear areas will therefore be conceived in a less static way and, due to the persistent existence of a strong tribal

[2] D.C. Sircar, 1260, p. 136 ff.
[3] B. Stein, 1969, p. 185ff.
[4] B. stein, 1969, p. 179.

element in the development of Orissa, in a less dichotomic way. In Orissa, nuclear areas were an integral part of a continuous process of political development and more centres of integration of tribal element than of their "sustained displacement."

The most important among these nuclear areas of sub-regional power in Orissa were those territories which were either situated in the upper delta regions of the various rivers flowing into the Bay of Bengal or upstream in the valleys, especially of the Mahānadī river. During the second half of the first millenium A.D. these were Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Dakṣiṇa Tośalī and Uttara Tośalī (respectively Utkal/Oḍra) at the Bay of Bengal, and Dakṣiṇa Kośala in the upper Mahanadī valley (see map No 1.). As separate territorial units of temporary importance, furthermore, were Khiñjalī Maṇḍala at the Mahānadī between Utkal and Dakṣina Kośala and the area between Dhenkanal and Talcher at the Brāhmaṇī river. These territorially segmented nuclear areas were usually separated from each other through mountains (e.g., Kaliṅga from Koṅgoda by the Mahendragiri) or by jungles (e.g., Utkal from Khiñjali Maṇḍala and Dakṣina Kośala) which were still inhabited by various "unpacified" tribes.

Contrary to the development in South India, as pointed out by B. Stein, the riverine nuclear areas in Orissa never enjoyed a *de facto* self-government through corporate institutions like the great district assemblies (*periyanaḍu*) in Tamil Nadu. In Orissa they were under the direct rule of Hindu rājās, who were either independent or only temporarily and nominally subjugated by "foreign" rulers. These little rājās organised their sub-regional power according to the Hindu law books (*śāstras*).[5] In its centre was the Hindu rājā and his court. This centre of the nuclear area was encircled by a number of tax-free *agrahāra* or *śāsana* villages which had been donated by the rājās to Brahmins who formed the elite of the administrative and ritual functionaries (see below Pfeffer, chapter 19). These Brahmins of the court circle, together with those Brahmins who had been settled in the outer areas, had a tremendous influence upon the "inner colonization" of the nuclear areas and the maintenance of (Hindu) law and (royal) order. Furthermore, it was mainly due to their influence that the nuclear areas were gradually integrated into the all-Indian sphere of Sanskrit learning and hitherto unknown temple architecture, both indispensable paraphernalia of future Hindu kingship. The most significant economic feature of these fertile riverine unclear areas was a peasant agriculture, based on irrigated rice cultivation. During this early period inter-regional trade seems—even in the case of the seafaring Kaliṅgas—to have been of minor importance.

The origin and date of this territorial development, more specifically its early phase, is too complex an issue to be considered more than briefly here. Although in some cases much older, the process of the territorially segmented development had generally entered its formative phase in the fifth century when in some areas donations of whole villages to Brahmins became more and more frequent. And it was certainly

[5] Somadatta, who ruled in North Orissa (Utkal and Dandabhukti) during the first quarter of the 7th century under the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka of Bengal mentioned explicitly in his Midnapore inscription that he followed the Manu-śāstra (10, 1, 2, No. 30).

fully developed in the late sixth century when the inscriptions bear evidence of a steadily increasing number of these principalities and small sub-regional kingdoms.[6] Other unmistakable indicators for the blossoming of this process were land donations not only to individual Brahmins but also to temples and affiliated monastic institutions[7] and the first construction of Hindu stone temples.[8]

The consolidation of the small kingdoms and principalities in the nuclear areas was a long and gradual process. One of the main problems during this period was the relationship of the Hindu rājās—often themselves descendents of tribal chiefs—with the tribes which surrounded the insulated nuclear areas. On the one hand, the rājās depended on their support for the security of the internal communication and borders. On the other, the rājās needed their land for the gradual extension of the peasant agriculture, which alone was able to yield sufficient surplus crop for the maintenance of the increasing court, e.g. the members of the ruling family, Brahmins, officials and soldiers. Tensions with the tribes were also due to the efforts of the local dominant Hindu castes to extend their economic base at the cost of their tribal neighbours.

Although the relationship between the Hindu society and the tribals was never without tensions, its generally peaceful character—especially if we compare it with the annexation of Northern America by the European settlers—was certainly one of the greatest achievements of Indian history. Generally speaking, in Orissa it was more a continuous process of indoctrination and partial integration than a process of "sustained displacement". During this gradual development the Brahmins played an eminent role. They defined and codified the duties of the tribes, which, as the Mahābhārata puts it, "reside in the dominion of the (Aryan) kings". According to the Mahābhārata they should lead a "recluse living in the forest . . . and serve their king . . . dig wells, give water to thirsty travellers, give away beds and make other reasonable presents upon Brāhmaṇas".[9] And it was again the task of those Brahmins to whom villages in remote areas had been donated to propagate this ideal for their own and their kings' sake.[10]

Whereas usually this indoctrination only sustained an unstable pacification of the tribes in the outer areas, it caused their partial integration in those more central areas which were already penetrated by pockets of Hindu peasants. This partial integration was achieved through their gradual inclusion into the lower strata

[6] Under the two branches of the Māṭharas in South Kaliṅga this process seems to have commenced already in the 4th century. In central Kaliṅga (of the Ganjam District) there existed already 36 Brahmin villages during the 5th century (I.O. Vol. 1, 2, S. 25ff).

[7] Kanas inscription, in: Ep. Ind. XXVIII, p. 328.

[8] See K.C. Panigrahi 1961a, p. 28 who dates the oldest temples in Bhubaneswar around 575 A.D. (Śatrughneśvara group).

[9] Mbh., *Śāntiparva* LXV (translated by Roy, VIII, p. 146)

[10] "The significance of landgrants to Brāhmaṇas is no difficult to appreciate. The grantees brought new knowledge which imporved cultivation and inculcated in the aborigines a sense of loyalty to the established order upheld by the rulers" (R.S. Sharma, 1965, p. 281).

of the caste system, paradoxically usually as "outcastes" and/or through their inclusion into the militia of the Hindu court. This process elsewhere has been called Kṣatriyaization: "In its functional sense Kṣatriyaization could be called social change 'from above' which was initiated in tribal areas by the Kṣatriyas, i.e., zamindārs, chiefs or rājās to strengthen their claims to legitimacy in the society and to broaden the base of their economic and political power".[11]

Both ways of partial integration (inclusion in the caste system and into the militia) were usually combined and they deeply influenced the Hinduism and the means of legitimation of Hindu royal power in these only partly Hinduized areas. The inclusion of tribal groups into the Hindu caste system initiated, on the village level, a process of Hinduization of their deities, which has already been dealt with by A. Eschmann in the previous chapters. The assignment of military duties to tribal or semi-tribal groups, usually furthermore led to royal patronage of the dominant autochthonous deities of the respective area.

The main reason for this royal patronage was that even a fairly Hinduized court, in a tribal or partly Hinduized surroundings, was highly dependent on the support and loyality of the tribes. Royal patronage of autochthonous deities seems to have been an essential presupposition for the consolidation of political power and its legitimation in the Hindu-tribal zone of Orissa. Whether the Hinduized chiefs or Hindu rājās had ascended from the local tribes or whether they had entered the respective areas as roaming freebooters, most of them accepted the dominant autochthonous deities of their territories as family and tutelary deities of their principalities.

Three examples from Orissa may suffice for this early type of royal patronage of autochthonous deities.[12] Two inscriptions[13] of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. mention royal land donations to the mother (*ambikā*) Maṇināgeśvarī, whose temple still exists on a steep hill near the capital of the former feudatory state of Ranpur. Even today she is worshipped as one of the most powerful goddesses of Central Orissa to whom till the 19th century human sacrifices were made. Due to her Sanskritic name ("Lady of the jewel-serpent") she is considered as a Hindu serpent goddess whose bronze image in the shape of Durgā is worshipped as the tutelary deity of the former feudatory rājās of Ranpur. One who takes the pain to climb up the hill, however, recognizes an unhewn round stone (*chatā pathara*)[14] of the original cult image of Maṇināgeśvarī. Only later, Hindu cult images of Cāmuṇḍā were added (fig. No. 71). It is, therefore, highly probable that the land donations of the 5th and 6th centuries were dedicated to the powerful autochthonous goddess who resided on a hill in the border area between the Hinduized delta of the Mahānadī river and its tribal hinterland.

[11] Kulke, 1976, p. 4.

[12] For other examples of the late medieval period see A. Eschmann below, chapter 14.

[13] Kanas inscription, in: Ep. Ind. XXVIII, p. 328 and the Ola ingh plate of Bhānuvardhana, in: 10, 1, 2, p. 133ff.

[14] Raṇapuradurga-Rājavaṃśānukramaṇī, p. 24.

When the Gaṅgas conquered the area south of the Mahendragiri mountain shortly before 500 A.D., they acknowledged a deity of the Saora tribe on the Mahendragiri under the name Śiva-Gokarṇasvāmin as the tutelar deity of the family (*iṣṭa-devatā*). This tradition has been preserved for centuries. In an inscription of the early 12th century it is mentioned that the founder of the dynasty, Kāmarṇava, after his arrival in Kaliṅga, climbed up the Mahendragiri and worshipped Gokarṇa-svāmin. "Out of grace (*prasādāt*) the god bestowed on Kāmarṇava all symbols of kingship (*sāmrājya-cihna*) who descended (*avatīrya*)[15] from the mountain, killed the chief of the Śabara tribe (*Śabarāditya*) and conquered Kaliṅga."[16]

Another outstanding example is the goddess Stambheśvarī ("Lady of the pillar") a Hinduized tribal deity who till today is worshipped in various parts of Orissa (Fig No. 69). Her first known royal patron (*stambheśvarī-pāda-bhakta*) was a Rāja Tuṣṭikara who ruled around 500 A.D. in a predominant tribal area south of Sonpur.[17] Between the 6th and 8th century Stambheśvarī was the tutelary deity of the Śūlkī dynasty which ruled in the above-mentioned riverine territory of the Dhenkanal-Talcher area. All rājās of this dynasty combined their names with that of their tutelary deity (e.g. Raṇa-stambha, Kula-stambha) and in many of their inscriptions they claimed to have received their kingship in their capital Kodālaka through the grace of the goddess Stambheśvarī.). It is most important for our problem that the *Śūlkīs* were most probably members of the *Śaulika* tribe which, according to the early Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, lived between the Kaliṅgas and the Cedis (of Dakṣina Kośala). It is, therefore, quite apparent that the rājās of the Śūlkī-dynasty had acknowledged and royally patronized the dominant autochthonous deity of their own region as their tutelary deity. In the ninth century, the Bhañja dynasty of the Khiñjali Maṇḍala in the Baudh-Sonpur region—another area where the Stambheśvarī cult is still prevalent[17]—worshipped the goddess Stambheśvarī.

Most of these autochthonous tutelary deities of Orissa underwent a process of Hinduization, the intensity and direction of which usually was directly influenced by the parallel rise of the sub-regional political authority from tribal chieftainship to Hindu kingship. Generally speaking, the process of Hinduization of these tutelary deities was similar to the Śākta and Śaiva typology of Hinduization as described above by A. Eschmann. But whenever a chief or rājā included a powerful autochthonous deity into the cult of his court, its development assumed peculiar features. In the course of time the cult of the tutelary deities at their place of origin was raised to the level of a fully developed temple cult whose ritual was nearly completely Hinduized. Two important aspects of the cult, however, remained nearly unchanged: the original uniconical symbol of the deity and its priests. These two most visible

[15] *avatīrya* certainly is an allusion to the divine *avatāra*-incarnation.

[16] Vizagapatnam plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga of the year 1119 A.D. (see Rajaguru, 1968/73, Vol. II, p. 14f).

[17] The Kalahandi copper-plate of Tuṣṭikara was first published by S.N. Rajguru in: JKHRS, II, 2/3 (1974) and re-edited by D.C. Sircar, in: Ep. Ind. XXX, p. 274ff.

[18] See above, Eschmann, chapter 4.

aspects of the cult seem to have served as the ritual bridge between the Hindu rājās and the people who still worshipped the tutelary deity as their own deity. Priests and the original images remained even unchanged when the royal court itself became more and more Hinduized. During the process usually a Hindu substitute or "movable image" (*calantī pratimā*) of the autochthonous deity was consecrated at the palace where its Hindu cult was exclusively performed by the court Brahmins. In some cases even a Hindu substitute, mostly in the form of Durgā or Cāmuṇḍā, (see fig. No. 71 of Maṇināgeśvarī) was also placed in front of or behind the original cult symbol of the tutelary deity. But only on certain occasions, usually during the Durgā-pūjā, when the rājā worshipped the deity and buffaloes were sacrificed in her name, the Brahmin *rājaguru* might have taken over temporarily the royal *pūjā*.

The worship of Hinduized tribal deities by the early dynasties of Orissa should not be misinterpreted as an indicator of a tribal culture at the respective courts. The excellent Hindu temples at their capitals—e.g. Kaliṅganagara of the Gaṅgas and Kodālaka (present Kualo) of the Śūlkīs—are an eloquent testimony of their high Hindu culture. The reason why these dynasties over centuries had patronized Hinduized tribal deities as their tutelary deities, was the fact that the royal "nuclear areas" were surrounded by tribes on whose loyality and military support they depended.

RITUAL POLICY OF THE REGIONAL HINDU KINGDOMS

The politically and economically highly developed nuclear areas yielded sufficient surplus crop for the establishment and the maintenance of a sub-regional power and its gradual extension into the tribal border areas. Looting expeditions against neighbouring peoples often led to a temporary conquest of the adjoining nuclear areas. But the rise of a *sub-regional* principality to a *regional* kingdom. comprising of several nuclear areas and its lasting establishment presupposed a permanent participation in the surplus crop of the conquered nuclear areas.

The problem of the rise of regional kingdoms, therefore, was not merely a question of military conquest. The crucial point always to what an extent the victorious conqueror succeeded in annexing the newly conquered areas and in unifying them permanently with his own homeland. Usually the conqueror tried to exchange the members of the defeated ruling families through his own relatives and deserving soldiers. But often enough he had to acknowledge the defeated rājās as his subordinate feudatory rājās (*sāmanta-rājās*). Their loyalty usually merely depended on the military power of their new suzerain, whose paramount military power, on the other hand, economically—in the absense of an economic participation in a considerable inter-regional trade—depended on the extent to which he was able to extract sufficient tax and booty from the conquered areas in order to feed his enlarged court and army. It was the crucial course of most of the regional kingdoms and empires of India's Middle Ages that their power to extract this necessary tax from the feudatories was again subject to their own military power.

It is only too obvious that a regional kingdom based on an amalgamation of the already highly developed nuclear areas with their own cultural and socio-political loyalties may best be described as a "multicentered system of power".[19] The ambiguous position of the central dynasty of the "loosely structured political system" of the regional Hindu kingdoms was further weakened during the "heyday of political feudalism", as the period between 1000 and 1200 A.D. has rightly been called.[20] These centuries were characterized by an increasing power of the feudatory chiefs (*sāmanta-rājās*) in the peripheral areas, and by an increasing sub-infeudation in the central nuclear areas of the regional kingdoms.

Besides investing more and more into their ever increasing army the Hindu rājās of these loosely structured regional kingdoms, in the absense of a centralized bureaucracy, tried with their traditional patrimonial power to counterbalance these dangerous feudal forces by *ritual* means. This aim was achieved mainly through three measures :

1. royal patronage of places of pilgrimage of regional and all-Indian importance within their respective kingdoms,
2. a systematic and large-scale settlement of Brahmins, and
3. construction of new imperial temples.

1. The history of the Hindu places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) is inextricably linked with the *bhakti* faith. Although in its origins much older, the ideal of salvation through intense devotion (*bhakti*) to a personal deity became a powerful religious movement for the first time in South India from the late sixth century onwards. This impressive folk devotionalism manifested itself in innumerable famous Tamil hymns which "were the works of those from all social strata from Brahman to untouchable."[21] It was mainly through this *bhakti* movement that the all-Indian Brahmin Hinduism in a continous process of two-way communication came down to the villages and rural centres and, *vice versa*, various autochthonous deities in a long and gradual process of Hinduization were included into the pantheon of *bhakti* Hinduism. This process, despite its tremendous integration (or "universalization") of autochthonous cults into the sphere of all-Indian Hinduism, invariably brought into prominence the indegenous cults of the various regions.

It was due to this powerful folk religion that the *tīrthas*, which were celebrated in South India in the hymns of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints (*nāyaṇārs* and *āḷvars*) became the main centres of popular religious activities. Initially the cults of these *tīrthas* were despised by the high-caste Brahmins,[22] especially by the Vedic

19 B. Stein, 1969, p. 185.

20 R.S. Sharma 1965.

21 B. Stein 1967/68, p. 256.

22 "They that are employed in courts of justice for summoning people, they *that perform worship for others for a fee*, they that perform the sacrifices of Vaiśyas and Śūdras, they that officiate

Brahmins who formed the core of the priests of the royal courts. But the powerful *bhakti* movement which meanwhile had become the true religion of the peasant society within the highly developed nuclear areas, could no longer be by-passed by the royal ideologists. The *bhakti* religion with its emphasis on personal faith and self-sacrifice became "the best religion . . . to hold this type of society and its state together".[23]

One of the characteristic features of the cults at these centres of pilgrimage was an increasing process of a ritual "royalization" of these deities. It is difficult to decide whether they had assumed more and more royal features due to royal patronage, or because the priests had ascribed these features of divine kingship to their gods in order to glorify them. Beyond any doubt, however, is that the daily performance of the rituals and the great annual festivals of the "royal deities"—with all their royal paraphernalia and exuberant wealth—became the best and most visible legitimation of royal power and wealth of the "divine kings" on the earth.[24] It is apparent that the royal patronage of these places of pilgrimage, mainly in the form of generous land donations and construction of new and impressive temple buildings in these tīrthas, had great significance for the legitimation of royal power. Through their landed property which was scattered over the whole kingdom, and the pilgrims who returned to their homes in all parts of the kingdom, the *tīrthas* became centres of a multicentered royal network which united the different nuclear areas religiously and even economically.

2. The second counterbalancing measure against the centrifugal forces of the regional kingdoms was a systematic settlement of Brahmins. As mentioned above, royal land donations to Brahmins have been known since the early centuries A.D. (See also Stietencron, ch.1). But it seems that the early donations were usually granted to the families of the royal priests at the central courts (rājagurus, etc.) and to individuals and small groups of Brahmins in quite remote places where they fulfilled the above-mentioned great task of inner colonisation of the early nuclear areas. Towards the end of the first millenium A.D., a new dimension was added to the royal policy of land donation. Large groups of sometimes several hundred Brahmins were systematically settled, often near the political centres of the kingdom.

Three examples from Western India, Kaliṅga and Northern India may illustrate this new development. In 930 A.D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV donated vast portions of his country to Brahmins and temples: "Be it known to you that I . . . who am maintaining grants to temples and *agrahāras* [Brahmin villages] . . . and who day by day am issuing charters of villages . . . gave unto the Brahmans six hundred *agrahāras* together with three lacs (3,00,000) of *suvarṇa* [coins] . . . and granted to the temples for the enjoyment of the gods eight hundred villages,

in sacrifices on behalf of a whole village and they that make voyages on the ocean,—these five are regarded as Cāṇḍalas among Brāhmaṇas". Mbh, ŚP. LXXVI (Transl. by Roy, Vol. VIII, p. 173).

[23] Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, p. 31.

[24] J. Rösel is stressing this point in his Ph. D. thesis (1976).

four lacs of *suvarṇas* . . . ."[25] In Kaliṅga, king Vajrahasta (1038-1070) who had reunited several branches of the Gaṅga dynasty and laid the foundation stone of the later imperial Gaṅgas, donated to 300 Brahmins the village Korni, which was situated near the capital Kaliṅganagara. In 1038 A.D. Coḍagaṅga renewed this donation, and in 1112/13 A.D. he enlarged this *agrahāra* of the 300 Brahmins with portions from several other villages.[26] No doubt, these 300 Brahmins had formed the administrative and ritual elite of the new court at Kaliṅganagara under Vajrahasta. But it is also sure that these 300 Brahmins could not have been maintained only by the surplus crop of a single village.[27] Many of them, therefore, must have drawn additional income as priests of one of the great temples of Kaliṅganagara. In 1093 A.D. Rājā Candradeva of the North Indian Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj donated a complete fiscal district (*paṭṭalā*) to 500 individual Brahmins near Benares whose names were all mentioned in the inscription. Few years later he enlarged this generous donation through further 37 villages from two other districts in the neigbourhood of Benares.[28]

It is obvious that the settlement of such large groups of Brahmins especially in the centre of the regional kingdoms during the "heyday of political feudalism" cannot be explained with purely religious arguments. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV who gave away 1400 villages and 7,00,000 *suvarṇas* to Brahmins and temples or, at least, reconfirmed earlier donations, was one of the weakest rulers of this powerful dynasty.[29] Apparently he tried to stabilize his weak power through appeasement of the hierocratical power of his vast empire. Vajrahasta of Kaliṅganagara had reunited the diverse units of the Gaṅga kingdom. After he had thus founded the "Greater Gaṅgas" of Kaliṅganagara, he obviously strengthened the central power of his new kingdom against the feudal forces by obliging the 300 court Brahmins at the center through the donation of the village Korni near his capital Candradeva of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj donated a whole district near Benares to 500 Brahmins after he had just conquered the Gaṅgā valley between Allahabad and Benares. His generous land donation, which he enlarged only few years later by 37 more villages, certainly did not only aim at strengthening of the Brahmanical element in the Benares region. It was at that time—before its conquest by the Muslims at the end of the 12th century—still the unrivalled stronghold of Hinduism in India. Candradeva's land donation, therefore, certainly aimed more at

[25] Cambay plates of Govinda IV, in: EI., VII, p. 45.

[26] Korni plates, 2nd set; Sitapathi, 1927, p. 123f.

[27] This is obvious when we consider that Vajrahasta, in the year 945, donated to one of his relatives 35 villages out of which he formed a new district (*viṣaya*) (Narasapatam plates, in: EI, XI, p. 147ff):

[28] Chandravati plates of Candradeva, in: EI, XIV, p. 192-209. Exempted from the first donation of the whole district were those villages which had already been donated to different donees: 25 villages to temples, 2 villages to Brahmins and 6 vllages to state officers (see also R.S. Sharma, 1961, p. 85).

[29] A.S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūta and their Times*, 2nd ed. 1967, p. 106.

strengthening of his own hold over this important newly conquered region of his kingdom.

The main function of these generous land donations to large groups of Brahmins was to provide the central power of the great regional kingdoms with a group of not yet feudalised administrative and ideological specialists. Their way of life and their traditional ideology of contentedness and worldly abstinence ("They possess nothing, still they have no craving for wealth and kingdom")[30] made them the ideal group to counterbalance the feudal forces both in the court circle and in the outer regions of the kingdom.

3. The third ritual counter-measures against the increasing feudalisation of the regional kingdoms was the construction of new gigantic temples of a hitherto unknown height. They exceeded the previous temples of the respective regions sometimes two or three times and reached a height which was never arrived at again. It is astonishing that so far it seems to have escaped the attention of scholars that the period during which these new gigantic temples sprang up in various kingdoms corresponds exactly with the "heyday of political feudalism" in the Hindu kingdoms.[31] It is most likely that through the cult of these gigantic temples the rājās had tried to create a new and *centralised ritual structure,* focused on the new state temple and its royal cult. As the cult of the imperial temple ("*Reichstempel*") was directly linked with the rājā—in fact it was an extremely enlarged cult of the personal *iṣṭadevatā* of the small palace shrines—this new centralized ritual structure finally was focused on rājā himself.

The best examples of this new royal temple policy are the famous Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore and the Jagannātha temple at Puri. After a long period of political weakness, Coḷa Rājarāja the Great (985-1114) reestablished the imperial power of his dynasty over the various royal dynasties of South India during the last years of the 10th century and conquered even northern Sri Lanka (Ceylon). During the following struggle for hegemony over the whole southern peninsula against the powerful Western Cāḷukyas (who had succeeded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 973) he decided in c. 1003 A.D. to construct the biggest temple of India in his capital Tanjore. Like the earlier monuments of "political architecture" in India, the temple of the "Great Lord" (*bṛhad-īśvara*), of course, symbolized the new royal power of its founder. However, the extensive donative inscriptions at the walls of the temple at Tanjore reveal, beyond any doubt, an even more explicit political function of this temple. Hundreds of Brahmins and temple servants were brought to Tanjore, among them 400 dancing girls, 212 dancing masters, musicians, drummers, tailors, goldsmiths, accountants, etc. Some of these servants had to be maintained by regular duties in form of rice sent from their own villages. For other servants and the maintenance

[30] Bhāgavata Purāṇa, V, 5.

[31] E.g., Kandariya-Mahādeva temple in Khajuraho (1002 A.D.), Bṛhadīśvara temple in Tanjore (1012), Udayeśvara temple in Udayapur (1059-1080) Liṅgarāja temple in Bhubaneswar (ca. 1060), Jagannātha temple in Puri (ca. 1135). This development culminated in the construction of the Konarak temple in about 1250 A D.

of the Brahmins, villages were donated to the temple all over the empire, even in Ceylon.[32] Rājarāja and several members of his family furthermore donated an immense treasure of gold and jewels to the temple which at once made the temple one of the richest of the whole of India. Cash income from the temple villages from all over the country and money donated to the temple were lent at the interest of 12½ per cent to be paid into the temple treasure. The money was given to villages which lay in the nuclear area of the Cōlas around Tanjore which was thus economically further developed through a new centralised form of ritual imposition of a tax.

The full implication of this new centralized ritual structure is getting clearer from the cult of the temple itself. In its centre is a Śivaliṅga which bears the royal name Rājarājeśvara. Although it certainly meant "Śiva (the Lord) of (the king) Rājarāja" it also implied some kind of deification of the Coḷa king ("Rājarāja' the Lord Śiva").[33] The donations, the annual tributes, and the visits which Rājarāja's feudatories had to pay to the temple on certain occasion, were thus finally focused on the king Rājarāja himself whose portrait in the temple bears strong resemblance with Lord Śiva.[34]

Rājarāja, through the construction of the Bṛhadīśvara temple, thus tried to weld together the various parts of his new empire by a centralised ritual superstructure, through which he kept his feudatories in an additional, yet less vulnerable, *ritual* dependence. And he used the tributes, booty, and donations for the economic development of his own nuclear area which, even in the context of his new empire, remained its most important economic basis. G.W. Spencer in his article on "Religious networks and royal influence in eleventh century South India", therefore, is certainly right when he concluded: "In order to understand the importance to Rajaraja of patronage to the Tanjore temple, we must recognize that such patronage, far from representing the self-glorification of a despotic ruler, was in fact a method adopted by an ambitious ruler to enhance his very uncertain power".[35]

Summarizing the delineations about the royal temple policy and the structure of medieval Hindu kingdoms we may come to the following preliminary conclusions. The acknowledgement of the dominant autochthonous deities as tutelary deities by the early Hinduized chiefs and Hindu rājās, above all, aimed at the consolidation of the newly established sub-regional power *within* the nuclear areas. The function of this early religious policy thus seems to have been mainly the *vertical* (internal) legitimation for the establishment of a hierarchically structured Hindu kingship in a more egalitarian tribal society. On the other hand, the time of the construction of huge imperial temples through the "Great Kings" (*mahā-rājas*) of the regional empire correspond with the "heyday of political feudalism" during which the institution of

32 SII, II p. 92, lines 12-15.

33 For the problem of deification of Hindu king see Kulke, 1974.

34 Plate 8 in J. Sundaram, *The Great Temple at Tanjore*, 2nd ed., Tanjore 1958.

35 G.W. Spencer, 1969, p. 45. For the economy of the Tanjore temple see SII vol. II, pt. 1-4, 1891-1913; further K.A.N. Sastri, 1955, p. 652 and his article: *The Economy of a South Indian Temple in the Chola period*, in: Mālavīya Commemoration Vol., Benares 1932, p. 305-314.

Hindu kingship and its legitimation was no longer in question. The question, at that time, was only: *who* was in charge of the divine institution of Hindu kingship and its power (*kṣatra*) as symbolized in the "stick" (*daṇḍa*). The kṣatra of the Mahārājas, therefore, at that time predominantly needed a horizontal (external) legitimation against rivals, whether they were powerful feudatories (*mahā-sāmantas*) or neighbouring Mahārājas.

Though in reality, the distinction between vertical and horizontal legitimation might be rather theoretical, it might help to explain another difference between the medium of religious legitimation of sub-regional and regional Hindu kingship. The vertical legitimation within a sub-regional nuclear area seems to have required a greater degree of mass participation. This was attained or even caused through the royal patronized *cult* itself of the autochthonous sub-regional deity. This function became most evident during the martial Durgā-pūjā when lots of buffalless and goats were sacrificed for the tutelary goddess and consumed in a holy communion "which bridges the gulf between the folk and the elite". Legitimation of royal power of the regional Hindu kingdoms, on the other hand, seems to have striven mainly for its horizontal recognition by equivalent rivals and potential rioters amongst the feudatories. This function seems to have been best fulfilled by the political architecture of the huge imperial *temples* with its egalitarian court-cult and its new centralised ritual structure. The nevertheless still important function of internal, vertical, legitimation of the royal power within the regional Hindu kingdoms seems to have been assumed by the great places of mass pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) with their "royal" deities.

In the following chapter it will be shown how the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, after the conquest of Central Orissa, were able to combine in a unique way both the vertical and the horizontal aspects of legitimation through their royal patronage of the former sub-regional autochthonous Jagannātha cult.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY ROYAL PATRONAGE OF THE JAGANNĀTHA CULT

H. Kulke

INTRODUCTION AND PRE-GANGA HISTORY

One of the fascinating aspects of the Jagannātha cult is its mutual relationship with the political power in Orissa. Although the cult had developed in Puri away from the political centres of Orissa, *e.g.*, Jajpur or Chaudwar/Cuttack, yet from a certain period onwards, it was drawn into the mainstream of the political evolution of Orissa to such an extent that kingship became part of the cult and the cult became part of the Orissan kingship and its main source of legitimation. This mutual osmotic penetration is closely linked with the formation of the first mediaeval Orissan empire by the Gaṅgas in the early 12th century which unified their southern homeland Kaliṅga with central and northern Orissa. The new relations between the Jagannātha cult and kingship in Orissa found their lasting manifestation in construction of the present monumental Jagannātha temple in the middle of the 12th century and culminated in the ritual dedication of the whole Orissan empire to Lord Jagannātha in early 13th century.

Only this recognition of Jagannātha as the "king of the Orissan Empire" (*Oḍiśa-rājya-rājā*) under whose overlordship (*sāmrājya*) henceforward the king ruled as his deputy (*rāuta*) and son (*putral*) finally established in the early 13th century the legitimation-ideology of the future Gajapati kings of Orissa. But the early development of the cult and the origin of its strong relationship with the political power in Orissa has to be traced back to the Somavaṃśa dynasty after their conquest of Central Orissa. Although due to the lack of historical sources the study of this early and formative period of the Jagannātha cult will provide us with more hypotheses than verified theories, it will enhance our theoretical means to understand the situation under Coḍagaṅga and Anaṅgabhīma III.

The analysis of the archaeological and literary sources as well as the inscriptional references in chapters 1 and 2 above has revealed (i) the existense of a pre-Coḍagaṅga temple of Puruṣottama in Puri and (ii) the great probability of its destruction during the construction of Coḍagaṅga's Jagannātha temple; (iii) no inscriptional reference about the founder of the early temple, however, could be traced.[1]

The only available tradition about the founder of the pre-Coḍagaṅga temple of Puruṣottama is the legendary account in the temple chronicle of Puri. Despite their general unreliability in a strict historigraphical sense—especially regarding the early periods of Orissan history[2]—it will be possible to utilise those portions of the legend for a historical study which can be verified through other historical sources. The story as related in the temple chronicles of Puri runs thus[3] : After establishing himself as the new king of Orissa and founder of the new Somavaṃśa dynasty, "Yayāti Keśarī" invited the learned scholars and priests of his kingdom and asked them to tell him the whereabouts of Jagannātha "the Lord of the kings of Orissa" (*Oḍiśā rājāra prabhu*). When Yayāti came to know that Jagannātha had been taken to a secret place near Sonpur in Western Orissa 144 years ago after the invasion of a foreign king Raktabāhu, he started on an expedition to Sonpur in order to recover the Lord of Puri. After overcoming various obstacles, Yayāti discovered the three images under a tree in the village Gapali[4] but they were so badly decayed that he decided to have new images prepared. This sacred renewal of the wooden images, however, could only be performed by the Daita priests, the descendants of the tribal Saora chief Bisvābasu who had been the first worshipper of Jagannātha in the hoary past.[5] But these Daita priests, together with the Pati-priests of Puri (the descendants from Bisvābasu's daughter Lalitā and the Brahmin Vidyāpati) had also fled before Raktabāhu. With the help of Jagannātha[6] Yayāti discovered the Daitas in Biribandha and the Patis in Ratanpur,[7] places lying in western Orissa and eastern Madhya Pradesh respectively. These priests set up new images according to the *śāstras*. Yayāti Keśarī had then constructed a new temple for Jagannātha in Puri and renewed the cult.

It has already been pointed out that it is still one of the most controversial questions of Orissan history as to which of the two historically known Yayātis these achievements can be ascribed. In other words: who was the Yayāti who united his homeland in Western Orissa with central Orissa? K.C. Panigrahi in his thorough study on the chronology of the Somavaṃśīs has brought forward important arguments

[1] See above, chapter 1 and Sircar, 1963/64, p. 174.

[2] D.C. Sircar, 1953.

[3] The following account is based on the MP, p. 5ff.

[4] *Jagannātha Kaifiat*, p. 6; *Account of the Gaṅgavaṃśa*, p. 9

[5] See the articles on Navakalevara by G.C. Tripathi and A. Eschmann in the present volume and R. Geib, 1975.

[6] *Account of the Gaṅgavaṃśa*, p. 10.

[7] Ratanpur is mentioned only by the MP, the other chronicles mention only the name Biribandha.

in favour of Yayāti I.[8] He pointed out that the invasion of—the otherwise unknown—*Raktabāhu* may be a faint allusion to the invasion of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king Govinda III (793-814). His invasion of Orissa before A.D. 805[9] happened in an interval before Yayāti I (ca. 922-955 according to Panigrahi)[10] which corresponds fairly exactly with the 144 years which according to the *Mādalā Pāñji* separate the time of "Yayāti Keśarī" from "Raktabāhu". Another strong evidence in this respect is the name of king Śobhanadeva[11] who had ruled Orissa according to the *Mādalā Pāñji* during Raktabāhu's invasion. Panigrahi identified *Śobhanadeva* with the Bhauma Kara king *Śubhakaradeva I* who ruled in Jaipur around A.D. 800.[12]

On the other hand, there are several important evidences in the contemporary inscriptions of the Somavaṃśīs which make it more likely to ascribe these achievements to a later time of the Somavaṃā period. It is very likely that the conquest of coastal Orissa by the Somavaṃśīs was a long and gradual process[13] till it was finally united by Yayāti II in the middle of the 11th century with his homeland in Dakṣina Kośala. In two inscriptions it is clearly stated that Yayāti II was elected by the war-lords and ministers respectively[14] as king of both (*dvaya* and *ubhaya*) kingdoms (*rāṣṭra*) Kośala and Utkala. The explicit mention of the term *rāṣṭra* both for Koṣala and Utkala makes it highly probably that till Yayāti II, both states were autonomous parts of the Samavaṃśī kingdom.

Although the Yayāti-problem, *i.e.*, whether Yayāti I or one of his successors conquered Central Orissa and had constructed the pre-Coḍagaṅga temple of Puruṣottama, is thus historicall/ still rather unsolved, the legendary account of the temple chronicle about "Yayāti Keśarī" remains of great importance for the study of the political aspect of the Jagannātha cult. Noteworthy in the Mādaḷā Pāñji tradition is in this respect specially the strong relationship of Jagannātha cult with western Orissa—written down in a text compiled around A.D. 1600 when the knowledge about the origin of the Somavaṃśīs from South Kośala of western Orissa had already become very faint. The alleged "rediscovery" of Jagannātha's images and priests might, therefore, well reveal an even stronger influence of the Somavaṃśīs on the early Jagannātha cult in Puri than usually assumed.

The supposition of a strong relationship between the Jagannātha cult and Western Orissa arises from the following two facts:

[8] K.C. Panigrahi, 1961b, p. 26f.

[9] Sanjan inscription of Govinda III (A.S. Altekar, Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times, 1967, p. 65). See also Nesarika Grant of Govinda III of the year 805 where it is mentioned that Govinda wrested the royal insignia (*cihna*) from the king of Kośala EI, vol. XXXIV, 1961/62).

[10] K.C. Panigrahi, 1961b, p. 17.

[11] MP, p. 4; *Account of the Gaṅgavaṃśa*, p. 4 and *Jagannātha Kaifiat*, p. 7.

[12] K.C. Panigrahi, 1961, p. 27.

[13] For the Yayāti problem see also above, Stietencron, chapter 1.

[14] Narsiṃhapur and Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Uddyota Keśarī, in I.O., Vol. IV, p. 227 and p. 246. In his Jatesinga and Dungri plates Yayāti II states that he was elected in the *svayaṃvara* by Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kośala, I.O. Vol. IV, p. 220.

1. The Sonpur-Baudh region—where the images were "rediscovered" by the legendary Keśarī—was the homeland of the Somavaṃśīs before the conquest of Central Orissa. This region was during the later centuries of the first millenium A.D. the main centre of a royal patronized Stambheśvarī ("goddess of the pillar") cult which had—especially iconographically—a strong correspondence with the Subhadrā and the Sudarśana images of the Jagannātha triad.[15]
2. Yayāti Keśarī—according to the *Mādalā Pāñji*—discovered the descendants of the Puri priests in the border region of western Orissa and eastern Madhya Pradesh. It was the area where the early existence of a Puruṣottama-Nṛsiṃha cult has been proved (ch. 5) which later on had a tremendous influences on the Jagannātha cult of Puri. Furthermore this border region between Orissa and Madhya Pradesh was the original homeland of the forefathers of the Somavaṃśīs when they had still been feudatory chiefs of the Śabarapurīya kings who had worshipped Viṣṇu as "Śabarī-Narāyaṇa" ("Viṣṇu-Narāyaṇa of the Saora-woman"). Even in the 15th century, in Śāraḷā Dāsa's famous and free Oriyā rendering of the *Mahābhārata*, Jagannātha himself announced that previously (in the *śatyayuga*-age) he had existed in the form of the Śabarī-Narāyaṇa.[16]

All these arguments show that there was a persistent tradition of a strong and influential relationship between Western Orissa and the Jagannātha cult of Puri, which according to both the legendary accounts of Puri and the political history of Orissa was established for the first time by the Somavaṃśa dynasty. On the basis of this evidence one might even assume a migration of the Jagannātha cult from Western Orissa in connection with the conquest of coastal Orissa by the Somavaṃśī kings. I am, however, inclined to assume as the deeper reason for these relations the common, yet "unhistorical", roots of the early Jagannātha cult in Puri and the royal patronized cults in Western Orissa.

In the preceding chapter it has been shown that royal patronage of the autochthonous pre-Brahmanic and only partly Hinduized sub-regional deities with their strong "territoriality" had played an important role in the formation and stabilization of political power in Orissa. In the context of the structure of medieval Hindu kingdoms, in newly conquered areas royal temple-policy usually meant royal patronage of an already existing cult which sometimes became a "subsidiary" *raṣṭradevatā* of the enlarged kingdom. To impose a "foreign" cult upon the population of the conquered area usually would be contrary to the political aim and against the Hindu tradition. The enlargement and elevation of an already existing autochthonous cult, on the other hand, glorified the new ruler and legitimized his power in the domain of the deity.

[15] K.C. Mishra, 1971. p. 13ff.; H. Kulke, 1973, p. 134; 1975, p. 12ff. A. Eschmnn, above, ch. 4.
[16] Geib, 1975, p. 141; K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 8ff and 16f.

The victorious king, however, was free to select for his royal patronage one or several out of the existing autochthonous cults. Usually he gave his preference not only according to political opportunism but also to his own individual and dynastic religious tradition. He thus tried to find a cult for his royal patronage which may correspond to both these religious and political intentions. While enlarging such a cult, usually he tried furthermore to influence and to "guide" it through the means of his royal patronage in a way which supported his own political and religious intentions. Certain innovations regarding both the ritual and the priests were quite common—provided that they could be reinterpreted as renewal and rediscovery of the old or even original cult images and priests.[17] In this connection it seems to have been especially important to install priests from the royal homeland as, so to speak, "the own men on the spot" who were both able to influence the local population in the interest of their king and to inform him about possible dangers.

The Puruṣottama cult of Puri must have satisfied these preconditions for the victorious foreign Somavaṃśī kings. With its orthodox Brahmanic blending, its already existing importance for kingship ideology under their predecessors in central Orissa,[18] and its deep roots in the autochthonous religion of the whole region it must have strongly attracted the conquering Somavaṃśī kings, because it reminded them strongly of similar cults of his homeland. In order to strengthen and legitimate his rule in the Puri region—the future domain of Puruṣottama[19]—and at the same time to *unify it ritually with his homeland* in western Orissa, one of the Samavaṃśīs erected the first historically known Puruṣottam-temple in Puri. In the above-mentioned context he might have then well brought "rediscovered" cult images and priests from his homeland—as related in the legendary accounts of the temple chronicle of Puri in order to enlarge an already existing cult at Puri.

In this respect a legend from Jajpur, the capital of the former Bhauma-Kara dynasty, is of great importance.[20] It relates that Yayāti-Keśarī after his victory invited ten thousand Brahmins from North India to perform ten royal horse-sacrifices (*aśvamedha yajña*) at Jajpur where the stone steps at the Baitarani river are still called *Daśāśvamedha Ghat*. This legend may well contain a historical tradition about systematical settlement of large groups of Brahmins under the Somavaṃśīs. As has already been discussed in the Previous chapter,[21] the function of these settlement would have been both to re-inforce the Brahmanic survival against Tantristic cults

17 A similar legend was introduced in Chidambaram for the legitimation of the Cōḷa king Kulottuṅga I (1070-1118) and those "3000" priests who claimed to have come from his homeland Veṅgi to Chidambaram (Kulke, 1969, p. 419f.)

18 Śailodbhava Rāja of the early 8th century is compared with Nārāyaṇa (I.O. vol. I, 2, No. 46) and kings of the Bhauma Kara dynasty of the 9th century are twice compared with Puruṣottama (see G.C. Tripathi, above chapter 2).

19 Puruṣottama-*kṣetra* or Puruṣottama *dhāman* (see *Coḍagaṅga's Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription at Puri*, A. Joshi, 1961, p. 49).

20 See Pfeffer, chapter 22.

21 See Kulke above, chapter 7.

patronized by the Bhauma Karas, and to counterbalance the local feudal powers through a group of ritual specialist linked with the central power.

Whoever might have been the historical Somavaṃśī king whose deeds were praised in the Yayāti Keśarī legends in coastal Orissa, it is certain that under none of the Somavaṃśīs the god Puruṣottama of Puri played the role of family deity (*kula-devatā*) or even of a state deity (*rāṣṭra-devatā*). All of them were strong minded Śaivas[22] who left the testimonies of their devotion in their ambitious building activities in the *Śaiva-kṣetras,* especially in Bhubaneswar. Puruṣottama became "only" a subsidiary state deity of the Somavaṃśa kingdom. They, therefore, "neglected" the cult, as it was mentioned by one of the Gaṅga kings after Coḍagaṅga had constructed the new monumental temple at Puri.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE UNDER CODAGANGA

The rule of the Somavaṃśīs in Central Orissa was a short but a brilliant one, their main achievements are still the marvellous temples at Bhubaneswar like Rājarānī, Brahmeśvara and Liṅgarāja which belong to the masterpieces of religious architecture of the world. During the late 11th and early 12th century the Somavaṃśīs were increasingly threatened by the powerful dynasties of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Pālas of Bengal. This struggle was finally decided in favour of the Gaṅgas when Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1077—1147), by far the most powerful ruler of his age in Eastern India, conquered Central Orissa and laid the foundation stone of the rule of the "Imperial Gaṅgas" who dominated this region for more than three hundred years.

It is another controversial question of the religious history of Orissa why Coḍagaṅga, as a member of the Eastern Gaṅgas who since centuries had worshipped *Śiva*-Gokarṇeśvara[23] on the Mahendra mountain in Kaliṅga as their family deity, constructed a huge temple at Puri which was dedicated to *Viṣṇu*-Jagannātha. Till recently it has usually been argued that Coḍagaṅga after the conquest of Orissa became a devotee of Viṣṇu and was finally converted to Viṣṇuism under the direct influence of the great Vaiṣṇava reformer Rāmānuja (C. 1056—1136 A.D.).[24] This theory is mainly based on one inscription of the Year 1118 A.D. in which Coḍagaṅga is praised as a great devotee of Viṣṇu (*paramavaiṣṇava*).[25] However, in a recent study

[22] The *iṣṭadevatā* of Yayāti II, however, seems to have been Bhagavatī Pañcāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā at Sonpur; see Jetasinga and Dungri plates, I.O. vol. IV, No. 34.

[23] According to the temple chronicle of Puri the old temple was broken down before the construction of the present one. (MP, I, p. 29). The MP, however, attributes these deeds wrongly to Anaṅgabhīma III.

[24] P. Mukherjee, 1940, p. 27f; B. Ch Chhabra, 1952. p. 124; S.N. Rajaguru, 1968/72, Vol. 1, p. 40; D.C. Sircar 1971, p. 62.

[25] Vizagapatnam inscription, I.O., III, 1, p. 80. For the alleged influence of Rāmānuja see P. Mukherjee, 1940, p. 27f. The legends of Rāmānuja's visit to Orissa can be no sound basis to build upon it a theory of Coḍagaṅga's conversion under the direct influence of Rāmānuja. Whereas the

of Coḍagaṅga's inscription the assumption has been disproved that a "change of religious believe"[26] had ever taken place in Coḍagaṅga's life.[27] Against the overwhelming number of more than hundred inscriptions which prove Coḍagaṅga's devotion to *Śiva*, the very few inscriptions which mention also his devotion to Viṣṇu have to be regarded nearly as a *quantité negligeable.* Most *revealing* for Coḍagaṅga's personal faith in Śiva are the inscriptions of his queens in Draksharama of the year 1128 (see below p. 147, footnote 35).

In a previous chapter it has already been pointed out that Coḍagaṅga, although remaining personally a Śaiva, has been "keenly aware of the spiritual trends of the time" when he decided to erect a temple for Puruṣottama "in order to base his power on a rising movement."[28] It remains now to explain why Coḍagaṅga decided to build the greatest temple of his empire *outside* his own homeland Kaliṅga, in which several famous Vaiṣṇava *tīrthas* (e.g. Śrīkūrmam and Simhacalam) already existed and which certainly could have been vastly enlarged and beautified. This problem is even more relevant if we take into consideration that (a) nearly all temple donations of Coḍagaṅga till the thirties of the 12th century were dedicated to gods in Kaliṅga and (b) no "change of his religious belief" could be traced which might have motivated him to alter drastically his official religious policy. Considering these arguments it is most probable that Coḍagaṅga's decision to concentrate, in his later years, all his means and building activities in Central Orissa, must have been essentially a *political* decision, a hypothesis which—if correct—should be verified by an analysis of the political situation of this period.

Although—or because—Coḍagaṅga, as his name "Cōḷa-Gaṅga" indicates, was a very near relative of the imperial Cōḷa dynasty of South India,[29] there was a bitter family feud between the Cōḷa king Kulottuṅga I (1070—1118) and Coḍagaṅga. About 1098 A. D. and around 1110 Kaliṅga was, at least, twice attacked and Coḍagaṅga's army defeated.[30] The court poem of Kulottuṅga the Kaliṅgattupparaṇi which extolls the achievements of Kulottuṅga and his general in the Kaliṅga war mentions as the reason of the second war Coḍagaṅga's refusal to pay his tribute to the Cōḷa emperor. Whether there is some truth in this account of an overlordship of

tradition of the conversion of the South India Hoyasaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana, in whose empire Rāmānuja stayed from 1198-1222, "is in no sense contrary to possibility or even probability" (as J.D.M. Derret writes in his books on the Hoysaḷas, 1957, p. 222), we have no corroborating historical evidence for Rāmānuja's supposed visit to Orissa and his alleged influence upon Coḍagaṅga. One has also to take into account that the only one inscription, which mentions Coḍagaṅga's devotion to Viṣṇu, belongs to a time when Rāmānuja was still in his exile at Malkote in Mysore, which he left only after 1122 A.D. After this date none of his inscriptions praised Coḍagaṅga as a *parama-vaiṣṇava* (For more details see G.N. Dash in the next chapter)

26 D.C. Sircar, 1947/48, p. 211.

27 Kulke, 1975, pp. 22-26, see also Stietencron, chapter 1.

28 v. Stietencron, chapter 1.

29 K.A.N. Sastri, 1955, pp. 322f, and S.N. Rajaguru, in: OHRJ, V (1956), pp. 50-56.

30 Simhachalam inscription of Kulottuṅga's war minister (363 of 1893, V. Rangacharya, 1919, Vol. III, p. 1668); Draksharama inscription of Kulottuṅga I, see EI, Vol. XXII, 1933); p. 139ff; K A.N. Sastri, 1955, p. 320f.

the Cōḷas over the Gaṅgas or not,[31] the deeper reason for this feud was certainly the successful efforts of the Gaṅgas since the times of Vajrahasta to expand their territory beyond the borders of their political "nuclear area" Kaliṅga.

A glance into the map reveals that this "nuclear area" or the homeland of the Gaṅgas was in fact the rather small delta area of the rivers Vamsadhara and Nagavali. This delta region lies exactly between the two other great deltas of Eastern India, i. e. the Mahanadi delta in the north (occupied by the Somavaṃśīs) and the Godavari-Krishna delta in the South (which was ruled by the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi). The extention of the sub-regional kingdom of the Gaṅgas to a regional empire, therefore, necessarily presupposed the conquest of either or both of these deltas.

Their traditional cultural and linguistic links with the south induced the Gaṅgas of the 11th century to cast their eyes on the fertile Godavari delta. But after 1070 when the Eastern Cālukya king of Veṅgi, Rajendra II,—himself by blood three-fourth of a Cōḷa—had become the Cōḷa emperor, these ambitions of the Gaṅgas had to face the military power both of the Cōḷas and their Cālukya viceroys at Veṅgi. Coḍagaṅga was unable to resist these imperial forces and was twice defeated when Vikramacōḷa, heir-apparent and son of Kulottuṅga, was viceroy at Veṅgi between 1092—1118.

The northern delta of the Mahanadi was ruled by the powerful Somavaṃśīs. When their power declined in the late 11th centary, Central Orissa (Utkal) becanie a buffer state and a bone of contention between Coḍagaṅga and the famous king Rāmapāla of Bengal. Both of them boasted to have defeated as well as ptotected the Somavaṃśī king against aggressions of the other[32]—indicating that neither side was strong enough to conquer the hotly contested Mahanadi delta.

However, the years 1110—1112 brought a decisive change in this undecided situation. After Coḍagaṅga seems to have met a crushing defeat in the south by Kulottuṅga's general in 1110, he gave up—for the time being—his plans to expand his territory into the fertile Godavari delta in the south. He now turned his attention to the Mahanadi delta and conquered it in 1111 or 1112 A.D. But it is most likely that Coḍagaṅga did not immediately fully annex Orissa to his empire. In the inscription of early 1113 A.D. it is only stated that Coḍagaṅga reinstalled the fallen Somavaṃśī king[33] (who Most probably previously had been defeated by the Bengal kiṅg Rāmadeva); nothing, however, is mentioned in this inscription about the annexation of central Orissa immediately after Coḍagaṅga's victory. Although Coḍagaṅga, in his Vizagapatnam plates of 1118 A.D.. called himself "the Lord of the entire Utkal", this is not to say that Central Orissa (Utkal) had become, at once,

[31] K.A.N. Sastri, 1955, p. 232 and I.O., Vol. III, 1, No. 18.

[32] *Rāmacaritam* of Sandhyākaranandin (III, 45) ed. H.P. Sastri, rev. ed. and English transl. by R.G. Basak, Calcutta Asiatic Society, 1969. For an analysis of the relevant portion of the *Rāmacaritam* see A.M. Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*, 1967, p. 124. See also Korni copper plates of Coḍagaṅga, 2nd set, line 102; in: JAHRS, I, 3 (1927).

[33] Korni copper plates, 2nd set, see note 32.

an integral part of Coḍagaṅga's kingdom. He might have well allowed the Somavaṃśīs to continue their rule for some time as his feudatories.

During the next two decades Coḍagaṅga was able to build up the first medieval imperial Orissan Empire. Most probably after the death of Rāmapāla, around 1120, Coḍagaṅga extended his empire up to the Hoogly district at the Gaṅga. In the south, Coḍagaṅga had to wait longer for a favourable situation. Till 1118, when Kuolttuṅga's strong son and viceroy Vikramacōḷa left Veṅgi in order to become himself the Cōḷa emperor, the Godāvarī delta was firmly occupied by the Cōḷas. But after Vikrama's departure, Veṅgi was conquered by the Western Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI, the rival both of Kulottuṅga and Coḍagaṅga.[34] After the death of this great king in 1126 his son Someśvara III seems to have formed an alliance with Coḍagaṅga against the Cōḷa Emperor. Coḍagaṅga reached the zenith of his power in the south when he visited Draksharama on the eastern bank of the Godavari river in July 1128 with his queens. Seven of them are known by name by separate inscriptions through their donations to the Śiva-Bhīmeśvara temple in Draksharama.[35]

During the following years, however, difficulties arose at the borders of the Gaṅga empire. In the south, Vikrama Cōḷa about 1127 began to re-establish the Cōḷa power in Veṅgi, a gradual process which reached its culmination in a battle in about 1133 in which both, the Western Cāḷukya king Someśvara and Coḍagaṅga were defeated at the banks of the Godāvarī.[36] At the same time Coḍagaṅga had to face an even greater danger in the west. Jajalladeva, the Kalacuri king of Tummāna (eastern Madhya Pradesh), had already in 1114 conquered South Kośala up to Sonpur in West Orissa. Around 1134 the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II claims to have won a decisive victory over "king Coḍagaṅga the Lord of Kaliṅga".[37] Fortunately, a Telugu inscription of the year 1135/36 exists in which Coḍagaṅga admits the existence of these wars. But he states that, after he had suppressed the "rebellion" which had appeared in the western, northern and eastern quarters of his empire, he controlled the country from the Ganges up to the Godavari and satisfied the Devas, Ṛṣis, forefathers and Brahmins.[38] The rebellions in the "west" and "north" were certainly his disadvantageous wars with Vikramacōḷa and Ratnadeva II.[39] The rather unprecise mention of these wars as "rebellion" makes it very likely that they were, indeed, lost by Coḍagaṅga.[40]

[34] K.A.N. Sastri, 1955, p. 328f.

[35] I.O. Vol. III, 1, Nos. 99-105. All these inscriptions are dated 29.7.1128. These inscriptions are of great importance for the *personal* religion of Coḍagaṅga because all his queens praise him, only few years before the construction of the Puri temple, as a great devotee of Śiva.

[36] K.A.N. Sastri, 1958, p. 186f.

[37] Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva III, verse 8, in: Ep. Ind., XXI (1931), p. 163. For the date of Coḍagaṅga's defeat see also the Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva II of the year 1128, in: EI, vol. XXII (1933), p. 162.

[38] Rajaguru, I.O. vol. III, 1, No. 158 and II, 2, p. 396.

[39] The Godavari lies in the (south-) west of Kaliṅga and Dakṣina Kośala lies in the north; the east must, therefore, be Bengal.

[40] The word "rebellion", however, may also refer to the Velanadu chief Goṅka II of the lower Godavari delta who shifted his alliance from Coḍagaṅga to Kulottuṅga II in about 1135.

It is furthermore very remarkable that in the same inscription in which Coḍagaṅga admitted indirectly these difficulties, he took up the imperial title of a "sovereign of the world" (*cakravartin*)[41] and it was in this very time that Coḍagaṅga started to build the gigantic Puruṣottama temple at Puri. How can this coincidence be explained?

In the preceding chapter it has been pointed out that it was one of the main problems of the regional kingdoms of India, how to unify permanently the conquered "nuclear areas" of the defeated neighbours with their own dynastic homelands. This general feature of the loosely structured political system of medieval Hindu empires was specifically characteristic for medieval Orissa. Her pre-Gaṅga-history can easily be explained as a series of more or less futile attempts of the various "foreign" dynasties, which, after having successively conquered central Orissa, failed in unifying the important delta region of the Mahanadi river with their respective homelands. The early dynasties of the Śailodbhavas and the Bhauma Karas, seem to have not been able to establish fully their power in the central delta and to weld it permanently with their respective homelands in the south and the north of the central delta area. Only the Somavaṃśīs, for the first time, had shifted their capital from their homeland in western Orissa to the central delta region and made Jajpur[42] and Bhubaneswar the centres of their power. But consequently they had lost in the later 11th century the control over their homeland in western Orissa and had thus become even more vulnerable because henceforward they depended only on the much demanded fertile central delta of Orissa.

For the Gaṅga empire under Coḍagaṅga the Mahanadi delta played a very similar role. The importance of this region doubtlessly had further increased after Coḍagaṅga's intention to expand his territory further down into the Godavari delta and the Mahanadi upstream had suffered a serious set back during the years 1134/35 through the armies of the Cōḷas and the Kalacuris. Through the successful conquest of central Orissa and southwest Bengal in previous decades, on the other hand, Coḍagaṅga's homeland Kaliṅga had become a southern border region whereas the Mahanadi delta arose as the natural centre of his empire. In this political situation after he had realized the limitations of his power, Coḍagaṅga decided to reorganize his empire, now centred around the fertile Mahanadi delta.

The details of the execution of this plan are unknown. But it is extremely remarkable that now, after a long gap of about 20 years, and when he had been defeated in the south and west, we find again Coḍagaṅga's inscriptions in central Orissa.[43] Although in an inscription of 1295 A.D. (written about 150 years after the

[41] "A ruler, the wheels of whose chariots roll everywhere without obstruction" (Monier Williams).

[42] D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 1960, p. 146f.

[43] Liṅgarāja inscription of Ś. 1056=1134/35 A.D. (I.O., Vol. III, 1, No. 153) and Nṛsiṃha temple inscription of Puri of the 58th regnal year of Coḍagaṅga=1134/35 A.D.; S.N. Rajaguru (I.O., vol. III, 1, No. 123) and A. Joshi (1961, p. 48) date the Nṛsiṃha inscription in 1132/33 A.D., because several of Anantavarman's later inscriptions omit 1-3 *śrahi*-years.

death of Coḍagaṅga) it is stated that by "defeating the king of Utkala . . . Gaṅgeśvara [=Coḍagaṅga] obtained the . . . Lakṣmī-like kingdom."[44] From contemporary inscriptional evidence it seems quite likely that Coḍagaṅga completely annexed central Orissa (Utkal) only much later. As mentioned above, this assumption is based on the two facts that (a) no personal inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga are so far known from central Orissa between 1113 and about 1134/35 A.D.[45] and (b) in the inscription of early 1113, immediately after his conquest of central Orissa, he announced the replacement of "the fallen Lord of Utkal".[46] This inscriptional evidence is confirmed to some extent by the account of the Mādaḷā Pāñji. According to it, Coḍagaṅga conquered Orissa only in Śaka 1054 (=1132/33 A.D.) and ruled only for twenty years till Ś. 1074 (=1152/53).[47]

Although, till further evidence is coming forth, we do not know the exact date of the final annexation and complete administrative integration of central Orissa into the Gaṅga empire, yet there seems to be an obvious connection between the three events:

1. The political reversal during the years 1133/34,
2. Coḍagaṅga's turn to Central Orissa in 1134/35 and
3. the erection of the new Puruṣottama temple at Puri after 1135.

During the early thirties of the 12th century Coḍagaṅga must have become more and more aware of the essential role of the fertile Mahānadī delta for his empire. He took up, therefore, several administrative measures to reorganise his new empire. Among these measures was most probably the shift of his capital from Kaliṅganagara to Central Orissa.[48]

Coḍagaṅga's foremost deed in this respect was the construction of the monumental temple at Puri. This devotional reverence for Puruṣottama aimed both at the stabilization and legitimation of his royal power over Central Orissa which by that time had become the "domain" (dhāma) of the god Puruṣottama.[49] Coḍagaṅga thus followed the tradition of the legendary "outsider" Yayāti Keśarī who had also erected a temple for Puruṣottama after his conquest of Utkal. Like the Somavaṃśī king, Coḍagaṅga chose for this reverence an autochthonic deity, whose cult was characterised

[44]Kendupatna plates of Nṛsiṃhadeva II, verse 26 (N.N. Vasu, 1896, p. 262). This verse is usually taken as a proof for Coḍagaṅga's complete annexation of central Orissa about 1112 A.D. But this inscription of 1295 A.D. does not mention the date of the defeat of the last Somavaṃśī. Coḍagaṅga's contemporary Korni plates of 1112/23, on the other hand, mention the reinstallment of the fallen king of Utkal.

[45] For the date of the Nṛsiṃha temple inscription see above, note 43.

[46] Korni plates, second set, line 102 (see foot-note 32).

[47] *Jagannātha Kaifiat*, p. 21; MP, III, p. 23 (MP, I counts 24 years).

[48] Narasiṃha temple inscription of Coḍagaṇga, Joshi, 1961, p. 49.

[49] According to the *Māḍalā Pāñji*, (II, p. 23,) the new capital was Jajpur. (see also D.C. Sircar, 1960, p. 146). N.K. Sahu, 1956, Vol. II, p. 373 mentions Sāraṅgagaḍ.

by strong pre-Brahmanic elements and which already in the 11th century had become famous as the cult of "the country of Orissa" and of "the Utkal country at the seashore".[50]

But whereas Jagannātha under the Somavaṃśīs had remained subsidiary *rāṣṭradevatā*, Coḍagaṅga now raised his royal patronage of Puruṣottama clearly on an imperial level. This is most obvious from the height of the temple: It reached exactly the same as the imperial Bṛhadīśvara-Śiva temple of his southern Cōḷa rivals at Tanjore (216 feet) which, till then, had been the greatest of the whole of India.[51] In order to strengthen his imperial claim, Coḍagaṅga, at the same time, took up the imperial title of a *cakravartin* which had become in South India almost an imperial privilege of Coḍagaṅga's relatives and rivals on the Cōḷa throne.[52]

In this respect another event may be of some importance. Most probably exactly in 1135, when the Cōḷa king Kulottuṅga II (1133-50), as a fanatic Śaiva, had by an exceptional act of intolerance forcibly removed the famous image of Viṣṇu from the renowned Śiva temple of Chidambaram and had it thrown into the sea,[53] Coḍagaṅga started to build India's biggest Viṣṇu temple. Although without further evidence it is impossible to decide whether these events had been mutually influenced, it is also difficult to assume that they happened by a mere coincidence.

THE DEDICATION OF THE ORISSAN EMPIRE TO JAGANNĀTHA BY KING ANANGABHĪMA III IN 1230/31 A.D.

Through the construction of the Great Temple (*baḍa deula*) at Puri, Jagannātha had become the most important deity of Orissa. But throughout the 12th century the God Śiva-Madhukeśvara at Kaliṅganagara seems to have remained officially the state deity of the Gaṅgas.[54] This may be due to the persistent Śaiva tradition of the Gaṅga kings during this period.[55] But it may also be due to the political awareness of the Gaṅgas not to hurt the feelings of the population of their homeland Kaliṅga[56] by a

[50] Maihar inscription, verse 35, and Prabodha-Candrodaya II, 27; see above, ch. 1 and (especially) 2 in which the relevant passages are quoted.

[51] J.M. Subrahmanyan Pillai, *The Great Temple at Tanjore*, Tanjore 1958, p. 10.

[52] The later Cōḷas, e.g. Kulottuṅga II (1133-1150), had the imperial title of the "cakravartin of the three worlds" *tribhuvana-cakravartin*,) K.A.N. Sastri, 1955, p. 357.

[53] Kulottuṅga started his renovation of the most famous Śiva temple of South India in his third regnal year=1135/36 A.D. According to the "Kulottuṅga-śolan-ula" the removal of the Viṣṇu image was one of Kulottuṅga's first acts in Chidambaram (see K.A.N. Sastri, 1955, p. 348 and H. Kulke, 1970, p. 208).

[54] For the inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga's successors see I.O., vol. III, part 2.

[55] The Rājaguru of Rājarāja II called himself in an inscription of 1172 A.D. a *Śaivācārya*. D.C. Sircar is certainly right to conclude that king Rājarāja II did not renounce the traditional Śaiva leanings of his family (EI, Vol. XXXV, 1963/64, p. 118).

[56] The pre-eleventh-century history of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga was a permanent feud between different branches of the dynasty. A too quick shift of the capital from Kaliṅga to Central Orissa might have again caused a new rift in the dynasty.

too quick shift of the political and religious centres of the state from Kaliṅga to Central Orissa. It was only under king Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-1238) that the god Puruṣottama at Puri became the official state deity of the Gaṅga empire. This important event in the history of kingship ideology was most probably directly linked with the formation of the present Jagannātha triad, which will be analysed in the next chapters. It is intended here to trace the origin of the royal "deputy-ideology" under Anaṅgabhīma and the historical development which had preceded and influenced both this ideology and the establishment of the triad.[57]

Already in the late 11th century Uddyotakeśarī had called his father Yayāti II a "representative" (*pratinidhi*) of Madhusūdana (=Viṣṇu)[58] and Anaṅgabhīma's victorious general Viṣṇu in an inscription praised Coḍagaṅga as a king in whom the "glory of the Narasiṃha incarnation (of Viṣṇu) manifested itself".[59] But in both cases this apotheosis was applied to deceased kings. For the first time in Orissa, Anaṅgabhīma III in an inscription of his sixth regnal year (1216 A.D.) called *himself* a "deputy" (*rāvuta*) and the "son" (*putra*) of the three deities Puruṣottama, Rudra and Durgā.[60] In the context of our study, especially with regard to the formation of the Jagannātha Triad (see chapter 10) it is very important that during his early years Anaṅgabhīma claimed to have this ritual relationship with the three dominant deities of Orissa i.e. Puruṣottama in Puri, Śiva in Bhubaneswar and Durgā in Jajpur. These deities had been the most prominent Orissan deities under the preceding dynasties, i.e. Durgā-Virajā under the Bhauma Karas (8th-10th century), Śiva-Liṅgarāja under the Somavaṃśis (11th century) and, since Coḍagaṅga, Puruṣottama under the Gaṅgas. Anaṅgabhīma III thus claimed to be both the legitimate heir of his predecessors and of their powerful tutelary deities. This first *historical* triad of Orissan deities, which became a predecessor of the Puri Triad,[61] had thus a strong ideological basis in its clear function for the legitimation of Anaṅgabhīma's power over Central Orissa, the domain of these three deities.

It was about fifteen years later that Anaṅgabhīma made a decisive turn in favour of Puruṣottama in Puri. In a series of inscriptions of the year 1230 and 1231 we have the rather rare opportunity in medieval Indian epigraphy to reconstruct the development of a new kingship ideology. On 9.1.1230 Anaṅgabhīma called himself for the first time the son and the deputy of Puruṣottama; Śiva and Durgā were no longer mentioned.[62] On 23.2.1230, after a bath in the Mahānadī river, he donated

[57] For a detailed study of Anaṅgabhīma see D.C. Sircar, 1971, p. 62-72 and Kulke, 1975, chapter III, 1.

[58] I.O, Vol. IV, p. 227 (Narasiṃhapur plates of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarī).

[59] Ep. Ind., XXIX (1951/52), p. 126 (Chateśvara temple inscription, line 4: *Naraharitanu*).

[60] Draksharama inscription: *Śrī Puruṣottama-putra Rudra-putra Durgā-putra* (SII, vol. IV, No. 1329).

[61] See also below, chapter 10.

[62] Bhubaneswar inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma, No. 1 (Ep. Ind., XXX, 1954, p. 255). For Anaṅgabhīma's religious policy see also D.C. Sircar, 1972, p. 71ff.

land to Puruṣottama and to Brahmins.[63] Shortly afterwards, on 20.3.1230, his wife made valuable donations to the god Viṣṇu-Allāḷanātha in one of the Cōḷa capitals, Kanchipuram.[64] In this inscription it is explicitly mentioned that the donation was made "by the order (*ādeśāt*) of Lord Puruṣottama" and during the victorious rule of Anaṅgabhīma who is the deputy of Viṣṇu and a son of Puruṣottama. On the 14.5.1230 Anaṅgabhīma made a pilgrimage to Puri (Puruṣottama-kṣetra) where he donated land to the Brahmins.[65]

During the same year (the exact date is not mentioned) Anaṅgabhīma had consecrated a temple for Puruṣottama in his newly founded capital Cuttack which had the significant name of "New Benares" (*abhinava Vārāṇasī*). In connection with this consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) he donated land to several Brahmins. Again on 5.1.1231 king Anaṅgabhīma paid a visit to this new Puruṣottama temple and donated land to the Lord Puruṣottama and his priests.[66]

From the years 1237/38 and 1238/39 two more inscriptions are known which are of great importance for the further development of Anaṅgabhīma's "deputy ideology". Whereas previous to the dedication of the empire to Puruṣottama the inscriptions usually began with a reference to the "prosperous and victorious reign of the king *Anaṅgabhīma*",[67] in 1237 A.D., one of his Puri inscriptions commenced for the first time with the praise of the "prosperous and victorious reign of [the god] *Puruṣottama*". King Anaṅgabhīma, being now the deputy of the god, is mentioned in this inscription only later as "*rāutta* Anaṅgabhīma Deva".[68] It is, therefore, quite logical that in one of his last inscriptions of 1238 even Anaṅgabhīma's regnal year (*aṅka*) is given as the regnal year of Lord Puruṣottama.[69]

The concept behind these scattered inscriptional evidence is revealed by a passage from the temple chronicle of Puri which refers to the dedication of the empire to Jagannātha: "Anaṅgabhīma announced: "Our name is [from now onwards] given as Puruṣottama. Staying in the town of Cuttack he dedicated everything to the God Śrī Jagannātha and remained as his deputy. Anaṅgabhīma and also Puruṣottama [A.'s new name] had no consecration in the first regnal year. The Great Lord Jagannātha, the king of the Orissan empire, had ordered it accordingly. There was no

63 Nagarī plates of Anaṅgabhīma III of the Śaka years 1151 and 1152, line 121-125 (EI, vol. XXVII, 1949/50, p. 256).

64 EP. Ind., XXXI, 1955, p. 96.

65 Nagrī plates, line 142 f.

66 Nagarī plates, line 126-138.

67 *Svasti. Śrī Anaṅkabhīmadevasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājye.* Puri inscription of the year 1225, lines 1-2, (EI, vol. XXX, 1954, p. 201).

68 *Svasti . . . Śrī-Purṣottamasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājye. Rāutta-Srīmad Anaṅkabhīmadevasya sam 29 aṅke.* (Puri inscription of the year 1237, EI, vol. XXX, 1954, p. 202).

69 *Śrīmad Aniyaṅkabhīmadevasya pravarddhamāne Puruṣottama-sāmrājye catustriṃśattame aṅke* (Liṅgarāja inscription of the 34 aṅka year, D.C. Sircar, 1939/40, p. 72f).

consecration."[70] This account of the temple chronicle about the dedication of the empire to Jagannātha is fully corroborated by the above-mentioned inscriptions. The sources leave no doubt that Anaṅgabhīma had officially acknowledged Jagannātha as the overlord (*samrāj*) of Orissa. According to the chronicle, king Anaṅgabhīma had even renounced his royal *abhiṣeka*, consecration, because he considered himself only as the deputy of the Jagannātha who was now "the king of the Orissan empire".

This important event in the religious and ideological history of Orissa was preceded by a decisive change of the political situation in the whole of North India and accompanied by a thorough upheaval in the power structure in South India. In the famous second battle of Tarain (1192) Muhammad of Ghur had laid the foundation stone for the future Delhi Sultanat. In 1202 Muhammad Khalji defeated Lakṣmanasena, the last great Hindu king of Bengal, and only three years later in 1205 Muslim troops entered Orissan territory for the first time. Shortly after Anaṅgabhīma had ascended the Gaṅga throne in 1211, the new Muslim ruler of Bengal again attacked Orissa, but he was defeated by Anaṅgabhīma's great minister and general Viṣṇu.[71] During these early years of Anaṅgabhīma, the great warrior Viṣṇu gained another decisive victory. He defeated the Kalacuri king of Tummāna in eastern Madhya Pradesh[72] and took thus revenge for the defeat which Coḍagaṅga had suffered in about 1134 by a Kalacuri king. Till the 14th century Western Orissa remained part of the Gaṅga empire. The fact that till today local legends in the Sonpur-Binka area link king Anaṅgabhīma with exactly the same area where the legendary Yayāti Keśarī is supposed to have rescued the old images of the Jagannātha Triad and its priests, might well contain a still unknown-key to the problem of the final establishment of Puri's Triad which took place under Anaṅgabhīma.

In South India, the Cōḷa empire, which had dominated the peninsula since more than three hundred years, was in a state of fast disintegration. During early 13th century several former feudatories declared their independence and fought for the imperial heritage among each other (e.g. the Pāṇḍyas, Hoysaḷas, Yādavas, Kākatīyas). During this war of succession Anaṅgabhīma obviously saw the chance to realize the great plan of his forefathers who had in vain tried to occupy the fertile Godāvarī delta. In about 1223 A.D. Oriya soldiers seem to have penetrated temporarily into the South as far as Śrīraṅgam.[73]

The war of succession in the Cōḷa empire reached a dramatic culmination in 1230/31. During the whole year 1230 Hoysaḷa troops occupied Kāñcīpuram. In 1231 the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III (1215-46) was taken prisoner by a former feudatory and

[70] *Anaṅgabhīma Deva . . . Kahile, āmbha nāā Puruṣottama debe. e nagara Kaṭake thāi Śrī Puruṣottama Śrī Jagannātha Devaṅku samasta samarpi rāutapaṇe thāānti . . . Anaṅghabhīma Deva o Puruṣottama Deva madhya rājā 2 aṅka abhiṣeka na hele. Oḍiśa rājya rāja Śrī Jagannātha Mahāprabhu emanta kahi abhiṣeka nohile* (MP, III, p. 27).

[71] Chateśvara temple inscription, verse 15, EI, vol. XXIX, 1951/52, p. 121ff.

[72] Chateśvara temple inscription, verse 14.

[73] K.A.N. Sastri, 1958, p. 205.

he was restored to his throne only with the military help of his son-in-law, the Hoysaḷa king Nṛsiṃha II.[74] During the same year the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati of Warangal in south eastern Andhra Pradesh took advantage of the Cōḷa weakness and extended his power into the Krishnā district,[75] obviously before Anaṅgabhīma was able to seize this fertile delta region.

It was during the height of this struggle for the imperial heritage of the Cōḷa empire that Anaṅgabhīma took the surprising step of dedicating his whole empire to Puruṣottama. On March 20th 1230, when the armies of the Hoysaḷas stayed at Kāñcīpuram Anaṅgabhīma's wife made a valuable donation to the god Viṣṇu-Allāḷanātha in Kāñcīpuram. As already mentioned above, it was this donative inscription at Kāñcīpuram in which Anaṅgabhīma for the first time was praised as the deputy (*rāutta*) and son (*putra*) of the Lord Puruṣottama, under whose command (*ādeśāt*) the inscription was engraved.

As in the case of Coḍagaṅga's decision to build the Jagannātha temple, we do not have sufficient proof for the theory, but enough evidence for the hypothesis that there must have been some connection between the following simultaneous events:

(a) the disintegration of the Cōḷa empire,
(b) Anaṅgabhīma's attempt to conquer the Godavari-Krishna delta,
(c) the donations to a Viṣṇu temple in a Cōḷa capital Kāñcīpuram and
(d) Anaṅgabhīma's dedication of the Orissan empire to Puruṣottama.

Anaṅgabhīma obviously had chosen the favourable situation of the decline of the Cōḷa empire to claim the nominal leadership among the Hindu rājās of East and South India. In order to justify this claim and to strengthen his power, both inside and outside of Orissa, he declared the Lord of Puri the Supreme King of his empire. In this respect it is most significant that he chose Kāñcīpuram, right in the centre of the struggle among the Hindu rājās for the imperial heritage, as the suitable place to proclaim for the first time his new status as a deputy of the Lord of Puri. And it is noteworthy that he combined this proclamation with the announcement of the name of his new capital. By calling it "New Benares" he claimed the heritage of Benares for his empire, after only few decades ago this holiest city of the Hindus had been conquered and desecreted by the Muslims.

One might have supposed that Anaṅgabhīma's ritual policy primarily was meant to strengthen his power against the new Muslim power of North India. But during his early and successful fights with the Muslim armies of Bengal and the Kalacuris in West Orissa he had only once called himself the son of the three main deities of Orissa. It was only much later, when the wars with the Muslim Sultans

[74] D. Derret, 1957, p. 114f.

[75] See his Gaṇapeśvaram inscription at the sea coast near Machilipatnam (Bandar) in the Krishna district of 7.4.1231. Gaṇapati claims to have defeated the king of Kaliṅga [EI, vol. III (1894/95), p. 82ff]).

had ceased since long and the struggle for the imperial heritage of the Cōḷa empire had reached its first culmination that Anaṅgabhīma acknowledged the god or Puri as his sovereign (*samrāj*) and announced to rule under his divine order (*ādeśa*). The date and the circumstances of the dedication of the Orissan empire to the Lord of Puri make it, therefore, very probable that Anaṅgabhīma's ritual policy was not only meant to stengthen the "vertical" legitimation of his power over Central Orissa after Cuttack had become the sole capital of the Gaṅga empire. The dedication of his empire to Lord Puruṣottama also seems to have been intended to strengthen Anaṅgabhīma's "horizontal" legitimation in his struggle with other Hindu Rājās for the imperial heritage.

CHAPTER IX

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PRIESTLY POWER: THE GANGAVAMŚA PERIOD

G. N. Dash

BACKGROUND

Our starting point is a legendary tradition and that will set the tone of what is to emerge out of this paper. The tradition is recorded in *Rāmānuja Divya Caritāi.*[1] According to this tradition Rāmānuja, the celebrated South Indian Vaiṣṇava saint, on his way from North India, came to Puri. He was distressed to see the heterodox mode of worship prevalent at the shrine of Lord Jagannātha and the lives of the priests there. When he attempted to reform both the mode of worship and the lives of the priests as prescribed in Pāñcarātras with the support of the king, the priests did not co-operate. Rāmānuja, resolved to conduct the worship according to the Pāncarātra stsyem, appointed a new set of priests. The traditional priests that very night went in a body to the shrine of Lord Jagannātha and complained against Rāmānuja's attitude. Lord Jagannātha liked the priests and their mode of worship. Therefore, he ordered Rāmānuja to desist from carrying out his intended reform. But Rāmānuja would not listen to him. So Lord Jagannātha directed Garuḍa, his mount, to convey Rāmānuja during his sleep to Śrī Kūrmam (Andhra Pradesh). Rāmānuja woke up the next morning and to his surprise found himself in a different place where Śiva, in his Liṅgam form, was being worshipped. He, being a Vaiṣṇava, could neither worship Śiva nor could eat any food offered to Śiva. He therefore fasted. In the night he was told by a 'divine voice' that the priests of that place and he himself had mistaken the 'tortoise' form of Viṣṇu for Siva liṅga and that he should therefore start the worship of Viṣṇu-Śrī Kūrmam forthwith. Rāmānuja realised his mistake and started the worship of Viṣṇu, the real deity of that Kṣetra, there.

[1] *Rāmānuja Divya Caritāi.* quoted in C.R. Srinivaṣ Aiyanger, 1908, pp. 178 ff.

This tradition is also found mentioned in *Prapannāmṛta*, another traditional biographical work on Rāmānuja by Anantācārya.[2] It is also briefly recorded in the *Rājabhoga* section of *Mādaḷā Pānji*,[3] the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple of Puri, which was compiled most probably for the first time in the late sixteenth century or later. In it, Rāmānuja's name has not been mentioned and has been substituted by the term "Acārya" meaning the Master. There has been an attempt to connect this tradition with the Kṛṣṇaite mythology and the incident has been placed wrongly during the reign of Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva (A. D. 1466-1497).

Though this tradition glorifies the priests of Puri and supports their cause, it seems that it is not entirely a creation of the priests, as in that case it would not have found a place in two different traditional biographical works on Rāmānuja, i.e., *Rāmānuja Divya Caritāi* and *Prapannāmṛta*, because this tradition records Rāmānuja's setback. Rāmānuja's visit to Puri is also corroborated by *Totādri-maṭha-guru-paramparā*.[4] The sacred mark painted on the foreheads of Lord Jagannātha and Balabhadra corresponds exactly to the sacred mark painted on the foreheads of the members of Rāmānuja sect and is supposed to be another indirect evidence of Rāmānuja's visit to Puri.[5] Though Rāmānuja was not one of the Alwārs, he had the highest respect for them and Rāmānuja's visit to Puri is also indirectly supported by the existence of the deity Ālālnātha in Brahmagiri, 16 mules from Puri.[6] (The word Ālāl has been derived from the word Āḷwār) The name Emāra Maṭha, a maṭha belonging to the Rāmānuja sect existing in Puri, is also cited as another evidence in this connection. The word *Emāra*, has supposedly been derived from the abbreviated form (*embār*) of the Tamil translation (*em-peru-Man-ar*) of Rāmānuja's other name, Manmatha.[7]

Therefore it seems probable that there is some kind of historical basis in this tradition besides, of course, elements of free imagination and super-naturalism which should not be taken too seriously. It seems that Rāmānuja, with the support of the then ruling monarch in the control of the Puri tract, tried to introduce Brahmanic mode of worship at the shrine of Lord Jagannātha in Puri. But the priests who were not adept at Brahmanic rites—perhaps because they themselves were to a larger part still Non-Brahmins—were unable to adopt it (except painting the sacred mark on the forehead of the deity). When Rāmānuja, determined to carry on his reform proposals and engaged a new set of Brahmin priests, the opposition from the Non-Brahmin priests was vehement. In the face of their fierce resistance, in spite of the possible support of the monarch in control of the Puri tract, Rāmānuja had to abandon his attempt. The opposition to Rāmānuja was so vehement that Rāmānuja had to flee during the night.

[2] See P. Mukherji, pp. 27-28.
[3] *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, pp. 49-50.
[4] S.N. Rajaguru, 1971, Introduction, p. XLIX.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] P. Mukherji, 1940, p. 27.
[7] *Ibid.*

Once we accept the probable historical basis of the tradition as mentioned above we may draw the following hypothetical conclusions:

1. That Rāmānuja—if at all—must have visited Puri prior to his self-banishment in the Hoyasaḷa kingdom or the adjoining area in 1096 A.D. or thereabout to avoid the Cōḷa persecution under Kulottuṅga I (1070—1118) (see above Kulke, chapter 8), i.e. when the later Somavaṃśīs were ruling in the central Orissa including the Puri tract.[8]

2. That the later Somavaṃśīs were showing some interest in the Puri deity resulting in their support to Rāmānuja which is significant because it both corroborates and is corroborated by two other traditions recorded in the *Rājabhoga* section of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. One of these traditions deals with the recovery and re-installation of Lord Jagannātha by Yayāti Keśarī 146 years after the Raktabāhu invasion when Jagannātha was hidden in a secret place near Sonepur[9] thus associating the Puri deity with the family history of the Somavaṃśīs. Yayāti Keśarī of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* tradition has been identified with *Yayāti* Mahāśivagupta I (circa 922-955 A.D.) and the historical basis of this tradition has been accepted in the reconstruction of the history of the Jagannātha cult.[10] Therefore it is quite likely that after an initial spell of the patronage of Brahminical Śaivism, necessary from the point of view of consolidation of their hold in the coastal Orissa, the Somavaṃśīs revived their interest in the Puri deity because of their family association with the same.[11] The other Rājabhoga tradition says that Śiva-Bhuvaneśvara ordered one Bāsudeba (Vāsudeva) Bāhinīpati alias Bāsudeba Ratha to bring Coḍagaṅaga, the son of the widow Gaṅgā (goddess Gaṅgā) and Śiva-Gokarṇeśvara, from south and make him king of Orissa. Accordingly he went to south and invited Coḍagaṅga who came in disguise and occupied Cuttack and became king of Orissa. It appears that there was rivalry among the priests of the different *Tīrtha*-based sub-regional deities, of-whom Śiva-Bhuvaneśvara, Viṣṇu-Jagannātha and Durgā-Virajā were most famous in the coastal Orissa, to acquire a higher

[8] P. Mukherji thinks that Rāmānuja visited Orissa between 1122-1137 A.D. See Mukherji, 1940, p. 28. N.K. Sahu also thinks that Rāmānuja visited Orissa after the occupation of central Orissa by Coḍagaṅga. See N.K. Sahu 1956, vol. II, p. 373. H.K. Mahatab is of same opinion. (Mahtab, 1964, vol. I, p. 150). But this is highly improbable as according to all available accounts Rāmānuja came to Puri on his way back from Kashmir i.e. much before the Cōḷa persecution and his self-banishment in 1196 A.D. cr thereabout. He must have been too old to undertake such a long journey when the self-banishment was over after the death of Kulottuṅga Cōḷa I in 1118 A.D. as he was supposed to have been born in 1017 A.D. See in this connection C.R. Srinivas Aiyanger, 1908, p. 178 and A Govindachary, 1906, 142ff. See also S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger (see also above Stietencron, chapter 1 and Tripathi, chapter 2).

[9] *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, pp. 4-6.

[10] K.C. Panigrahi, 1961a, pp. 243ff and K.C. Panigrahi, 1961b, pp. 26-27 and 14-15. See also Kulke above, chapter 8 and Stietencron, chapter 1 for a contrary opinion.

[11] *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, 1940, pp. 21-23.

popular epithet "*Puruṣottama-putra, Durgā-putra, Rudra-putra*" later used by the Orissan kings,[13] sometimes with slight variation, has most probably its origin in this rivalry and indicates that the competition for the recognition and patronage among the priests of these three deities existed in earlier times and even during later Gaṅga and early Sūryavaṃśa period when the Jagannātha cult was at its heights of predominance, the necessity to appease the followers of Śiva and Durgā was felt. Naturally enough, the revived interest of the later Somavaṃśīs for the Puri deity, which might have been associated with their family history, annoyed the Śaivas of Bhubaneswara, so long favoured and patronized by the Somavaṃśīs. There is a clear hint in the *Rājabhoga* tradition that the last Somavaṃśī king was no more prepared to extend the favour. Therefore it is quite likely that they felt threatened when royal favours were withdrawn from them and invited Coḍagaṅga, a fellow Śaiva and devotee of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara of Mahendragiri from south (see above chapters 3 and 8) to invade Orissa with promises of help and support against the Somavaṁśīs. So the Śaivas of Bhubaneswara might have played a role in the occupation of Orissan throne by Coḍagaṅga.

3. That the Puri deity was indentified with the Brahmanic deity Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama and Viṣṇu-Jagannātha sometime in the late 11th century to arouse the interest of Rāmāṅuja in its worship.

4. That the mode of worship of this Puruṣottama-Jagannātha was not yet completely Brahmanized and the priests were Non-Brahmins not adept at Brahmanic rites. It is corroborated by the fact that even at the present time one comes across Non-Brahminic traits in the services of Lord Jagannātha as well as Non-Brahmin priests called Daitā and Sudha.

But it is very difficult to explain satisfactorily the later part of the tradition where the conversion of the Śaivite priests and deity into Vaiṣṇavite priests and deity at Śri Kūrmam by Rāmānuja has been narrated. Śri Kūrman was only eight miles from the Gaṅga capital 'Kaliṅganagara' identified with modern Mukhalingam. Therefore it is unlikely that without the active support of Rājarāja I Devendravarman (1070-1078 A.D.) or his son Coḍagaṅga, the then monarchs of Kaliṅganagara, Rāmānuja could have dared to attempt such a bold venture especially after his setback at Puri. But Coḍagaṅga's father was a Śaiva and Coḍagaṅga was a staunch Śaiva in his early career and there are reasons to believe that he remained so througout his life.[14] Moreover, as we have already seen, he was supported by the Śaivas of Bhubaneswar in his bid to wrest central Orissa from the hands of the later Somavaṃśīs because of the fact that he was a Śaiva. Even if we accept for argument's sake that Coḍagaṅga changed his faith under the influence of Rāmānuja, it seems position i.e. the status of the *regional deity* at the expense of others.[12] The

[12] See H. Kulke, above, chapter 7 for clarification of the concepts of sub-regional and regional deity.

[13] Kulke above chapter 8, footnote 60.

[14] Kulke above, chapter 8.

improbable that he ever supported such a conversion. Perhaps the Vaiṣṇavization of Śrī Kūrmam was of different date and the process of legitimation associated Rāmānuja's name with this shrine as he was one of the most famous Vaiṣṇava saints.[15]

To sum up, the priests of the *tīrtha*-based sub-regional deities of Orissa were traditionally very powerful. At least according to the tradition they were not only powerful enough to withstand the incursions of the combined forces of the regional political power and religious leadership of the stature of Rāmānuja but were able to influence the political history of the land. The priests of the Puri deity were particularly very powerful. Against this background, which we reconstructed from legendary traditions, an attempt will be made to paint the picture of the evolution of the priestly power in Puri on the basis of more reliable historical traditions.

THE GANGAVAMŚA PERIOD

It could have been very baffling to explain why Coḍagaṅga, a member of the Eastern Gaṅgas who for centuries had remained devoted to Śiva Gokarṇeśvara, after all the support he must have got from the Śaivas of Bhubaneswar in his imperial design, and himself remaining Śaiva throughout his life, constructed a huge temple for Viṣṇu-Jagannātha. But the background already painted above can at least hypothetically provide the following answer:

That Coḍagaṅga—shrewd as he was—realised quite early that the Śaivas of Bhubaneswar were too powerful for him to consolidate his position and reign without any interference. His concern in this regard was naturally very great as he might have been able to occupy central Orissa with the active support of these Śaivas. Therefore, guided by the principle of consolidation of his power, he tried to create a counter-balancing force to the Śaivas of Bhubaneswar and shift the religious-cultural capital of Orissa from Bhubaneswar to another place thereby diminishing the influence Bhubaneswar exercised in the affairs of Orissan politics. At this juncture, the Jagannātha cult came to him handy. He tried to create a counter-balancing force through the patronage of this cult of Jagannātha. As shown above by Kulke (chapter 8) the construction of gigantic temple for Lord Jagannātha was just an act of such politically motivated patronage. Coḍagaṅga's suspicion of the Śaivas seems to be the reason why he shifted the political capital of his empire to Sāraṅgagarh,[16] a few miles north of Bhubaneswar, which was the capital of the later Somavaṃśīs.[17] The further shifting of the capital to Cuttack by Anaṅgabhīma III (circa 1216-1239 A.D.) must be viewed in this light. It is interesting to note that Anaṅgabhīma III named his capital Abhinava Vārāṇasī or 'New Vārāṇasi', a name with a Śaivite ring, perhaps to

[15] It appears that in the imperial Gaṅga *praśasti* verse no. 10 has a veiled reference to the cult conversion at Śri Kūrmam.

[16] I accept here the views of N.K. Sahu, see (Sahu, 1956, vol. II, p. 373.

[17] *Ibid*, p. 396, But D.C. Sircar thinks that the capital remained at Jajpur during the Somavaṃśī and early Gaṅga period, (Sircar, 1962, p. 13).

neutralize the Śaivite suspicion. But at a later date he erected a temple and installed Lord Puruṣottama in his new capital.[18]

The immediate decendants of Coḍagaṅga continued the active patronage of the Jagannātha cult and their motive was perhaps the same as Coḍagaṅga's, i.e. to create a counter-balancing force to the powerful Śaivas of Bhubaneswar. The patronage took the shapes of:

(a) making land grants and other gifts to Lord Jagannātha,[19]
(b) construction of the temples of Jagannātha at the different places of the empire,[20]
(c) accepting Vaiṣṇavism as their personal faith in which the influence of Narahari Tīrtha[21] might have played a crucial role,
(d) accepting Lord Jagannātha as their over-lord which was the climax of this trend.[22]

The image of the Gaṅgas as Śaivas helped to neutralize the suspicion and ill-feeling of the Śaivas of Bhubaneswar at the earlier stage of patronage of the Jagannātha cult. Moreover the Gaṅgas were much more powerful unlike the weak Somavaṃśīs and their military might and tactical move in shifting their capital to places beyond the reach of the Śaivas of Bhubaneswar kept them (the Śaivas) at bay. Whether they liked it or not, they did not know how to alter the royal policy of the patronage of the Jagannātha cult.

The policy of the Gaṅga kings made the Jagannātha cult gradually popular and effectively silenced the voice of the Śaiva priests of Bhubaneswar in Orissan politics. Not only they lost their influence but for their own survival they had to adjust themselves to the new situation created by the popularity of the Jagannātha

18 N.K. Sahu, 1956, vol. II, p. 373 It seems that Sahu based his conclusion on a tradition recorded in the Rājabhoga section of *Mādalā Pāñji*. (See *Mādalā Pāñji*, p. 27 in this connection) But K.C. Panigrahi provides a completely different reason for the creation of the name "*Abhinava Vārāṇasī*". He thinks that this name came into vogue during the Somavaṁśī period as Śiva-Viśveśvara was the presiding deity of the place like Śiva-Viśvanātha who is the presiding deity of Vārāṇasi i.e. Benaras. See K.C. Panigrahi, 1962, p. 39.

19 This information has been provided by the Rājabhoga section of *Mādalā Pāñji*, pp. 29-30. Also see a section of *Mādalā Pāñji* published in the weekly "*Śri Puruṣottama Kṣetra Dāru Brahma Mūrti Avatāra*" and preserved in the Gopitīrtha Matha, Bhubaneswar which provides much more detailed informations.

20 Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar is the only existing Jagannātha temple of this period. From Nagarī plates of Anaṅgabhīma III we come to know that he constructed another temple for Puruṣottama in Cuttack which was also perhaps a Jagannātha temple. (Epigraphia Indica vol. XXVII part V and VI) This temple is not existing at the moment. It is likely that some such temples once existed (See above Kulke, chapter 8).

21 H.K. Mahatab, 1964, vol. I, pp. 179ff. See also N. Ramesan, 1962, pp. 150ff.

22 D.C. Sircar, 1946; See also Kulke, chapter 8.

cult.[23] Accepting Lord Jagannātha as their over-lord and vesting the sovereignty in him the Gaṅga monarchs emphatically declared the triumph of the Jagannātha cult over the Bhubaneswar based Śaivism and their freedom from the influence of the latter.

The royal patronage enhanced the popularity and influence of the Jagannātha cult rapidly. With it the prestige, position and power of the priests of Lord Jagannātha—who were originally Non-Brahmins—grew. But at the same time the growing popularity and influence of the Jagannātha cult, ironically enough, threatened to undermine the position of these priests. As the name and fame of Jagannātha spread beyond the border of the Gaṅga empire, pilgrims from all over India started visiting Puri and they expected a Brahmanical shrine, i.e. a Brahmanic deity worshipped by the Brahmin priests in accordance with the Brahmanical mode of worship. To satisfy the feelings of these pilgrims it became imperative to strengthen the Brahmanical elements in the cult. It may be mentioned here that a group of scholars led by Sāyaṇācārya while commenting on Ṛgveda (circa 1370 A.D.) made a reference to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri in contrast to "Ṛgarthadīpika"[24] commentary by Veṅkaṭa Mādhava (written circa 950 A.D.) which is quite significant, because it suggested all-India Brahmanic recognition of Lord Jagannātha. This Brahmanic acceptance of Lord Jagannātha pre-supposed Brahminization of the shrine which must have taken place between the 10th and 14th century A.D. The Brahmanic version of the Indradyumna legends as found in the different Sanskrit *Purāṇas* written between 1312 to 1370 A.D.[25] suggests again that the process of Brahminization, with its corollary appointment of the Brahmin priests started prior to that date. It seems therefore that the appointment of new Brahmin priests gained momentum not later than the late thirteenth century. This is indirectly corroborated by the account of Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1216-1239 A.D.) as recorded in the Rājabhoga section of *Mādaḷā Pāñji*.[26]

The appointment of new Brahmin priests gradually threatened to undermine the position of the non-Brahmin priests and they were in a fix. Neither they could resist the appointment of the Brahmin priests (for the fear of losing all-India Brahmanic acceptance of their cult and consequently their position and power) nor they could welcome the Brahmin priests with out-stretched hands (as it spelled the increasing dominance of the Brahmin priests in the affairs of the cult, hence their doom). They were prepared to make the best of things and had to recognise—perhaps unwillingly—the priestly status of the Brahmin priests in the cult of Jagannātha.

It may also be mentioned here that accepting Lord Jagannātha as their over-lord and placing their kingdom in his "*Sāmrājya*" (empire) placed the Gaṅga

23 See K.C. Panigrahi, 1961a, pp. 257ff.

24 Ṛgveda, 10th Maṇḍala, 155th Sukta, 3rd Mantra, (Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona vol. IV, p. 840) quoted in B.M. Padhi, 1957, p. 27 and R. Geib, 1975, p. 132.

25 R. Geib, 1975 and below Kulke, chapter 11.

26 *Mādāla Pāñji*, pp. 27-34.

kings—perhaps without their complete comprehension in the beginning—under the influence of the priests of the Jagannātha temple. Not only at the religious level of their power but also at the executive-cum-political level of their existence—which was the real source of their power hence primary in nature—were they made subordinate to the priests as they (the priests) were spokesmen of Lord Jagannātha who was the 'Sovereign Lord', at least, theoretically. The whole picture now underwent a transformation and the position of the kings became lower at least theoretically in comparison to the elevated position of the priests who assumed the role of spokesmen for the Sovereign Lord Jagannātha.

The later Gaṅgas, especially Narasiṃha IV (1377/78—1413/14 A.D.) and Bhānudeva IV (1413/14—35 A.D.), it seems, became aware of the danger from the priests. They tried their best to take counter-measures which consisted of:

(a) switching back to Śaivism in matters of personal faith and
(b) trying to control the temple administration and, through it, the priests.

We know the family history of the Gaṅgas (*Gaṅga Praśasti*) from nine different copper plate inscriptions so far discovered. Out of these two copper plate inscriptions i.e. Dasagoba plates by Rājarāja III (1198/9—1212/8 A.D.) and Nagari plates by Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1216—1238/9 A.D.) belonging to the early Gaṅga period do not concern us here. Out of the rest belonging to the late Gaṅga period, Narasiṃha II (1278/9—1308/9 A.D.) in his Alalpur, Kendupatana and Asankhali plates, Bhānudeva II (1308/9—1327/8 A.D.) in his Panjabi Maṭha plates and Bhānudeva III (1352/3—1377/8 A D.) in his Kujanga plates had started their family history with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa[27] indicating Vaiṣṇavism as their personal faith. But Narasiṃha IV (1377/8—1413/4 A.D.) suddenly changed this tradition and in his Kenduli and Śaṅkarānanda Maṭha plates started the family history with an invocation to Śiva.

Narasiṃha II (1278/9—1308/9 A.D.)	
Alalpur plates	Oṃ Namo Nārāyaṇāya
Kendupatana plates (3)	Oṃ Namo Nārāyaṇāya
Asankhali plates	Oṃ Namo Nārāyaṇāya
Bhānudeva II (1308/9—1327/8 A.D.)	
Panjabi Maṭha plates	Oṃ Namo Nārāyaṇāya
Narasiṃha III (1327/8—1352/3 A.D.)	
Bhānudeva III (1352/3—1377/8 A.D.)	
Kujanga plates	Oṃ Namo Nārāyaṇāya
Narasiṃha IV (1377/8—1413/4 A.D.)	
Kenduli plates	Oṃ Namaḥ Śivāya
Śaṅkarānanda Maṭha plates	Oṃ Namaḥ Śivāya

[27] S.N. Rajaguru, 1956, p. 4 fn. and 1966, p. 11,

This is very significant. Gaṅgas who were Śaivas for centuries had switched over the Vaiṣṇavism sometime after the conquest of Orissa proper by Coḍagaṅga in their zeal to patronize the Jagannātha cult. But it seems, Narasiṃha IV switched back to Śaiva fold. It has also been observed that the later Gaṅgas were not prepared any more to accept the overlordship of Lord Jagannātha and to rule as his deputy.[28] These were—it seems—reactions to the influential position of the priests of the Jagannātha temple. It seems also that the later Gaṅgas tried to control the temple or cult administration as a counter-measure to priestly influence and power. But it was already too late and the priests were not willing to part with their power and position, their influence and freedom of action. They were not prepared to allow the kings to meddle with the administration of the temple. To the attempts of the kings to control the priests, among whom the non-Brahmin priests must have been quite dominant, their reaction was very sharp. A legendary tradition recorded in *Rājabhoga* provides evidence to that effect.

According to this tradition once king Niḥśaṅkabhānu Deva of the Gaṅga dynasty came to visit Lord Jagannātha. The worshipper (*paśupāḷaka*) found nothing to give the king as oblation because there were neither flower nor *tulasi* on the body of Jagannātha. There was a garland of *dayaṇā* flower on the head of this priest worshipper. He brought it from his head secretly and gave it to the king as oblation. The king found a hair in the oblation of flower garland and became suspicious. He enquired how it was possible to find a hair in the oblated flower garland. The priest became nervous and replied that there were hair on the head of Lord Jagannātha. On hearing this the king got angry and got the priest taken into custody and ordered him to show the hair on the head of Lord Jagannātha. (In fact there are no hair on the head of Lord Jagannātha.) Lord Jagannātha knew the nervousness of the priest and ordered the king in a dream, "Why do you trouble the priest (*sevaka*)? You yourself will see the hair on my head at the time of morning decoration." The King woke up and came to *darśana* at the time of morning decoration. He saw hair hanging from the head of Lord Jagannātha. He was surprised and rolled at the feet of Lord Jagannātha. He then got the priest released from the custody and made best efforts to console him.[29]

Though this is at best a priestly tradition, the historical basis of this tradition cannot be ruled out. Leaving aside the supernatural element in it, i.e. the intervention of Lord Jagannātha supporting the cause of the priests, the beginning and the concluding parts of the tradition, i.e. the initial interference of the king in the affair of the Jagannātha cult and the end of this interference under pressure seems to be true.[30] The pressure in fact comes from the priests, but in the name of Lord Jagannātha. Incidentally the term *paśupālaka*, designation of a section of priests in the

[28] See Kulke, below chapter 11.

[29] *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, p. 39. This legend is also mentioned in "*Dārḍhyatā Bhakti*" a late century poetical work by Rama Das, 20th Adhyāya and in Gopitīrtha Math Manuscript.

[30] See in this connection G.N. Dash, 1976.

temple figures as early as in an inscription of Coḍagaṅga of the year 1114/1115 A.D. where it is mentioned as "*paśāpālaka*".[31] These priests, existing at very early times, seem to be non-Brahmin priests. Niḥśaṅka Bhānudeva of this tradition can be identified with Bhānudeva IV, the last Gaṅga king.[32] Even if, for argument's sake, we do not accept the historical basis of this tradition, the functional analysis of this tradition leads us more or less to the same conclusion, i.e. the tradition was created and used by the priests to put a full stop to the interference of the later Gaṅgas in the cult affairs. In other words the later Gaṅgas tried to interfere in the cult affairs and the priests resisted it vehemently using the name of Lord Jagannātha who was depicted as the supporter of the cause of the priests. It must be pointed out here that in contrast to pre-Gaṅga phase—when the Orissan king seems not to have played an active role in controlling the priests but limited his activities to the support given to Rāmānuja—in this phase the king personally spearheads the attack against the priests.

In Oriya *Mahābhārata*, written by Sāraḷā Dāsa during the reign of Kapiḷendra Deva (1435—1466 A.D.) the founder of the Sūrya dynasty, we find the non-Brahminic version of the Indradyumna legend[33] in contrast to the Brahminic version of the same found in different Sanskrit Purāṇic texts mentioned earlier. It appears that in this non-Brahminic version of the Indradyumna legend writted by 'Śūdramuni', the non-Brahmin and the Brahmin priests of Lord Jagannātha have been represented by *Śabara Jārā*[34] and *Brahmin Basu*[35] respectively. King Indradyumna and king Gālava alias Gāla Mādhaba (Sk. *Mādhava*) have represented the Orissan kings. The reactions of the Non-Brahmin priests to the appointment of the Brahmin priests on the one hand and to the interference of the Orissan kings in the temple administration on the other during the later Gaṅga period have found reflection in it. At the same time, it seeks to define the hierarchical position of these three groups (i.e. the non-Brahmin priests, the Brahmin priests, and the Orissan kings) in terms of Lord Jagannātha's preference from the point of view of the non-Brahmin priests, in the account of the securing of the holy log (*dāru*). According to this account when

[31] D.C. Sircar, 1959, p. 183 and p. 185.

[32] According to a tradition recorded in "*Bhakti Bhāgavata*" by Jīvadeva written in 1510 A.D. during the reign of Pratāparudra, Niḥśaṅkabhānu happens to be the last of Gaṅga kings, i.e. Bhānudeva IV. See "*Bhaktibhāgavata*" quoted in P. Acharya, 1969, p. 110 and also D.C. Sircar, 1962, p. 14. For identification of Niḥśaṅka Bhānu with Bhānudeva IV see S.N. Rajaguru, 1955-56.

[33] *Mahābhārata* by Sāraḷā Dāsa, *Muṣaḷi Parba* Adhy. 8-12. ed. by A.B. Mohanty.

[34] "*Jāhā se sarjanā kalā deba dhātā*
Jārā śabara baṃśa hoile daitā" (*Muṣali parba*, 12, 106)

Translation: It was what god Brahmā decided that the decendants of Śabara Jārā had become Daitās, i.e. a section of the Non-Brahmin priests in the Jagannātha temple.

[35] "*Basu brāhmaṇa baṃśa karibāka pūjā*
Yehi eka prastāba bākya māgilā Indradyumna rājā" (*Muṣali parba*, 12,/53)

Translation: King Indradyumna proposed that let the descendants of the Brahmin Basu continue to worship Lord Jagannātha as priests.

king Indradyumna noticed the *dāru* in the '*Rohiṇi Kuṇḍa*' he engaged people to lift it out of the *kuṇḍa*. But the *dāru* was so heavy that they were unsuccessful.[36] Indradyumna was despaired and did not know what to do. Then Lord Jagannātha told him in a dream that only Śabara Jārā and the Brahmin Basu would be able to lift it as it[37] was not merely a log but the *piṇḍa*, i.e. the very body of Kṛṣṇa himself. Then king Indradyumna entreated both Śabara Jārā and Brahmin Basu to help him in lifting the *dāru*. When the *dāru* was lifted the *Śabara could lift it easily while the Brahmin could lift it with difficulty.*[38] This is suggestive. The log-lifting capability is the measuring-rod to determine a group's (out of the three groups mentioned earlier) relative proximity to Lord Jagannātha and its position in the cult hierarchy. Therefore it has been implied that the Non-Brahmin priests are nearest to Lord Jagannātha and hence have the highest position in the cult hierarchy. In contrast the Brahmin priests have occupied the middle position and the lowest position has been assigned to the Orissan kings.

The claim of the non-Brahmin priests for a higher position than that of the Orissan kings in the cult hierarchy is also evident in another section of the same Indradyumna legend in the work of Sāraḷā Dāsa. King Gālava, under the suspicion that the Śabaras had concealed the Nīla Mādhaba (Sk. *Mādhava*), killed many Śabaras. In consequence the Lord equating the Śabaras with his sons cursed that the line(*vamśa*) of Gālava will be completely extinct despite the fact that he was a devotee.[39] This is again significant. Furthermore king Gālava faced defeat at the hands of Śabara Jārā. These are evidences to the claims of superiority of the non-Brahmin priests vis-a-vis the kings of Orissa. To follow the narrative of Sāraḷā Dāsa further. king Gālava, after the defeat at the hands of the Śabara Jārā, prayed to the Lord to protect him. The Lord came to his rescue and addressing him said, "Come o' king, let me surrender you to the Śabara Jārā so that the enmity between both of you will come to an end."[40] Saying thus the Lord took king Gālava with him to Śabara Jārā and made them friends. This portion of the narrative says in as many words about the power-struggle existing between the non-Brahmin priests and the Orissan kings and clearly hints at the demand of the priests that the struggle for power would come to an end if and when the kings surrendered to the priests and accepted their superiority in the

36 "*. . . meru parbata jāṇiṇa sehu garu*
kāhāri baḷehe se na caḷai dāru" (*Muṣali parba* 12, 96)

37 "*sama rāṣṭra lāgile nuāribe ehāku cāḷi*
Jārā śabara Basu brāhmaṇa pāranti je toḷi" (*Muṣali parba*, 12, 100)

38 "*brāhmaṇa aḍe tāḍai śabara aḍe uṭhai*
Śrī Kṛṣṇa ājñāre se ūca kaniṣṭhai" (*Muṣali parba*, 9, 93)

39 "*Mādhaba boile rājā tu manda kṛtya kalu*
śabara puttranta mora kimpāī māilu,'
"*mama bhagataṅku kalu jhiṅgāsa*
ahe Gālaba rājā tora na rahiba baṃśa." (*Muṣali parba*, 9, 83)

40 "*āsa āsa Gālaba rājā tote Jārāku samarpu*
tāhāra tohara āu jemante nohibāka ripu" (*Muṣali parba*, 9, 85)

cult hierarchy. The above conclusion seems plausible in view of the enthusiasm of Sāraḷā Dāsa to narrate contemporary events in the garb of mythology.[41]

Thus this was a crucial phase in the evolution of the priestly power. Though priests were already dominant, they were not united and the Brahmin and the Non-Brahmin priests were at loggerheads. They were nervous and used the name of Lord Jagannātha as a defensive measure whenever they were cornered. The Orissan kings i.e. the later Gaṅgas were aggressive in their relationship with the priests trying to control the priests and interfere in the temple affairs. The final outcome was far from certain. But this scene changed dramatically for the advantage of the priests and the usurpation of the Gaṅga throne by Kapilendra signalled this change. This is proposed to be discussed at a subsequent stage where an effort will be made to show that the usurpation was the turning point in the evolution of the priestly power.

[41] See K.C. Panigrahi, 1958, and 1976 for such instances.

CHAPTER X

THE FORMATION OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TRIAD

A. Eschmann, H. Kulke, G. C. Tripathi

THE PROBLEM

Several problems of the early history of the Jagannātha cult have been dealt with in the previous chapters. Regarding the Jagannātha figures, it could be shown that the great Puri temple was not built for three, but only for two figures and that these two figures themselves—Jagannātha and Subhadrā—were the result of a development which has been analysed as Hinduization. The establishment of the Jagannātha triad as it is worshipped today, must thus have happened at a definite moment of the development of the cult. It was closely connected with the political importance which the cult gradually acquired and can only be analysed viewed against the general course of history of religions in Orissa. The present chapter is an attempt to offer a hypothesis for the development of the Jagannātha cult from the very beginning up to the moment, when the Triad was established. It is the result of constant discussions over years, and represents their latest state, but certainly not the final one. Research in this particularly difficult and involved problem will continue and may bring new results.

We have therefore not attempted to force a solution on such points, which are still very doubtful. The differences of opinion between this article and others, show the complexity of the problems which we did not want to withhold from the reader. We have therefore discussed at length mainly those problems which are either controversial or have not been fully considered elsewhere in this volume.

NARASIMHA IN THE CULT OF JAGANNĀTHA-PURUṢOTTAMA

It has been shown that Jagannātha was interpreted in several different ways, the main interpretations being an identification with Puruṣottama, with Kṛṣṇa and a close identification with Narasiṃha (see Tripathi, ch. 2, 13, 25). The peculiar shape of the wooden image, which cannot at once iconographically be identified as a certain

deity, facilitates the application of different interpretations and this possibility proved to be a considerable asset to the Jagannātha cult, as shall be seen.

Already around A.C. 1300 we find evidence to the fact that the statues in the Jagannātha temple were regarded—at least in some circles of the temple priests—as the manifestations of an original primordial Narasiṃha. The *Puruṣottama Māhātmya* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the earliest comprehensive text on Jagannātha, narrates[1] that when Brahmā, the divine priest, consecrated the images, their present form vanished. One beholds with awe, instead of the wooden statues, the god Narasiṃha in a furious and violent mood. Through the numerous flames coming out of his body he looks like Rudra in form of the all-consuming fire at the time of the dissolution (*kālāgnirudra*) swallowing the worlds. Indradyumna is astonished at this and asks Brahmā, why the four images which have been brought to the temple on the chariots have suddenly disappeared. A divine voice had told him, that he would establish four wooden statues of *Viṣṇu* on the Ratnavedī. But now only one deity, namely Narasiṃha in this form, seems to be sitting on the dais. Indradyumna asks, "Is it an illusion or a reality?"[2] Brahman answers, "O king, the original image (*ādyā mūrtiḥ*) of the Exalted One (Bhagavat) [in this kṣetra?] is [or was] in the form of Narasiṃha. This wooden statue has [now] been revealed to you through my favour by Nārāyaṇa himself Do not think, o tiger among the kings, that it is an idol. It is the highest Brahman itself."[3]

The identity between Jagannātha and Narasiṃha is further emphasised by the fact that Brahman advises Indradyumna to worship Jagannātha with the *Mantrarāja-Nṛsiṃha-Mantra*. "There has never been nor will ever be a mantra more effective than this. Worshipped with this mantra, Viṣṇu is immediately pleased."[4] Brahman then draws the *Nṛsiṃha-Yantra* (*cakrābjamaṇḍala*) and letting Indradyumna sit on it, initiates him into Narasiṃha's mantrarāja and explains its importance and the

1 *Puruṣottama Māhātmya of Skanda Purāṇa*, 27. 98 to 29. 4.

2 *yajñānte tādṛśaṃ rūpam babhāra dārunirmitam/*
rathasthaṃ bhagavān eva prāsādāntar nyaveśayat//
mām āha pūrvaṃ vāṇī sā gaganāntaritā tadā/
apauruṣeyataruṇā caturmūrtir bhaviṣyati//
idānīm eka evāsau dṛṣyate supratiṣṭhitaḥ/
māyā vā tattvam athavā tattvato vada me prabho//
Adhy 28, 34-36

3 *ādyā mūrtir bhagavato narasiṃhākṛtir nṛpa/*
nārāyaṇena prathitā madanugrahatas tvayi//
dāravī mūrtir eṣeti pratimābuddhir atra vai/
mā bhūt te nṛpaśārdūla parabrahmākṛtis tv iyam//
Adhy. 28, 27cd-29ab.

4 *anena mantrarājena viṣṇum enam samarcaya/*
nātaḥ paratars mantro na bhūto na bhaviṣyati//
anenābhyarcito viṣṇuḥ prīto bhavati tatkṣaṇāt//
Adhy. 28, 52cd-53.

extraordinary efficacy.[5] After Indradyumna has received the Mantra, he has a vision of Narasiṃha, this time in his benign aspect as *Yogi-Narasiṃha*. The god is seated in the centre of his yantra-lotus of 32 petals with his hands on his knees in the posture of a yogin. In his lap sits Lakṣmī. He looks towards her and laughs loudly. On his back is Balabhadra, (i.e., Śeṣa) the serpent holding his thousand hoods like an umbrella over Narasiṃha's head. "The king becomes very happy seeing *Puruṣottama* in this from."[6]

Judging from the texts only, this incident of the worship of Jagannātha with the mantra of Narasiṃha as well as other texts emphasizing Narasiṃha could be looked at as an interpolation, a priestly speculation of an author with strong devotional leanings towards Narasiṃha.[7] If we consider the role of the Narasiṃha mantra in the ritual and the cult of Jagannātha however, such an interpretation is hardly possible.

The vision of Narasiṃha at the very moment when the Jagannātha figures are consecrated and the subsequent revelation of the *mantrarāja*, gains a new significance when compared with the factual ritual of consecration as it is still carried out. One of the most striking features of the Navakalevara ritual is the role which Narasiṃha plays in this ritual. It is Narasiṃha, not Puruṣottama, Kṛṣṇa or any other Vaiṣṇava deity associated with Jagannātha as Vāsudeva, who is the presiding deity of the whole ceremony. As shall be shown (ch.13), Narasiṃha is the presiding deity of both the parts of the Navakalevara ritual; the *vanayāga* ("forest sacrifice") and the *pratiṣṭhā* ("consecration").

Even the most important rite of the Pratiṣtha ceremony, namely *nyāsa* ("placement"), which "charges" the image with the character of the deity it represents, is carried out mainly with the *mantrarāja* of Narasiṃha. Till the *dārus* assume the shapes of the four Jagannātha deities they are consistently considered, treated and worshipped as Narasiṃha. The fact that the individual mantras of the four gods are used only incidentally and in a very limited number towards the end of the respective rituals, demonstrates their subsidiary nature and conveys the impression that they have been added later.

Navakalevara is a very secret ceremony. Its ritual is zealously guarded and known only to those who are directly concerned with it. And even they do not know the details of all the rites, but only of those which they actually perform. Even the record of the details of the various festivals of the Jagannātha temple, issued in 1953-54 by the Government of Orissa, has respected the confidential nature of this ritual by not describing its particulars. This statement explains why Navakalevara is not mentioned in older texts: because it was so secret.

The use of the Narasiṃha-Mantrarāja, referred to by the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, is corroborated not only by the Navakalevara ritual. It is mentioned also in the older

[5] Adhy. 28, 19cd-24.
[6] *prajaharṣa nṛpo dṛṣṭvā tādṛśam puruṣottamam*// For the whole, see Adhy. 28, 27-32 ab.
[7] cf. Geib, 1975, p. 101 ff.

Oriya sources which owe their origin to the activities of the historically conscious scribes (*karaṇas*) of the temple. The *Rājabhoga*, an unpublished manuscript compiled most probably towards the middle of the 17th century by the Deulakaraṇas of Puri, incorporates very old traditional material which stood at their disposal at that time. This manuscript while describing the duties of the different sevakas of the temple[8] mentions that the three *Pūjāpaṇḍāṣ* (*pāliā paṇḍā*) have to worship the deities Balabhadra, Jagannātha and Subhadrā during the time of the three main *pūjās* (*tīni dhūpare*) with the Vāsudeva-the Mantrarāja of Narasiṃha and the Bhubaneśvarī-mantras respectively.[9]

It is the first reference in the sevā section of the *Rājabhoga* which is of the greatest interest in the present context. It can be taken as an absolute proof for the use of the Narasiṃha Mantrarāja in the Jagannātha-Pūjā. The details of the individual rights and duties of the sevakas of the temple have been meticulously recorded by the karaṇas of the temple who were often approached to utter a final verdict on the duties etc. of these sevakas on the basis of the old texts in their custody. It seems highly improbable that such important texts (known also as *Mādaḷā Pāñjīs*) which were used as manuals, should have recorded the fact that the *Pūjā paṇḍā* of Jagannātha worships him with the Narasiṃha Mantrarāja had it not been the practice of the day. Thus we find here a reference to the worship of Jagannātha as Narasiṃha, which probably dates back to the time before Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva (second half of the 15th century) since the authorship of the *Gopalārcanavidhi*, the earliest known *Pūjā* manual of Jagannātha, is ascribed to him and this *Pūjā* manual already treats Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa, the beloved of gopīs, and no more as Narasiṃha.

The mention of the worship of Jagannātha as Narasiṃha with the *mantrarāja* in both these texts, the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya* and the *Rājabhoga* shows clearly that in the 13th and even in the 14th as well as perhaps the 16th centuries the people, or at least some groups of people, still considered Jagannātha to be Narasiṃha. This is corroborated by the fact that even today in some instances a Jagannātha figure is worshipped as Narasiṃha.

Thus Jagannātha was Narasiṃha as well as Kṛṣṇa around 1300. As to the question which one is the older aspect, there can only be one answer: Narasiṃha. The testimony of the ceremony of Navakalevara, especially the rites of fire sacrifice and the consecration of the images, point unmistakably to that fact. The rites and rituals

[8] p. 186 of the paper transcript of the text.

[9] *e tīni dhūpare siṃhāsana upare pīḍhā māḍi ṣodaśopacārarājopacāra vidhire dvādaśākṣara mantre śrībalarāma devaṃku pūjā kariba, mantrarāja mantre śrījagannāthadevaṃku pūjā kariba . . .*

A similar reference occurs elsewhere in the same text (paper transcript p. 18) in the Indradyumna legend where the king is advised by Brahmā to worship Balabhadra with the Vāsudeva-mantra, Jagannātha with the Mantrarāja-Nṛsiṃha mantra, Subhadrā with the Bhuvaneśvarī mantra etc. This passage, however, needs not reflect a contemporary practice, since it shows a great influence of the Pur. Māh. in the version of the *Skanda Purāṇa* where Brahmā gives the same advice to Indradyumna.

of Navakalevara represent an old and uninterrupted tradition since they are kept secret, take place only once in a while and are performed by very orthodox people, the Brahmins and the Daitas. Had not Jagannātha once really been Narasiṃha, it would have neither been possible nor acceptable to the priests to apply and use almost exclusively Narasiṃha Mantras for this ceremony.

The deity worshipped as Narasiṃha and Kṛṣṇa was known as Puruṣottama. And indeed the concept of Puruṣottama constitutes a link between the iconological character of the two deities. Both Narasiṃha and Puruṣottama are two Viṣṇuite deities endowed with Tantric-Śāktic characteristics, and could thus be gradually combined. Narasiṃha incorporates both sides of a Tantric deity: the "furious" (*ugra*) element of a violent deity which will also bestow material benefits on her believer, and, in his close relationship to Lakṣmī. the erotic aspect. The importance of this last mentioned *erotic* aspect of Narasiṃha in Orissa should, in no way, be underestimated. That the concept of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha (i.e. Lakṣmī sitting on the left thigh of a furious looking Nṛsiṃha) played an important role in the religious life of the people after 1100 A C., is proved by the fact that it was found necessary to build a temple for the deity Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha in the Śaivite temple of Lingarāja in Bhubaneswar. The Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha Temple in the Lingarāja compound is one of the most important shrines and contains a beautifully carved statue of black chlorite of the divine couple. The first tantric aspect (furiousness) of Narasiṃha and his importance in popular religion enables him to be an agent of Hinduization. being associated and identified with "furious" aboriginal deities. The erotic aspect of Narasiṃha brings him close to Puruṣottama as the other Viṣṇuite deity with strong erotic-tantric character. Puruṣottama cannot be thought of without his consort Kamalā, their sporting together is an integral part of the Puruṣottama mythology. Inscriptions suggest that Narasiṃha was significantly identified with both concepts: Puruṣottama as a definite deity of tantric character (see ch. 2 above), and Puruṣottama as the "supreme", as a name for Viṣṇu in his Viśvarūpa.

Once the deity of Puri was identified as Puruṣottama in both these aspects, he could also be looked at as a further aspect of Puruṣottama, as Kṛṣṇa, who *is* Puruṣottama in these two aspects, both as a lover and as the highest form of Viṣṇu.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAGANNĀTHA FIGURE

It has been shown that the Jagannātha figures are the typical outcome of a process of Hinduization where uniconical symbols of aboriginal religions as posts and stones are combined with a Hindu deity and at a certain stage of intensive Hinduization changed in their iconography such as to represent a rudimentary anthropomorphic image. There are only a certain number of Hindu deities which can play a role in the primary stage of Hinduization, namely those, whose character shows a certain affinity to tribal deities. For the origin of Jagannātha two possibilities for such an initial identification have been suggested; with Śiva in his aspect as Ekapāda Bhairava and with Narasiṃha.[10] The identification with Narasiṃha can easily be related to the

[10] See above Eschmann, *Vaiṣṇava Typology*. ch. 5 and v. Stietencron, *The Śaiva Component*. ch. 6

elements of the Jagannātha theology just surveyed, which does indeed identify him with Narasiṃha.

As von Stietencron has shown, two main reasons are in favour of an identification with Śiva-Bhairava-Ekapāda being the beginning of the Jagannātha figure. Early images of this Ekapāda *mūrti* are found in Orissa and do indeed considerably resemble the earliest known sculpture of Jagannātha (see fig. 38 and fig. 58) and further, such an identification would fit well in an early stage of History of Religions in Orissa when Śivaism was predominant.

But the idea that the Jagannātha figure developed from an identification with Śiva Bhairava presents considerable ritual problems: how should an image worshipped as Śiva be converted into a Viṣṇuite deity? Moreover, when should this Viṣṇuization have taken place? Yayāti I who gave the first royal patronage to the Jagannātha cult, belonged to a Śaiva dynasty. Coḍagaṅga, who constructed the great temple, declared himself to be Śaiva. Why should these kings undertake or reinforce the Viṣṇuization of a Śaiva deity?

The discussion of Jagannātha's origin is focused on two main controversial problems: a) since when one thinks, that the Narasiṃha worship existed in Orissa, and b) whether one can assume that Hinduization could be enacted also in times of Śaiva predominance through the identification of a tribal deity with Narasiṃha who is mainly a Viṣṇuite god. The solution of these two problems is mainly a question of interpretation. It has been fully discussed above and may therefore be briefly summarized here.

The worship of Narasiṃha was popular in the South from ancient times onwards. One of the oldest Narasiṃha figures has been discovered in coastal Andhra Pradesh. It shows Narasiṃha in a fully theriomorphic form, related to his *girija* aspect where he is considered as "hillborn". This concept of a hillborn, dangerous deity plays an important role in Hinduization and is certainly older than the theology of Rāmānuja. Because of the popularity and the antiquity of the Narasiṃha worship in the South we may assume that it was brought to Central Orissa with the first wave of Viṣṇuism. The worship of Narasiṃha was acknowledged by Śivaism. Had it not been the case, it would have been impossible to construct and dedicate one of the most imposing shrines of the Lingarāja temple in Bhubaneshwar to the deity Lakṣmī-Narasiṃha. Śivait myths depict Śiva as incorporating Narasiṃha and thus sanction his worship. The Siṃhanātha temple is an early example of such an integrated worship in Orissa. Narasiṃha, namely a figure with a lion head, is depicted as being in reality Śiva, holding a trident (see fig. 55) and associated with a tribal cult.

The worship of Narasiṃha thus continued in Orissa under Śaiva auspices and may perhaps even have been emphasized on the level of popular religion, because Narasiṃha could be worshipped by both, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. The predominance of a certain religion acts on the level of "High Religion", expressed in temples built by kings. But such a predominance does not necessarily affect the level of popular religion on which Hinduization usually acts.

There is no definite *terminus post quem* for the moment when an aboriginal post was changed into the Jagannātha figure. It was probably during those centuries when Śaivism was predominant in Coastal Orissa, though it might have been even earlier. However, the process of Hinduization which led to the establishment of this figure, was certainly a slow one and acted on the level of popular religion.

On this level, an identification of a tribal deity with Narasiṃha was possible also in times of Śaiva predominance. The identification with Narasiṃha is corroborated by the theology of Jagannātha as a Viṣṇuite deity and his identity with Narasiṃha at the moment of the consecration of his *mūrti*.

As Viṣṇuism is more exclusive than Śivaism, it is difficult to see how a deity originally worshipped as Bhairava should have been incorporated into Viṣṇuism. But the opposite is easily possible. Narasiṃha was not only incorporated into Śivaism, but also associated with Bhairava. Thus it seems probable, as has also been suggested by v. Stietencron, that the original Jagannātha figure, though ritually and iconographically identified with Narasiṃha was simultaneously worshipped or at least referred to by other groups as Bhairava-Ekapāda. The sculptures of Bhairava Ekapāda may thus be a Śaiva acknowledgement on the level of Śaiva High Religion of the wooden Jagannātha-Narasiṃha.[11]

We are thus led to assume that the Jagannātha figure developed from the identification of a tribal deity represented through a wooden post with Narasiṃha. Narasiṃha's popular iconography, a head with arms, was added to the aboriginal post, as it can still be observed in other Hinduized cults. The original cult, which was thus "developed", must have belonged to that tribal substratum which practises the ritual of renewal.

With the establishment of the figure of Jagannātha-Narasiṃha, and possibly also that of Lakṣmī-Subhadrā, the cult must have achieved a rudimentary stage of temple worship. As we have seen in recent examples, the establishment of figures whose iconography is Hinduized, is usually connected with the development of the ritual to such a stage where it fulfils at least some of the conditions of temple worship: regular daily *pūjā*, recognition by all castes and more than local importance. Mostly it is the first two conditions which are first of all attained. This stage marks the decision of a very important question, namely the nature of the main image. It has been assumed, that at a certain stage the Jagannātha cult included both: a "real" mūrti, namely a stone Vāsudeva image, and the wooden figures.[12] But this is unlikely as compared to the usual typology of Hinduization.

Once the original symbol has been anthropomorphized, so to speak, been

[11] One could perhaps even go as far as to assume, that the conical shape of the Jagannātha figure represented in Konarak was indeed taken over from the Śaiva model of Bhairava Ekapāda. The assumption, that the Jagannātha figure was developed altogether from a combination of an aboriginal post with Bhairava-Ekapāda does not explain the curious shape of Jagannātha's head (cf. Eschmann, *Vaiṣṇava Typology*, ch. 5 and v. Stietencron, *The Śaiva Component*, ch. 6).

[12] Geib, 1975, p. 128ff.

Hinduized also in its iconography, it will naturally become the main worshipable image of that cult (*mūla bimba*). The deity thus represented may be depicted by a regular *mūrti* of Hindu standards in other places, and by her *calantī pratimā*. Another possibility of iconographical Hinduization is to introduce a regular Hindu *mūrti* as main image. In that case, the original symbol will usually lose its importance, while remaining unchanged. There is, as far as we know, no example in Orissa, where a cult has both: a regular *mūrti* as main image, and an anthropomorphized symbol. There would be no function for the latter, as it can logically become only the main image.

THE FIRST ROYAL TEMPLE

The Māḍaḷā Pāñji attributes the construction of the first Puruṣottama temple to Yayāti Keśarī. He is said to have "reinstalled" the cult having rediscovered the wooden figures burried in the Sonepur region after having performed the first Navakalevara ritual.[13]

Yayāti Keśarī may be identified with two Somavaṃśī kings : Yayāti I in the early tenth century or Yayāti II in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Though strong elements seem to point to Yayāti I, with the source material available at present, this historical question cannot yet be solved.[14] However, whichever Yayāti it was, this king had a special relation to the Jagannātha cult because of his background: he came from a region where Viṣṇuism had been prevalent. Though he himself belonged to a Śaiva dynasty, it was probably with him, that the second wave of Viṣṇuism reached Coastal Orissa. Moreover he must have been familiar with Hinduized cults of posts: the Khambheśvarī worship is known in Western Orissa since 500 A.C.

The fact, that Yayāti came from the West where the cults of wooden posts had been known since early times and are still practised together with the rituals of renewal, could lead to the supposition that he imported the Jagannātha cult. Indeed, some traditions refer to Jagannātha-Nīlamādhava having "originally" been worshipped in the West, though such traditions are found relating to other parts of Orissa as well.

We cannot completely rule out the possibility that Jagannātha did indeed come from the West. However, there are important reasons to believe that the cult was local and that if something was imported by Yayāti, it was the figure of Subhadrā. It could be shown, that the tribal substrat, from which the Jagannātha cult developed, must have in former times reached up to the coast. Moreover, Hinduized cults in Orissa, are usually local cults. It is mostly to be observed that the tribal, semitribal or formally tribal groups associated with such cults have become sedentary within a Hindu agricultural community. The origin of these groups is therefore

[13] For a discussion of the Yayāti tradition see v. Stietencron, *Advent of Viṣṇuism*, ch. 1; Kulke, *Early Royal Patronage*, ch. 8.

[14] Cf. Kulke, *Early Royal Patronage*, ch. 8.

remembered, but they are usually not related to any special nomadic group as it happens in other parts of India. The "territoriality" of tribal as well as of already Hinduized cults attracts the royal patronage. Cults which are already Hinduized might serve the royal policy particularly well; they represent not only the "territorial" deity, but have also already succeeded in combining different social groups in its service. To give a ritual expression to such an integration was exactly one of the objectives of royal cults.[15]

From these considerations it seems almost compulsive, that Yayāti took up the local cult which was already Hinduized to a rudimentary temple stage. By doing so, he achieved two aims: He rooted his sovereignty into the newly conquered area by giving a local deity the rank of a (subsidiary) *rāṣṭra devatā,* and he strengthened the ties between the newly conquered territory and his homeland where similar cults were *en vogue.*

We do not know, whether the temple built by Yayāti was perhaps one of the Narasiṃha temples in Puri—that within the compound or that near the Guṇḍicā temple—which are referred to by the Puri tradition as older than the great Jagannātha temple.

The association between the original god Jagannātha-Narasiṃha and the deity Puruṣottama might have begun at the time of Yayāti. The inscriptions which link both names are found in the North and in the West of the region where Yayāti came from.[16] It is quite possible that he introduced or supported such an association, which through its very name "the supreme puruṣa" was apt to lend more prestige to the cult.

SUBHADRĀ

The *terminus ante quem* for the existence of Subhadrā, i.e. of a couple, is the construction of the great temple by Coḍagaṅga which was begun in 1135. This temple was, as has been shown above, planned for two figures only.[17] The question, whether this couple existed from the very beginning or the female figure was added to the Puruṣottama-Narasiṃha figure at a certain moment, cannot be answered with any degree of finality.

The iconography of Subhadrā corresponds to the usual iconography of a tribal deity which as been Hinduized by being identified with a Śākta goddess and resembles particularly to the iconography of the Hinduized goddess *Khambheśvarī,* the "lady of the post" (see fig. 69). The iconography of Subhadrā corresponds to her iconological character. Many features in her worship point to the fact that she was originally a Śākta goddess; the most important of these is that she is still worshipped with a Śākta mantra, the mantra of Bhubaneśvarī. Both, the figures of Khambheśvarī and

[15] Cf. Kulke, *Royal Temple Policy*, ch. 7,
[16] Cf. Eschmann, *Vaiṣṇava Typology*, ch 5; v. Stietencron, *The Advent of Viṣṇuism*, ch. 1.
[17] Cf. Tripathi, *On the Concept of Puruṣottama*, ch. 2.

of Jagannātha developed from the same tribal substrat. It could be shown, that these types of tribal cults must have in pre-Yayāti times been present on the seashore. It is therefore very well possible that the process of Hinduization which led to the establishment of the Subhadrā figure, took place in Puri itself.[18]

The analysis of Jagannātha as Puruṣottama left no doubt that Subhadrā was, at that stage of the development, interpreted as the consort of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. The idea that Subhadrā is, in reality, none but Lakṣmī and the wife of Jagannātha can be seen in the cult even today. We might therefore well assume, that the idea of the couple is older than the Puruṣottama stage and was already there at that time when Jagannātha was predominantly identified with Narasiṃha, who also has a strong erotic component (Lakṣmī sitting in his lap or on left thigh!).

As the preconditions for the Hinduization of both the figures were given in Puri, it may have been that both types—Jagannātha-Narasiṃha and the Śākta goddess—developed in Puri or were at least combined at a very early stage.

However, there is an equally strong possibility that Subhadrā-Lakṣmī was added later to an existing Jagannātha-Narasiṃha figure. If so, this was most probably done by Yayāti I. It seems difficult, that he should have introduced a Hinduized cult and its deity altogether. But it seems quite possible, that he combined the existing figure with a *śakti* of the same brand. To introduce the Śākta goddess, which was worshipped in his homeland as Khambheśvari, would have served his political purpose, namely to tighten the relations between his homeland and the newly conquered areas. The addition would also have fitted in both the iconological concepts prevalent at that time, Narasiṃha and Puruṣottama. This association of a female Śākta deity (i.e. Stambheśvarī) with a male deity with Viṣṇuite character (Narasiṃha-Puruṣottama) may seem less convincing to some, especially if the relationship is to be that of husband and wife. It would be easier to believe if the male deity has a Śivaite character. But we must have the following facts in view while looking at this association of 'Durgā' and 'Viṣṇu':

The cult of Mother Goddess has existed in India since time immemorial. It has been, and to a great extent still is, a part of the autochthonous religious belief and originally neither associated with Śiva nor with Viṣṇu. In the course of their development, however, both Śivaism and Viṣṇuism tried to incorporate it into their framework. The association of the Mother-Goddess with Rudra-Śiva is no doubt older. We find an Ambikā ("mother") associated with Rudra as his sister already in the Vāj. S. of *White Yajurveda* (III.27). The same Saṃhitā mentions Ambā, Ambikā, and Ambālikā (all meaning 'mother') as well as 'Subhadrikā' having her seat in Kāmpīla and we hear of Umā Haimavatī (Umā, the daughter of Himālaya) in the *Kena-Upaniṣad*. That this Ambikā/Umā later gets united with Śiva as his wife is well known.

But just as the Śivaites appropriated the Mother Goddess as the wife of Śiva, the Vaiṣṇavas/Bhāgavatas also endeavoured to incorporate the Mother into their cult and to associate her with Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu. The most successful and effective

[18] Cf. also v. Stietencron, *The Advent of Viṣṇuism*, ch. 1.

attempt in this direction was made in the centuries preceding the Christian era when the Kṛṣṇa legend took its final shape. Thus we find in the *Harivaṃśa* (around 1st c.) the daughter of Yaśodā against whom Kṛṣṇa is exchanged, described as the *Nidrā* of Viṣṇu.[19] Before incarnating himself, Viṣṇu asks his Śakti *Nidrā* (=sleep) to incarnate herself as the daughter of Yaśoda and ordains that when dashed against a rock by Kaṃsa, she would not die but rise to the sky where she shall assume the form of a goddess with four arms holding in them a trident, a sword with golden grip, a lotus and a drinking bowl. After rebuking Kaṃsa for his deed she shall ascend to heaven where Indra shall receive her respectfully and take her as his sister. Thereafter she shall come back to earth and shall multiply herself in many forms (*bahurūpā*) as well as in amorphic symbols (*virūpā*) and shall be worshipped on the uncanny hill tops, river islands, mountain caves, dense forests and lonely places adjoining the forests by the Śabaras (tribals), Barbaras (barbarians) and the Pulindas (forest people, hunters) etc. and shall remain surrounded with cocks, goats, rams (sacrificed to her) as well as with lions and tigers (at her living places). The people shall call her *Vindhyavāsinī* (the goddess living in Vindhya region) (*Harivaṃśa* II. 2. 40-42. II. 3 [Āryāstava], 3-8).

It is interesting that in the *Harivaṃśa* this goddess which is designated as Ekānaṃśā, is described as having the bodily colour of Kṛṣṇa (i.e. black) but the facial features of Balarāma (*macchavīsadṛśī kṛṣṇā saṃkarṣaṇasamānanā* HrV. II. 2.40; cf. also *Pur. Māh.* of Skd. P. 19. 12ab which also points to the similarity of Subhadrā and Balabhadra: *balabhadrākrtir jātā balarūpasya cintanāt*). This explains why Balabhadra has the same face as Subhadrā !

An important role to bring Viṣṇuism and Śāktism together has been played by the *Devīmāhātmya* of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, a text which originated in about 5th c. A.C. and is even to this day regarded as the most important text of the Śāktas. Its influence on the adherents of the cult of Mother Goddess is inestimable. In the very beginning of this text the Mother Goddess has been described as *Bhagavatī* and the *Nidrā* of Viṣṇu (I.70) as well as Mahāmāyā (I.56). She is the primeval source of the universe which contains in herself everything existing and non-existing (I. 82cd, 83ab). She creates the world out of herself, retains it and destroys it. She lives in the lotus-eyes of Viṣṇu (as *Viṣṇu-Nidrā*, the sleep of Viṣṇu) but also in his mouth, nose, arms, chest and the heart (I. 90, 91ab) and makes him sleep at the time of the dissolution of the world after he has discharged his cosmic duties as an agent of her, the primeval force. In te hverses XI. 8-23 she has repeatedly been adressed as '*Nārāyaṇī*' (=belonging to Nārāyaṇa/Viṣṇu) in a refrain (*nārāyaṇī namo'su te*) occurring at the end of every verse.

The story of the *Nidrā* of Viṣṇu—named Ekānaṃśā in the *Harivaṃśa*—is found almost in an unchanged form in the Purāṇas of Viṣṇu (5th c.) and Bhāgavata

[19] *Harivaṃśa* (cr. Ed.), Adhy. 47. 24, 25, 26 (bis). 54; cf. also *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V. 1. 70. 71, 72; V. 3. 20. M.P. Dash, *Interrelation between Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktism in Orissa*, in : OHRJ. XI, 4 (1963), 275

(9th-10th c.). The association of the Mother Goddess with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the 1st c. A.C. is also attested by a relief of the Kuṣāṇa period found in Mathura and now preserved in Karachi Museum in which this Ekānaṃśā, Nidrā of Viṣṇu or the Yogamāyā is depicted as standing in the middle with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on either sides.[20] We have three more representations of this trinity: in the rock temple of Ellora (7th c.),[21] and on two stone penals found in Etah (U.P.) and Imadpur (Bihar) respectively, both belonging to the 11th-12th centuries.[22]

K.N. Mahapatra (1969^b) speaks of a small brass plate (7.5 cm × 7.5 cm) preserved in the Orissa State Museum showing, according to him the Ekānaṃśā trinity (i.e., Ekānaṃśā, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa). Balarāma has a canopy of three serpenthoods in this plate and both Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa have been depicted in it as having two arms only. Mahapatra dates this plaque "tentatively" in the eighth century since he takes the four arms depicted in the Ekānaṃśā trinity of U.P. and Bihar to be a further development of a trinity in which these deities had two arms only. Further, the Orissan plaque shows three serpenthoods over the head of Balarāma whereas the Kuṣāṇa trinity does not show any sign of serpenthoods and the trinities from U.P. and Bihar have seven serpenthoods. Orissan trinity, therefore, he concludes, should be earlier than 11th-12th century. But we think that these arguments are not at all sufficient to determine the age of the Orissan brass-plate. Arguing on these lines the present Jagannātha trinity would appear still older because Balarāma in this trinity has only one snakehood and both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma have no hands at all! The number of the snakehoods over the head of Balarāma depends upon the personal fantasy of the artist as well as on the technical possibility. A brass plate which is just 3″ in size and on which three deities are to be depicted does not leave much room or space for one deity and as such the artist is satisfied with three hoods only. The Balarāma in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple has five snakehoods whereas the same deity carved in almost the same period and standing only a few hundreds of metre further in the Liṅgarāja temple has seven. This small brass plate of Orissa appears nothing else but a representation of the deities of the Jagannātha temple (possibly also of those of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple in Bhubaneswar), made for conducting the worship of these deities at home. The two arms of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are to us a further proof of the fact that the artist sought to represent here the Kṛṣṇa (=Jagannātha) and the Balabhadra of the Jagannātha temple who both have two arms only. Just as the pilgrims now-a-days buy the representations of the Jagannātha trinity on paper, clothpiece (*paṭṭacitra*) or wood in order to continue the worship of these deities

[20] Cf. the description of Ekānaṃśā by Varāhamihira (6th c.)
Ekānaṃśā kāryā devī baladevakṛṣṇayor madhye|
Kaṭisaṃsthila vāmakarā sarojamitareṇa codvahatī||
Bṛhatsaṃhitā 58.37

[21] Krishna Kumar, *An Ekānaṃśā Relief at Ellora*, in: J. of Ind. Hist., vol. 44 3, 831-838.

[22] K.N. Mahapatra, *The worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā*, in: Srī Jagannātha Smārikā, Delhi 1969, p. 49.

at home, in older times small brass-plates showing the Puri deities might also have been sold and bought as religious objects and souvenirs. All this discussion is meant to prove that there is no definite sign of the existence of any Jagannātha (or the so-called Ekānaṃśā—) *Trinity* in Orissa before the beginning of the 13th century (cf. Kulke 1973 and p. 195ff. below in this article).

On the other hand there is every probability of a syncretism between the cult of Mother Goddess (Stambheśvari/Durgā-Bhuvaneśvari/Lakṣmī-Kamalā) and that of Narasiṃha-Puruṣottama in this region. Such a symbiosis of Durgā and Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa was not limited to Orissa only. The *Gautamīya-Kalpa*, a text which existed latest by 1500 A.C. since it has been profusely quoted in the works of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, declares that "the deity who is Kṛṣṇa, the same is Durgā; the one who is Durgā is also Kṛṣṇa. There is no difference between the two; the one who differentiates between the two, never gets liberated."[23] The Presiding Deity of the ten-syllabic as well as the eighteen-syllabic Gopāla-Mantras used in the worship of Jagannātha is referred to as *Durgā* ("... *durgā adhiṣṭātridevatā*", mentioned in all the *Pūjāpaddhatis* of Jagannātha). That Durgā is the Śakti of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is again described in unmistakable terms in the *Brahmasmhitā*, a Pāñcarātra work which Caitanya 'discovered' in Travancore in the year 1511-12, had it copied, brought to Puri and recommended it to his followers for keen study (cf. *Caitanycaritāmṛta*, Madhyalīlā 9.218-24). The verse 44 of the Adhy. V of this work describes Durgā as the Śakti of Kṛṣṇa who brings forth, sustains and destroys this universe at the command of Kṛṣṇa, acts according to his wish and is, so to say, a shadow of Govinda, the primeval Puruṣa :

sṛṣṭisthitipralayasādhanaśaktir ekā
chāyéva yasya bhuvanāni bibharti durgā|
icchānurūpam api yasya viceṣṭate sā
govindam ādipuruṣam tam ahaṃ bhajāmi||

This relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Durgā, Durgā as the Śakti (Nidrā, Yoganidrā, Yogamāyā) of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa who incarnates herself as Ekānaṃśā at the wish of Viṣṇu, was clear to the reformer (or the reformers) who introduced the image of Balabhadra in the temple in the 13th century (cf. p. 194) in order to supress (or to sublimate) the erotic element between the male and female deity of the Puruṣottama temple. They introduced Balabhadra additionally into the sanctum in

[23] *yaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ śaiva durgā syād*
yā durgā kṛṣṇa eva saḥ|
anayor antarādarśī
saṃsārān no vimucyate||

Cf. the commentary of Jīva Gosvāmin on *Śrībrahmasaṃhitā*, ch. V. (Gauḍīya Math, Madras 1932) śl. 3. Interesting is also the following quotation from the *Nārada Pāñcarātra* cited by Jīva Gosvāmin at the same place:
jānāty ekā parā kāntā śaiva durgā tadātmikā|
yā parā paramā śaktir mahāviṣṇusvarūpiṇī||

order to (a) change the character and the concept of the two deities from husband and wife to brother and sister, (b) to introduce indirectly a new deity whose worship was very popular and widespread in Orissa, namely Śiva who is identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma in the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas (cf. p 187ff. below), and finally (c) to re-interpret, rather to re-assert and emphasize the original character of the female deity who had been Stambheśvarī/Durgā but was being worshipped at this time as Lakṣmī. This re-introduced Durgā in the Jagannātha temple and satisfied her millions of followers in Orissa.

It may be noted that the term 'Ekānaṃśā', a word of indefinite origin and unintelligible meaning, seems to have gone out of use [latest] by the 12th century, at least among the common people. The goddess Ekānaṃśā was, therefore, confounded with *Subhadrā*, another sister of Kṛṣṇa (more precisely: of Balarāma) who remained alive and was not forgotten like Ekānaṃśā since she plays an interesting role in the story of Mahābhārata by being abducted by Arjuna (at the suggestion of Kṛṣṇa !). Also because of her brave son Abhimanyu who died in the battle of Mahābhārata at the tender age of 16 and whose bravery inspires even today the Indian youth. This popularity of Subhadrā and the disappearance of Ekānaṃśā from the public mind constitute the reason for the fact why the female goddess in the Jagannātha triad is designated as *Subhadrā* though, in fact, Subhadrā has never been deified like her two brothers and though her appellatives like 'Kātyāyanī', 'Durgā' and 'Bhadrakālī' (cf. *Pur-Māh.* of Śkd. P. 27.57) leave no doubt as to the fact that she is *not* Subhadrā (i.e., the sister of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa who was married to Arjuna), but Ekānaṃśā (i.e. the sister of Kṛṣṇa who, when smashed against a rock, disappeared in the sky) since it is only the latter who could be identified with Durgā and not Subhadrā.

THE JAGANNĀTHA CULT UNDER COḌAGANGA

The construction of the last and greatest temple for Jagannātha in Puri fell in the same time, when the third wave of Viṣṇuism reached Orissa. Both were only indirectly related. The initiator of the latter, Rāmānuja (c. 1056-1137) and the emperor Ananatavarman Coḍagaṅga (1077-1147), were almost contemporaries. But though Coḍagaṅga is known as early as 1108 to have encouraged a policy of religious inclusiveness,[24] he professed himself to be a Śaiva and continued to do so even after having begun to build the great Puruṣottama temple in Puri.

The selection of the cult in Puri for royal patronage had political reasons.[25] The Delta region of the Mahanadi became of great importance, after Coḍagaṅga had annexed Central Orissa to Kalinga, but had experienced a set back at the attempt to expand his kingdom further to the south and to the west. To a certain extent, the "outsider" Coḍagaṅga found himself in a similar position as Yayāti. Like him, he

[24] Cf. v. Stietencron, *The Advent of Viṣṇuism*. ch 1.
[25] Cf. Kulke, *Early Royal Patronage*, ch. 8.

had to root and legitimate his rule within the newly conquered country ("vertical legitimation"). But moreover he also had to establish his rule against other rival imperial powers ("horizontal legitimation"). The fact that he planned the then highest temple of India for a Vaiṣṇava deity shows his determination to outdo the "*Reichstempel*" of his rival Kulottuṅga, a fanatic Śaiva.

It is obvious that the cult which could satisfy the necessities of both these types of legitimation must have two different qualities: the vertical legitimation was best achieved by a cult with strong autochthonous, even aboriginal elements which would comply with the need of territoriality and of integration. But for the needs of the vertical legitimation a strong degree not only of Hinduization but of Brahmanization is needed; only a deity known and respected within "High-Hinduism" could be expected to be recognized or to impress other Hindu emperors. At Coḍagaṅga's time the Jagannātha cult offered both the necessary prerequisites to combine the two types of legitimation : it retained on the one hand a strong aboriginal and autochthonous element. On the other hand it was no more a simple Hinduized cult, but had already enjoyed royal patronage and had thus been brahmanized. Though neglected by the late Somavaṃśī kings, the Puruṣottama cult was known outside Orissa : it is referred to as an important place of pilgrimage in the Maihar inscription.[26] The Jagannātha cult was thus in an almost ideal condition to be raised to an imperial level.

The identity of the Puri deity with Narasiṃha was still known at Coḍagaṅga's times, and may have induced him, who professed himself to be a Śaiva, to worship this deity, because of the relationship between Narasiṃha and Śivaism.[27] But the interpretation of the Puri god as Puruṣottama was also current at Coḍagaṅga's time, and was most probably reinforced by the elevation of the cult. Both deities are closely linked together as two Viṣṇuitic deities endowed with Tantric-Śāktic characteristics. In Narasiṃha the "furious" aspect is dominant, though he has also a strong erotic aspect, whereas the erotic aspect is predominant in the Puruṣottama concept. Narasiṃha's furious character had been instrumental in the original process of Hinduization which led to the establishment of the wooden figures. Once their cult had reached a certain stage, this element, though remembered for a considerable time, and ritually still present today, could be overshadowed by the concept of Puruṣottama. This concept marked the highest degree of Brahmanization, Puruṣottama being the name of both the Tantric deity with strong erotic features *and* the name for the highest Vaiṣṇava god himself. To strengthen this aspect of the god was therefore possible only under royal patronage which was bound to strengthen the Brahmanic element in the cult. Moreover to have Puruṣottama "the Supreme Being" as *raṣṭra devatā* was certainly more prestigious than Narasiṃha. We have seen, that therefore this reinterpretation began probably under Yayāti, but it became dominant under Coḍagaṅga. It was therefore under the name of Puruṣottama, that the deity of Puri became famous.

[26] Cf. Tripathi, *On the Concept of Puruṣottama*, ch. 2.

[27] Cf. Eschmann, *Vaiaṣṇva Typology of Hinduization*, ch. 5,

Puruṣottama is the deity, who "cannot be conceived without his female counterpart". The temple of Coḍagaṅga was therefore meant for a couple. The texts relating to the construction of the temple describe it as the house of the couple Puruṣottama and Lakṣmī *together*, and this is also inferred by the size of the *garbha gṛha*. Standing before the entrance of the *sanctum sanctorum*, one cannot, as one should in a normal temple, have a full view (*darśana*) of the three figures. It was therefore evidently not planned for three but only for two figures.[28]

THE PĀNCARĀTRA REINTERPRETATION

It has been seen that the wooden figures were particularly apt to be reinterpreted, as they do not display any definite iconography. The devotee cannot at a first glance immediately "see" which deity is represented by them. Therefore this explanation could vary within a certain realm of Vaiṣṇava deities. This vague iconography proved to be a considerable asset to the Jagannātha cult, because, within a certain sphere, the interpretation of the deities could always be brought up to date, conforming to the latest fashion of contemporary theology (see ch. 25). Naturally, these reinterpretations were not chosen at random but followed a certain logic. A subsequent reinterpretation as different deities was only possible, if these deities had affinities within their character and could be associated with each other. Such reinterpretations of course never occurred quickly they were certainly introduced gradually; as another aspect of the deity which through a development, often reinforced by political motives or royal patronage, finally gained dominance over the previous aspects. We have seen that not all such interpretations were important enough to become so dominant, that they influenced even the ritual.

Once the identity of Jagannātha with Puruṣottama was well established, a further identification, namely that to Kṛṣṇa almost suggested itself. Kṛṣṇa *is* Puruṣottama, as the Gīta says.[29] Besides, Kṛṣṇa is one of the four aspects (*Trailokyamohana, Śrīkara, Kāma* and *Kṛṣṇa*) subsumed under the concept of the deity known as "Puruṣottama" in the Āgamas, as already shown in Chapter 2. At this point of the development one could have expected, that the couple existing in Puri should have been reidentified as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. This would have taken up the erotic character of the Puruṣottama cult. But instead of taking this line, the development went otherwise. Perhaps because the concept of Rādhā as a beloved of Kṛṣṇa, but not his legal wife, was not so popular in Orissa? The erotic element and the idea of the divine couple was not continued, but repressed. Subhadrā was reinterpreted as the sister of Jagannātha, though her original relationship always remained secretly known, and a third figure, representing the brother of Jagannātha was added. There are several reasons for this development.

It was only after Coḍagaṅga, when the Jagannātha cult had definitely been

[28] Cf. Tripathi, ***On the Concept of Puruṣottama***. ch. 2.
[29] ***ibid.***

elevated to imperial level and Viṣṇuism became more and more dominant in Orissa, that the theology of the Puri deities could be systematically developed. This time was influenced by the third and the most important wave of Viṣṇuism which entered Orissa at the time of Coḍagaṅga and brought the teachings of Rāmānuja.[30] Rāmānuja was opposed to the erotic elements of the Kṛṣṇa cult. The influence of his teachings in Puri was certainly one of the reasons, why the development of the Puri theology moved away from the concept of the couple. Another and perhaps more important reason was the extraordinary applicability of the Pāñcarātra system to Puri : it was not only able to take up iconological features of the existing figures, but also had a significant political implication. The Pāñcarātra system emphasized Kṛṣṇa in his relations to his sister Ekānaṃśā and his brother Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa. Ekānaṃśā was interpreted as a form of Durgā, and Balarāma as a form of Śiva. Moreover the worship of Sudarśana was emphasized as well and it was conceived as an embodiment of Narasiṃha.

Thus the Pāñcarātra system was almost ideally able to take up the most important elements of the Jagannātha cult: The main deity Puruṣottama could be reinterpreted as Kṛṣṇa. Subhadrā had, from the very beginning, features of Durgā, as her iconography had originated from the identification of a tribal deity with a Śākta goddess. To interpret her as Ekānaṃśā-Durgā, thus meant only to re-emphasize her Śākta character.

Śivaite elements had been present in the early Jagannātha-Narasiṃha cult. Besides the snake worship had been very popular in Orissa.[31] These elements could be reinterpreted as pertaining to Balabhadra-Śiva. And the Narasiṃha character of the Jagannātha cult could also be taken up and focused on the Sudarśana worship. This interpretation was certainly for a considerable time just current in Puri, without any changes in the ritual. The fact, that the Pāñcarātra system's interpretation became so prominent, as to change the set of figures worshipped is due to another, the political implication of the system.

SUDARŚANA

Sudarśana "good to look at" is the name of the most important weapon of Viṣṇu, the *cakra* ("disc"). The Puri Sudarśana bears no *cakra* and this extraordinary fact had to be explained by an extra legend. The wooden pole of 84 *yavas* (=the distance between the middle joint of the middle finger up to the upper joint), wrapped in cloth can thus not originally have been meant to represent *Sudarśana Cakra*. As in other Hinduized cults, it must originally have been the *calantī pratimā* of the early Jagannātha-Narasiṃha icon, a function, which is still present in the fact, that at certain occasions Sudarśana only is carried out of the temple.[32]

[30] Cf. v. Stietencron, *The Advent of Viṣṇuism*. ch. 1.
[31] Cf. v. Stietencron, in: First Report of the Orissa Research Project, p. 20 and p. 34.
[32] Cf. Eschmann, *Hinduization of Tribal Deities*, ch. 4

True to its original character, Sudarśana is still considered as Narasiṃha. In the Pratiṣṭhā text of the Jagannātha temple, *Sudarśana* is actually referred to as representing Narasiṃha. While introducing the mantras etc. for the consecration of the wooden log for Sudarśana, the text uses the expression "*nṛsimhapakṣe*" ("in the case of Nṛsiṃha"), thus obviously identifying Sudarśana with Narasiṃha.

The worship of Sudarśana as a separate deity, though already known in earlier texts, was particularly emphasized by the Pāñcarātra system. One of the main texts of the school, the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā, describes Sudarśana as a form of Viṣṇu which He has assumed in order to destroy the demons etc.[33] Sudarśana is meditated upon as a god with the eyes and hair of yellow-brown colour (*piṅgākṣa, piṅgakeśā*), brilliant like burning fire, the face looking fierce due to the sharp teeth and the ruptured eyebrows etc. His hair are like a heap of lightening . . . , he has eight arms etc. In a more detailed *dhyāna*, Sudarśana is identified with the *Kriyā śakti* (the active force) of Viṣṇu with which He protects and destroys the universe.

There is even a *Sudarśana-Sahasranāma* towards the end of the Saṃhita composed on the line of the famous *Viṣṇusahasranāma*. Most of its *adhyāyas* start with an obeisance to the "divine glow called Sudarśana, whose flames surrounding him look like his matted hair and who imparts joy to those who meditate upon him", or "who destroys immediately the millions of sins of those who meditate but once upon him".

Thus the personified Sudarśana is regarded as a very mighty Vaiṣṇava deity who represents Viṣṇu's *ugra*, or the "furious" aspect. This relates him to Narasiṃha. As both represent the furious aspect of Viṣṇu, they could easily be combined, and indeed they were. Because of their significantly similar character, it seems, that already in the early centuries after Christ, both came very close to each other and were identified. This identification was again further stressed and emphasized by the Pāñcarātra system: The *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* prescribes the worship of Narasiṃha sitting in the Sudarśana Yantra, and considers him the presiding deity of that Yantra.[34]

This identity between Sudarśana and Narasiṃha found its expression also iconographically. Many sculptures combine both aspects. The cult image of the Narasiṃha temple in the Varadarāja temple in Kāñcīpuram for instance shows Narasiṃha in the front and Sudarśana cakra in the rear[35]. Since *darśana* can be had from both sides, the devotee can choose, which aspect of the deity he wants to look at as the main aspect.

Given the possibility of identifying Narasiṃha with Sudarśana and vice versa and the fact that this identification was particularly emphasized by the

[33] *ataśca bhagavān viṣṇuś cakrarūpī vyavasthitaḥ|*
hanyate tena cakreṇa viśve daiteyadānavāḥ|| 30, 16.
astrāṇi tāni nirjagmur viṣṇurūpāt sudarśanāt| 30, 19.

[34] Adhy. 36. 15 cd-16 ab.

[35] Further examples of this combined iconography are quoted by Begley, 1973, cf. especially fig. 62-69.

Pāñcarātra school, we can easily reconstruct the development in Puri: With the gradual reinterpretation of the cult images as Puruṣottama and Kṛṣṇa, the original movable image was reinterpreted as well. The main figures were given new, mettallic, *calantī pratimās*, which expressed their new nature. The old *calantī pratimā* (the wooden post), which having a fixed place in the sanctum could not be eliminated, was thus suitably explained as an attribute (i.e. *Cakra*) of Puruṣottama-Vāsudea-Kṛṣṇa. Last not the least, the Narasiṃha worship and its connection with the wooden posts was thus retained in the Jagannātha cult, but, with the exception for the most secret rituals, disconnected from the main figures.

BALABHADRA

(*a*) *Balabhadra as Śiva in the Pāñcarātra Philosophy*

According to the Vyūha theory of the Pāñcarātra Philosophy the One, Transcedent and the Highest God, termed Vāsudeva, manifests itself in three lower forms which are known as Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Of these, Saṃkarṣaṇa is endowed with the characteristics of *jñāna* and *bala*, Pradyumna with those of *aiśvarya* and *vīrya* and Aniruddha with *śakti* and *tejas*. Sanatkumara-Saṃhitā identifies Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu, Saṃkarṣaṇa with Śiva, Pradyumna with Brahmā and Aniruddha with "Puruṣottama".[36]

Though there is some divergence of opinion as to the function of Pradyumna and Aniruddha[37] there is an absolute unanimity of opinion as regards the function of Saṃkarṣaṇa. According to all the concerned texts the function of Saṃkarṣaṇa is to destroy the creation, to "pull it together" (*saṃ+kṛṣ*, cf. the word *saṃhāra* meaning destruction), "By means of his characteristic *bala* [cf. *Balarāma*, *Balabhadra* !] Saṃkarṣaṇa takes away all this," says the *Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā*[38] and the *Sanatkumāra Saṃhitā*, as already mentioned, refers to Saṃkarṣaṇa as Śiva in the following passage:

> *Saṃkaraṣaṇaḥ sa nāmābhud viṣṇuḥ sarvatra sañjitaḥ|*
> *tam eva śaṃkaram prāhuḥ kṣayakartāram īśvaram||*
> *kṣaye saṃkarṣaṇāt tasmāt purāṇajñāḥ pracakṣate|*
> —III.6.6, 7ab

[36] Cf. F.O. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, Madras 1916, 35f.

[37] The *Lakṣmi Tantra*, e.g, teaches (IV. 11, 19, 20) that the cosmic function of Aniruddha is *creating* (i.e. that of Brahmā) and that of Pradyumna *preserving* (i.e. that of Viṣṇu), whereas according to the *Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā* Pradyumna by virtue of his characteristic *aiśvarya* is responsible for creating the Universe and Aniruddha by means of the characteristic *śakti* for supporting and protecting the whole world; *vide* F.O. Schrader, *op. cit.*, 38.

[38] F.O. Schrader, *ibid.*

> "This Viṣṇu (born of Mahāviṣṇu and his Śakti *Śānti*) became known as Saṃkarṣaṇa. It is [exactly] he whom they call Śaṃkara, the Lord (īśvara) who causes destruction at the time of the dissolution [of the cosmos]. Since he draws together [all the manifested world into their unmanifested original state], he is called 'Saṃkarṣaṇa' by those knowing the Purāṇas."

The reference to the *Purāṇas* is interesting. The identification of Saṃkarṣaṇa with Śiva is not limited to the Pāñcarātra literature only. Also in the *Purāṇas* one finds scattered references which point towards an identification between the two. Already in the *Harivamśa* (composed around the beginning of Christian era), we find a passage which says that Ananta (=the serpent Śeṣa who is invariably identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa, cf. *Bhāgavata-P.*, V. 25) was born of Śiva. The *Brahma-P.* states (23.132) that Rudra is known as Halāyudha (=Balarāma) in one of his incarnations and the *Viṣṇu-P* (II.5.19) speaks of Saṃkarṣaṇa-Rudra who comes out of the mouth of Balarāma at the end of every *Kalpa* "to destroy the worlds"[39]:

> *nīlavāsā madotsiktaḥ śvetahārōpaśobhitaḥ|*
> *lāṅgalāsaktahastāgro vibhran muśalam uttamam||*
> *kalpānte yasya vaktrebhyo viṣānalaśikhojjvalaḥ|*
> *saṃkarṣaṇātmako rudro niṣkramyātti jagattrayam||*

This statement is corroborated by the following passage in the *Bhāgavata-P.*(V.25.2, 3) which says that when Ananta-Saṃkarṣaṇa wants to destroy the world (at the end of the creation), a Rudra known as 'Saṃkarṣaṇa-Rudra' having an elevenfold form, possessing three eyes and brandishing a trident in his hand emerges out of the spot between the eyebrows of Ananta-Saṃkarṣaṇa which (eyebrows) start moving due to the outburst of excessive wrath:

> *yasya ha vā idam kālena upasañjihīrṣato'marṣaviracitarucirabhramadbhruvor antareṇa saṃkarṣaṇo nāma rudraḥ ekādaśavyūhas tryakṣas triśikham śūlam uttambhayann udatiṣṭhat|* Bhāg.P. V. 25.2, 3.

The characteristic *Jñāna* of Saṃkarṣaṇa connects him again closely with Śiva. Śiva is considered in the Indian Āgamic-Tantric tradition—and not only in this—to be the supreme teacher, the Guru *par excellence*. This aspect of Śiva finds most eloquent expression in his *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form in which he teaches the mysteries of philosophies to his Bhaktas and others. The Indian tradition records, besides, that he teaches grammar to Pāṇini, dramaturgy to Bharata, the tales of Bṛhatkathā to Mālyavān-Guṇāḍhya and metaphysics to many a philosopher (e.g. Śaṅkarācārya). In almost all the esoteric and the Tantric texts, Śiva is depicted as the first preacher or the revealer of those religious mysteries. In the same manner, whereas the *cosmic* duty of

[39] Cf. also Suvira Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, Delhi 1967, 53.

Saṃkarṣaṇa in the Pañcarātra philosophy is that of destruction, his *ethical* duty consists of "the teaching of the Śāstra" and of 'theory', namely of the Monotheism (*ekānta mārga*)". The *Bhāgavata-P.* makes a mention of this "ethical activity" of Saṃkarṣaṇa several times in different contexts (cf. e. g. VI. 11.21, *et passim*). It is thus obvious that Saṃkarṣaṇa combines in himself not only the function of Śiva as the destroyer of creation but also the one of the universal teacher.

And since Saṃkarṣaṇa is completely identical with Balabhadra, who is often referred to as an (rather, the only one) incarnation of the former, it was not difficult to introduce Śiva at a certain stage (cf. below pp. 190-191) as Balabhadra/ Saṃkarṣaṇa, i. e. as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa/Puruṣottama to satisfy the feelings of the Śivaites of Orissa and to impart the deity at Puri a more universal character.

(*b*) *Was the present 'Balabhadra' originally worshipped as Ekapāda-Bhairava* ?

One might, however, also suppose that the Pāñcarātra interpretation later took up only the older or the original character of Balabhadra, as was the case with Subhadrā whose interpretation as a form of Durgā only re-emphasized her original Śākta nature. The resemblance between the representations of Śiva/Ekapāda-Bhairava and the wooden figure of Balabhadra is very suggestive and seems to point towards the existence of such an earlier identity. But we have not yet come across any such Śaiva prototypes of Balabhadra, neither in Orissa nor anywhere else. Further research may provide the proofs for the existence of such prototypes. Such proofs could be found in two realms: the typology of Hinduization and the cult of Balabhadra in Puri. So far, however an association of tribal cults with Śiva could be found in Orissa mainly as a secondary process, connected with Śiva's uniconical *mūrti*. The Śaiva elements in the cult of Balabhadra need also further analysis. (For Balabhadra as *kālāgnirudra* and *mahārudra*, see above Stietencron, chapter 6.)

As far as we can see at the moment the cult and ritual of Balabhadra shows no prominent sign of any old Śaiva identity. Balabhadra is worshipped by the mantra of Vāsudeva, almost an impersonal mantra one might say, as it can be applied to Bhagavat-Vāsudeva, but also to any child of Vāsudeva, i.e. Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra-Saṃkarṣaṇa.[40] Whereas in the course of the Kṛṣṇaization of Jagannātha, the *mantra* with which he is worshipped, was changed into that pertaining to *gopījanavallabha* ("the beloved of the cow-maids"), we have seen that Subhadrā continued to be worshipped under her Śākta aspect of Bhuvaneśavarī. One may thus argue, that, had Balabhadra had any *original* Śaiva character, this could have easily been retained in his worship and explained by the Pāñcarātra identification of Saṃkarṣaṇa with Śiva. The mantra part of the worship is certainly the most unfavourable to changes.

We are therefore at present led to assume that the worship of Balabhadra was introduced into the Jagannātha cult at the time of its Kṛṣṇaization. Most of the

[40] Cf. Tripathi, *The Daily Pūjā*, ch. 15.

Śivaite elements of Balabhadra's cult were probably introduced at the same time. Though owing their origin to the religious circumstances of Orissa, they were meant to fulfil the Pāñcarātra interpretation.

Perhaps the most important one of those elements was the snake worship, which was combined with Balabhadra Saṃkarṣaṇa and was an old element of the popular religion in Orissa. As has been seen above, this element could already have been associated with the Narasiṃha cult. As in Indradyumna's vision, Narasiṃha is worshipped and represented as being protected by Śeṣa, the snake, who holds his hoods over him.

The snakehood is the only element in Balabhadra's iconography which has a definite and clearly distinguishable iconological link to his character. The rest of his iconography displays a composite character: The shape of his head and his eyes is the same as that of Subhadrā complying with general Indian aesthetic standards, but like Jagannātha he has arms.

Balabhadra as interpreted by the Pāñcarātra system may have been worshipped for some time in Puri. But at a certain moment his figure was added to the existing couple. This could only have taken place once the process of Kṛṣṇaization was already well advanced, and, given the political importance of the cult after Coḍagaṅga, only under a special royal impact.

THE REFORM OF ANANGABHĪMA

Coḍagaṅga had raised the status of the Jagannātha cult to imperial level. But it was only the emperor Anaṅgabhīma III, who dedicated his whole empire to Lord Puruṣottama in 1230. Anaṅgabhīma called himseif the deputy (*rāuta*) and the son (*putra*) of the god, whom the real sovereignty was transferred.[41] This ritual policy of Anaṅgabhīma had two political causes or rather aims: firstly to win the power struggle among the Hindu rājās for the imperial heritage of the South Indian Cōḷa empire. Anaṅgabhīma therefore reorganized the administration of his kingdom and established a new capital at Cuttack, with the significant name of "New Benares". Thus his first aim was to establish the horizontal legitimation of the empire. As to the second aim, it is interesting to note the development in Anaṅgabhīma's inscriptions.

In the Drākṣarāma inscription of the year 1216 Anaṅgabhīma is praised as the son of the three most powerful deities of Orissa: Puruṣottama, Śiva and Durgā.[42] Evidently, the king was anxious to combine the deities of the three important centres of Orissa: Puri, Bhubaneswar and Jajpur and make them jointly the sovereigns over his kingdom and his administrative reforms. It was this composite

[41] Cf. Kulke, *Early Royal Patronage*. ch. 8. For a more detailed study of Anaṅgabhīma see Kulke 1975, chapter III, 1.

[42] *Śrī-Puruṣottama-putra, Rudra-putra, Durgā-putra* (Drakṣarama Inscription of the 8th aṅka of Anaṅgabhīma III.) SII, vol. IV no. 1329.

all-Orissan triad with its clear political iconology which stood as the godfather at the craddle of the present triad of Puri.

The first epigraphical mention of this triad is in another inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhīma twenty years later: 1237 at the Pātāleśvara temple in the inner compound of the Jagannātha temple. In this inscription the three deities Halin (=Balabhadra), Cakrin (Kṛṣṇa) and Subhadrā are praised.[43] The identity of these deities becomes clear from the donative inscriptions of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple in Puri of the year 1278.

This temple forms a Vaiṣṇava counterweight in the Śivakṣetra Bhubaneswar. According to the donative inscription it was dedicated by Anaṅgabhīma's daughter to the triad Baladeva (Balabhadra), Kṛṣṇa, and Subhadrā (see the similar fig. 44). The same inscription calls the temple of these three gods "the temple of Puruṣottama" (*prāsādam Puruṣottamasya*).[44] The fact that this temple, dedicated to the same three deities which are mentioned in Anaṅgabhīma's Pātāleśvara inscription, is described as "temple of Puruṣottama", shows that the triad mentioned in the year 1237 essentially was a Puruṣottama triad as well. The date of this inscription of the year 1237, therefore, is the *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the Puruṣottama triad in Puri.

The political aim of the establishment of the Puri triad becomes obvious from the previous inscriptions. We have seen that the Pāñcarātra interpretation provided a possibility to worship Śiva and Durgā as subsidiary deities to Kṛṣṇa. This interpretation, which had certainly been already in vogue in Puri for some time, provided the king with the unique opportunity to worship the deities of Jajpur and Bhubaneswar in Puri and to subordinate them to his *raṣṭra devatā*, Puruṣottama-Kṛṣṇa.

But before we conclude by showing when the triad was actually established, we have once more to consider the iconography of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha.

EXCURS: STONE AND WOOD IMAGES

We have so far always referred to the development of the Jagannātha cult as linked to the wooden figures from the beginning. Indeed this is the leading hypothesis of the present paper, but it is not the only possible theory.

The so-called Indradyumna legend narrates, that the holy log came down from West Orissa floating on the Mahānadī river. The text describes the deity worshipped by the tribes in the jungle along the lines of those early Vaiṣṇava sculptures known as Nīlamādhava.[45] Moreover, the text says that the king Indradyumna built a temple for those figures, but that (by mistake) a stone image of Viṣṇu was installed, and that this image was removed and the wooden images were re-installed.

[43] EI, vol. XXX, p. 202.

[44] P. Acharya, 1953, p. 39.

[45] Cf. von Stietencron, *The Advent of Viṣṇuism*, as well as *Early Jagannātha Temples*, ch. 1 and 3 and Geib, 1975, p. 75ff.

The main problem is, how far the statements of the texts that stone images representing correct Hindu *mūrtis* were exchanged for the Hinduised wooden figures, can be accepted as historically valid. This question is still very controversial and further discussions may lead to new results. The Indradyumna legend has been thoroughly analysed by R. Geib.[46] We will therefore confine ourselves here to summarily consider only a few points which are of importance to the question of how the triad was formed.

It has been supposed that the great Puruṣottama temple was originally meant for a stone image, which was later on exchanged with the wooden figures.[47] But it has been seen, that one of the reasons, which induced Coḍagaṅga to sponsor the cult in Puri, was its autochthonous element as represented by the wooden figures. It seems therefore most likely that he planned his temple for these figures. This is moreover corroborated by the Dadhivāmana temple in Tekkali.

The temple in Tekkali was constructed in 1150, three years after Coḍagaṅga's death, by his chief queen and, as the inscription says, dedicated to Dadhivāmana, the wooden Jagannātha image.[48] Had the great temple in Puri been planned by Coḍagaṅga for a stone image, his queen, anxious to build him a monument also in his homeland, would certainly not have installed such a strange wooden figure into this temple, even if the cult of such a figure existed in or near Puri at that time.

Another fact which seems at first view to indicate the presence of "full" stone *mūrtis*, is the triad of Kṛṣṇa, Ekānaṃśā and Balarāma in the Anantavāsudeva temple and in the Liṅgarāja compound just referred to (fig 44). They are represented by three stone images and one could therefore think that the three deities mentioned by Anaṅgabhīma in his Puri inscription of 1237 were also represented in a pure Hindu iconography. But this is only an inferential conclusion. We have seen that representations of Hinduized deities, who at their original temples are represented in some peculiar Hinduized iconographies, can elsewhere be represented by perfectly "normal" *mūrtis*, whereas the opposite is hardly possible.

Fortunately, the sculptures from the Konarak temple, built by Anaṅgabhīma's son Narasiṃha I about 1250, further elucidate the problem (see figs. 37-41). All these three sculptures depict the king Narasiṃha worshipping the three major deities of Orissa: a Śivaliṅga, Jagannātha and Durgā. There can be no doubt, that the king is worshipping the triad of the three most important deities of Orissa, i.e. Puruṣottama of Puri, Śiva of Bhubaneswar and Durgā-Virajā of Jajpur: i.e. the deities, invoked in the early inscriptions of his father, who declared himself to be their "son".[49] It is difficult to imagine that Narasiṃha I should have worshipped a crude Hinduized wooden image of the great god of Puri, if, at the same time, the main cult image at Puri was

46 Cf. Geib, 1975.

47 Cf. Geib. 1975, p. 134.

48 Cf. v. Stietencron, *Early Jagannātha Temples*. ch. 3.

49 The subordination of the deities of Jājpur and Bhubaneswar to the Puri cult intended by Anaṅgabhīma could certainly not be fully enacted at once. References to the old, all-Orissan Trinity continue therefore to appear also under the following generations.

of pure Hindu iconography. At the time, when the Konarak temple was constructed, the main images of the Jagannātha temple must therefore have been of the same iconography as depicted in Konarak. From this fact we can furthermore conclude, that the Kṛṣṇa-Puruṣottama mentioned in Anaṅgabhīma's Puri inscription of 1237 was also of the same iconography.

The external historical evidence thus confirms that the wooden figures were the centre of the Puri cult since the times of Coḍagaṅga. This indicates that the wooden images represented the god of the *kṣetra* which had been known since the tenth century. Once the great temple had been planned and constructed for this deity, even a very strong king would have hardly been able to undertake a radical change in the iconography of its god. Such a change would meet with the greatest ritual difficulties, and be of no apparent political use.

The statements of the texts may be explained otherwise. First of all, the description of the four-armed Nīlamādhava worshipped by the tribals need not at all describe a statue. Even today descriptions of the well known Jagannātha figure praise him as Kṛṣṇa with all the iconographic attributes of the concept of Kṛṣṇa which, as we well know, are missing in the present Jagannātha figures. To address a symbol as a certain deity describing all the iconographical details of its anthropomorphic appearance is quite common.

Thus a Śivaliṅga is addressed in worship as anthropomorphic Śiva, or a stone representing a goddess of tribal origin, is worshipped and described as her anthropomorphic figure.[50]

The reference to the stone Nīlamādhava mentioned in the texts may therefore well be of such a nature. It is well known, that the aboriginals worship stones, and some such a stone was described in Hindu terms as Viṣṇu, just as in the prayer of the tribal priest in a Hinduised cult.[51] The legend's account that the tribes worship a stone and yet their god promises to appear in a wooden log is only a rendering of the fact that the tribes worship both: stones and wooden posts, which at this stage are indeed interchangeable. It is also to be remembered in this respect that the figure which in the Puri temple is worshipped as "Nīlamādhava" together with the Triad is *not* a regular stone *mūrti*, but a small *wooden Jagannātha*.

As for the idea that in the temple there was originally a stone image which was later on replaced by the wooden figures, this might very well be a legendary topos of "the lost image" introduced to explain the strange appearance of the wooden figure, and to justify them by linking their origin with "real" *mūrtis*. Legends of that type which tell that originally a full image was worshipped or had appeared, which later, however, disappeared or was "lost" so that, by command and with consent of the respective deity, the worship was transferred to some strange or "incomplete" icon, are to be found in other temples with Hinduized images as well.

[50] Cf. Eschmann, *Hinduization of Tribal Deities*, ch. 4. The *Pur. Māh.* (Viṣṇurahasya) gives a very detailed description of the parts of the body of Jagannātha, including e.g. of his thighs, keens, feet and toes whereas Jagannātha has none of these !

[51] *ibid.*

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRIAD IN 1230

We possess no source for a definite date for the establishment of the present Triad. But it has been shown elsewhere[52] that it must have taken place between 1216, when Anaṅgabhīma called himself the son of the all-Orissa triad, and 1237, when the Puruṣottama triad is mentioned for the first time with the names Halin, Cakrin and Subhadrā. Accepting these dates as the *termini post quem* and *ante quem* we can go one step further. Though Anaṅgabhīma mentioned the Puruṣottama triad only in 1237, he dedicated his empire to Puruṣottama already in 1230, when, for the first time. he called himself a son of Puruṣottama. This meant a deviation from his previous ideology where he named himself the son of the three Orissan gods. The change is significant. Seen against the background of Anaṅgabhīma's policy and his later inscriptions, it most probably indicates the fact, that when he called himself the son of Puruṣottama, he had already accomplished the subordination of the deities of Bhubaneswar and Jajpur under the great god of Puri. The establishment of the present Puri triad, i.e. the addition of Balabhadra, thus formed part of a greater scheme of administrative, political and ritual reorganization of the whole empire around the year 1230, when he founded his capital "New Benares". There he built a temple for Puruṣottama in order to derive directly from him the legitimation of his rule as the son and deputy of the Lord of Puri.

Iconographically, the establishment of the Triad probably included also a change of position of the figures. As the husband or male partner of a couple usually stands to the right of the female. we may induce, that originally Jagannātha stood to the right of Subhadrā. Indeed. in one of the Konarak sculptures Jagannātha is still standing to the right of Durgā, thus indicating a relation between them (fig. 39) whereas in another sculpture at the same temple Jagannātha stands on her left-side (fig. 37). When Balabhadra, as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa-Puruṣottama was added, any visible hint of the original union between Subhadrā and Puruṣottama-Kṛṣṇa had to be eliminated. According to Hindu social codes, there is a strict taboo for the wife to appear with her face uncovered in the presence of elder brothers of her husband. The Konark sculptures thus represent the transition stage in this development.

As has already been mentioned, we may infer from the Konarak sculptures, that the original figures were of a slightly different shape than the present ones. It is probable, that the practice of wrapping the wooden figures in several layers of cloth, which is one of the causes for the rounded appearance of the present figures, and their waist lines, as well as perhaps the practice of painting the figures was not originally prevalent. These features were most probably later additions, introduced by Rāmachandra, who reinstalled the cult after the Muslim raid, which had destroyed the old Jagannātha figures, and thereby interrupted the tradition.[53] It was probably also on this occasion, that the snakehood, which was iconologically linked to Balabhadra only, was transferred to Subhadrā as well. This was probably induced by the fact,

[52] H. Kulke 1975, chapter III, 1.

[53] cf. Eschmann, *Prototypes of the Navakalevara*, ch. 14,

that the shape of the head and the features of both Balabhadra and Subhadrā are similar.

The vision of the king Indradyumua, where he sees, in place of the three Jagannātha figures, Narasiṃha, holding Lakṣmī on his lap while being protected by the snakehood can thus be taken as a reference to the actual origin of the Jagannātha cult. We have seen that Narasiṃha could be linked with the tribal cults, but his iconology already contained the elements of the later triad: the female figure Subhadrā-Lakṣmī later on reinterpreted as Ekānaṃśā and the snake which could be identified with Balabhadra-Saṃkarṣaṇa. It was only when the involved development, which led to the establishment of the triad with essentially a Vaiṣṇava character but comprising in itself the elements of Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śakta cults at the same time, that the Jagannātha cult could gain that spectacular importance within Orissa as well as all over India; it had by then acquired an almost unlimited possibility to include and assimilate other cults and interpretations.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We may perhaps summarize the results of the foregoing discussion in the following manner :

1. There is a wooden post god ("Jagannātha") worshipped in coastal Orissa.
2. There is a wooden pillar-goddess (Stambheśvarī) who is worshipped as Durgā, as even to this day, in Orissa—probably mainly in its western part.
3. They might have been worshipped separately for a long time, but from a certain period onwards they are united and worshipped together. It is likely, though not certain, that this act of bringing these deities together, has been carried out by some king due to religio-political grounds.
4. With the appearance of Viṣṇuism in Orissa (in Gupta or the late-Gupta period?), a region mainly devoted to the cult of Mother Goddess and Tantrism (as far as the Hinduistic side is concerned), the wooden post god gradually assumes the character of Narasiṃha owing to its iconographical features and owing to the need of the newly converted Vaiṣṇavas, who have not yet given up the basic tenets of their creed, to have a *furious* deity in their pantheon as a substitute for the Śāktistic deities like Cāmuṇḍā, Vārāhi, Kālī, Durgā or even Bhairava (Śaiva-Śākta).
5. The pair at this stage is perhaps worshipped as Narasiṃha and Lakṣmī, a concept which has been very popular in the religious history of Orissā (a temple of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha also exists in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar).
6. In an advanced stage of Viṣṇuization the pair is conceived as 'Puruṣottama' (a particular Viṣṇuite-Tantric deity with pronounced erotic character)

and Lakṣmī (about 900 A.C.?), a concept which suits well into the whole *Zeitgeist*, strongly influenced by the Vajrayāna school of Buddhism. The pair is so popular and important that Coḍagaṅga patronizes its cult and builds a temple for them.

His (i.e. Puruṣottama's) interpretation as Narasiṃha, however, never goes completely out of sight; at least not in a particular circle (viz., that of the temple priests).

7. After a couple of decades, most probably during the time of Anaṅgabhīmadevā III (1211-1238 A.D.), a further image of Balabhadra is added to the existing couple owing to the direct or the indirect influence of the South Indian religious teachers who come to Orissa in the wake of the conquest of Orissa by Coḍagaṅgadeva, a southerner. From now onward the triad is reinterpreted as Kṛṣṇa (a sub-aspect of Puruṣottama), Ekānaṃśā-Subhadrā-Durgā and Balabhadra-Śiva, though the trinity retains its Viṣṇuite character essentially. A ritual is built up at this time for these three deities envisaging their worship with the Gopāla Mantra, Bhuvaneśvarī-Mantra and the Vāsudeva-Mantra whereas the Nyāsas used for these deities are those of Viṣṇu (Keśavādi-), Durgā (Kalā-) and Śiva (Śrīkaṇṭhādi) respectively. These three deities thus splendidly combine in themselves the Vaiṣṇava, Śākta and the Śaiva traditions of Orissa, preserving at the same time the character of a Viṣṇuite trinity.
8. The remembrance of Narasiṃha in the circle of his followers in the temple paves ground for the admission of an extra image in the triad, i.e. that of Sudarśana who is perfectly identical with Narasiṃha in the Pāñcarātra philosophy and cult and whose present icon, which is in form of a straight pole, had previously been used probably as the *calantī pratimā* (the movable image) of Narasiṃha, i.e. of the present Jagannātha when he was still conceived as Narasiṃha.

PART II

Climax and Crisis

Chapter XI

JAGANNĀTHA AS THE STATE DEITY UNDER THE GAJAPATIS OF ORISSA

H. Kulke

INTRODUCTION

In one of the previous chapters (8) it has already been mentioned that the Jagannātha cult in a rather unique way fulfilled the essential functions for a mighty state cult of a regional Hindu empire. These were the (i) "vertical" and (ii) the "horizontal" legitimation and (iii) the ability to unite the various sub-regional nuclear areas of the multicentered Orissan empire through a regional loyality.

The vertical or internal legitimation of Hindu kingship was based on the strong relationship of the Orissan kings with the Hinduized autochthonous deity of Puri under which the other sub-regional deities of Orissa had gradually been placed by Coḍagaṅga's and Anaṅgabhīma's religious policy.[1] The vertical or external legitimation of the Orissan kingship manifested itself in the monumental imperial temple at Puri and the recognition of its deity as the "king of the Orissan empire". As His earthly deputies and rulers of "New Benares" the kings of Orissa thus claimed an imperial status among the Hindu rājās of India.

As mentioned before (chapter 8), another important function of a state cult of a medieval Hindu empire was to cope with the centrifugal feudal forces through the three "ritual countermeasures", i.e., royal patronage (i) of pilgrimage places (*tīrthas*), (ii) of Brahmins and (iii) through the cult of new imperial temples. The Jagannātha cult was most appropriate for this type of ritual policy. The lasting success of Coḍagaṅga's and Anaṅgabhīma's deed most probably was based on the fact that, contrary to the ritual policy of the Cōḷas, no "new", purely Brahmanic cult was chosen for the new state cult.[2] Instead, Coḍagaṅga and Anaṅgabhīma chose an autochthonous cult

[1] See above chapter 8.

[2] The Cōḷas divided their royal patronage to their official state temple in Tanjore and to famous places of pilgrimage, particularly to Chidambaram's famous Śiva-Naṭarāja temple. (see Kulke, 1970, 192ff).

whose *kṣetra* since the 10th century[3] had already become a centre of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) of inter-regional fame. Through the construction of the new imperial Jagannātha temple in Puri and the dedication of the empire to its deity the economic means invested into an important place of pilgrimage were directly utilized for the formation of a state cult. Large-scale settlement of Brahmins in Jagannātha's *Kṣetra* and its hinterland and land donations all over the empire enhanced the wealth and greatness of the *tīrtha* which attracted more and more pilgrims from Orissa and all over India. The new centralised ritual structure of the state cult at Puri was thus combined with the network of Jagannātha's pilgrims and the traditional channels of ideological transmission.

THE STATE CULT UNDER THE LATER GANGA KINGS

It is difficult to estimate the immediate political success of the deputy ideology as it was established by Anaṅgabhīma III in the year 1230. But from the irresistible military success of Narasiṃha I (1238-1264 A.D.), Anaṅgabhīma's son and successor, under whom the Gaṅga empire reached its zenith, one may, at least, guess that the new ideology contributed its considerable share in strengthening the position of the kings of Orissa as deputies and sons of the "Lord of the World". Narasiṃha I was one of the few Hindu rājas of his time who took up an offensive strategy against the Muslims. In a series of fights, he extended his empire even beyond the banks of the Gaṅga "which blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanīs [Muslim women] of Rāḍha and Varendra [West and North Bengal]."[4]

Narasiṃha on the one side followed the "deputy ideology" of his father. In a short inscription on the Kapilās mountain near Dhenkanal[5] Narasiṃha, like his father, announced that he had humbled the pride of his enemies at the command (*ādeśāt*) of the Lord Puruṣottama. King Narasiṃha thus also claimed to act not only as Puruṣottama's divine deputy but also as his military general. Though not yet explicitly mentioned in the early inscriptions, the idea behind this claim will become clear from the inscriptions of the Sūryavaṃśī kings (see below): an attack against the king would be an attack against Lord Jagannātha, the overlord of Orissa.

In another regard however, Narasiṃha reverted the development. In the Kāñcīpuram inscription of the year 1230 Narasiṃha's father, Anaṅgabhīma, had been called "a great devotee of Viṣṇu" and "the son of Śrī Puruṣottama".[6] In place of that, in the Kapilās inscription in its otherwise nearly identical *praśasti*-

[3] Maihar inscription of the middle of the 10th century (Ep. Ind., XXXV, p. 171ff).

[4] Copper-plate inscription of Narasiṃha II of S 1217, verse 84, see N.N. Vasu, 1896, p. 267.

[5] EI, vol. XXXIII (1959) p. 41ff. It was inscribed on a temple *kalaśa* between the years 1242-1252.

[6] *paramavaiṣṇava*-paramabhaṭṭāraka jaganmūlakāraṇa-*Śrī-Puruṣottama-putra* (EI, vol, XXXI, 1955/56, p. 96).

introduction,[7] Narasiṃha was called "a great devotee of Śiva" and "the son of Durgā and the son of Puruṣottama".[8] Narasiṃha thus seems to have come back to the original idea of Anaṅgabhīma's "political" triad which had combined the three most powerful deities of Orissa, i.e., Liṅgarāja-Śiva, Virajā-Durgā and Puruṣottama.

A most important innovation for the future development of the Orissan kingship seems to originate from Narasiṃha. According to epigraphical evidence,[9] Narasiṃha was the first king of Orissa who bore the title "Lord of the Elephants" (*gaja-pati*), a title which became the most popular royal title in Orissa under the later Gaṅgas and especially under the Sūryavaṃśīs.[10] This title indicates the sovereign status of the king of East India, as it has to be seen in connection with the other two titles, i.e., "Lord of the Horses" (*aśva-pati*) and "Lord of the Men" (*nara-pati*) which were traditionally applied to the kings of North and South India, respectively. Under the rule of imperial Sūryavaṃśī kings, specifically under Kapilendra and Puruṣottama in the second half of the 15th century, the title Gajapati became a synonym of the most powerful Hindu sovereign of Eastern India.

Narasiṃha's concept of kingship is best known from a series of sculptures from the world famous temple of the sun god Sūrya at Konarak, which he constructed in about A.D. 1250. Most important for our study of the Jagannātha cult are those sculptures which depict king Narasiṃha worshipping a triad consisting of a Śivaliṅga, Puruṣottama and Durgā-Mahiṣāsuramardinī.[11] Altogether, four of these sculptures still exist, i.e. one *in situ* at the temple (fig. No. 11), one in the Museum at Konarak (fig. Nos. 39-40), one in the National Museum at Delhi (fig. Nos. 37-38)[12] and one in the Bhogamaṇḍapa of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. It is obvious that these sculptures represent a triad consisting of the same three Orissan deities which we know already from the just mentioned contemporary Kapilās inscription of king Narasiṃha I and from the inscription of his father of the year 1216. It is possible that the substitutes (*calanti pratimā*) of these most powerful Orissan deities have been "invited" from Bhubaneswar, Jajpur and Puri on the occasion of the consecration of the temple at Konarak.[13]

The great importance of these sculptures lies in the fact that they provide the earliest known evidence of Jagannātha's peculiar iconography. We can clearly distinguish its characteristic form (see fig. Nos. 38, 40) which looks even more archaic than the present day image (fig. No. 19). Contrary to the latter, in Konarak no trace of

[7] D.C. Sircar, in: EI, vol, XXXIII, 1959/60, p. 44, note 12 and p. 42, notes 2 and 3. At page 43 Sircar even suggests that the inscriptions were written by the same author.

[8] *paramamāheśvara*-paramabhaṭṭāraka jaganmūlakārana-*Śrī-Durgāputra-Śrī-Puruṣottamaputra* (*line, 2-3*)

[9] Kapilās inscription, line 4.

[10] P. Mukherjee, 1953, p. 2f and D.C. Sircar, in: Ep. Ind. XXXIII, p. 44, note 2.

[11] Starza Majewski, 1971. (It is not clear whether the one sculpture, which is still *in Situ* at the temple, also depicts a Śivaliṅga).

[12] See D. Mitra, *Notes on Konarak*, in: JASB, III, 2 (1961) p. 59f and plate IX, B, and A.K. Bhattacharya, *Konarak and its Builder*, in: Oriental Art, 1960.

[13] A. Boner, 1972.

a waistline is discernible[14] and the Jagannātha image of these sculptures, therefore, reminds us even more of the hypothetical original wooden pillar deity of Narasiṃha-Puruṣottama.[15]

For an ideological interpretation of these sculptures, three points are noteworthy:

1. Only Durgā and Puruṣottama are shown in front of their own temples. The Śivaliṅga has just been put to Puruṣottama's left side. The triad, therefore, reflects exactly the contents of Narasiṃha's contemporary Kapilas inscription, where he is praised as the *son* of Durgā and Puruṣottama and "only" as a *devotee* of Śiva.
2. Although the sculptures depict Durgā's temple as slightly higher than Puruṣottama's, the God of Puri occupies the central position in the triad. This is noteworthy, because in a triad usually the goddess holds this position.
3. King Narasiṃha worships the three main Orissan deities in a royal posture, standing with the sword in his belt. Contrary to this evidence several sculptures in Konarak show king Narasiṃha worshipping the sun god Sūrya upon his knees, his sword lying at his side.

Generally speaking, we have therefore to distinguish between Narasiṃha's relation with Jagannātha and the sun god Sūrya. Narasiṃha acknowledged Puruṣottama as the central deity of the three main deities and he seems to have had a special relationship with him. This is evident from several other sculptures at the Konarak temple. Next to the one sculpture of Narasiṃha worshipping the Orissa triad which is still *in situ* (fig. No. 41), a sculpture depicts a scene at the royal court (fig. No. 42). A male figure, evidently king Narasiṃha,[16] sits on a low throne and receives high dignitaries. The relationship between both sculptures is very obvious. In the first sculpture Puruṣottama and Durgā sit on the throne and are worshipped by king Narasiṃha and his courtiers. The second sculpture depicts king Narasiṃha on a similar throne, giving an audience to high dignitaries of his empire. The ideological significance of these sculptures is further stressed by their identical composition and several iconographical similarities. Both sculptures depict the functional identity of the divine Lord Puruṣottama and his earthly deputy and son Narasiṃha.

This concept of Narasiṃha's kingship seems to be at the root of another sculpture from Konarak which is now at the National Museum of Delhi[17] (fig. No. 52).

[14] Kulke, 1973, p. 128f and A. Eschmann below, chapter 14.

[15] On the two sculpture in the Museums at Delhi and Konarak Jagannātha wears different ornaments and cloths. Thus the sculptures seem to depict two of Jagannātha's 24 different *veśas* (dresses).

[16] Below the "durbar" scene the royal paraphernalia are shown: 2 horses, 2 elephants and the two imperial umbrellas.

[17] National Museum, No. 50. 185.

It shows king Narasiṃha sitting on a swing at the *dolā-vedi* in front of a temple. His right leg is banging down and his foot is worshipped by a group of female devotees, who are kneeling beneath the swing. No doubt, Narasiṃha is depicted here as well in a typical harem scene as in the position of Lord Kṛṣṇa during the festival of *dolā yātrā*. His divine role is quite evident if we compare the worship of his foot with that of Viṣṇu's on the beautiful sculpture at Chaurasi (fig. No. 51).

However, it would be wrong to derive from this iconographical evidence a personal deification of king Narasiṃha. As already mentioned, several sculptures at Konarak show how he is worshipping the sun god Sūrya in a royal yet devotional posture. Sūrya, the god for whom Narasiṃha had constructed the biggest temple of the whole of India, therefore must have become Narasiṃha's highest and personal deity (*iṣṭadevatā*).

Summing up the epigraphical and iconographical evidence, it is quite likely that king Narasiṃha had tried to exceed the status of his father and to raise his imperial legitimation on an All-Indian level. During the final collapse of the imperial Cōḷas around 1250 A.D. he constructed the temple at Konarak which surpassed considerably both the temples at Tanjore and Puri and dedicated it to an *All-Indian* deity, which had had only little roots in the Orissan soil.[18] If our hypothesis is correct, this would have meant the culmination and conclusion of a gradual reinforcement of the legitimacy of Orissan kingship through royal patronage of sub-regional, regional and All-Indian deities. The further development of the concept of Orissan kingship, however, shows that the future Gajapati kings did not follow Narasiṃha's example. They adhered to the Lord of Puri. This confirms the assumption that a regional Hindu power, in the long run, was best legitimated through the royal patronage of a regional cult with its much stronger regional loyalties.[19]

But not all Gajapatis of Orissa seem to have been equally ardent to propagate their "divine mission" as deputies of Jagannātha. D.C. Sircar rightly observed that "some accepted the fiction of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha being the ruler of the kingdom and themselves being god's deputies with considerable zeal while others were rather lukewarm in this respect."[20] Among those kings who accepted the deputy ideology, Bhānudeva II (1306-1328) was certainly most devoted to it. In an inscription at Puri he called himself "Bhānudeva-rāutta" and refers to his own regnal years (like Anaṅgabhīma III in his last years) as "the prosperous and victorious reign of Śrī Puruṣottama Deva".[21] Furthermore, it is very important that for the first time in Bhānudeva's inscriptions the god of Puri is called *Jagannātha*.[22] Other Gaṅga kings, especially the last two, Narasiṃha IV and Bhānudeva IV, in

[18] Stietencron, 1966, p. 224.

[19] For Narasiṃha I see also K.N. Mahapatra, 1959.

[20] D.C. Sircar, 1957b, p. 79.

[21] Puri copper-plate of Bhānudeva II, ed. by D.C. Sircar, in: JASB, XVIII, 1 (1951) p. 25.

[22] Śrīkūrmam inscription No. III (1309 A.D.) line 11 (Ep. Ind., V, 1898, p. 35) and Simhachalam inscription (1319 A.D.) (SII, vol. VI, No. 714). For more details of the name See Kulke 1975, chapter III, 2.

their inscriptions clearly refer to their own sovereignty. They never mentioned Jagannātha as their overlord and king of Orissa. It is quite likely[23] that this "luke-warm" attitude of the later Gaṅga kings might have caused an increasing opposition among the priests of Puri which might have even influenced the *coup d'etal* of Kapilendra, the founder of the Sūryavaṃśa dynasty of Orissa (1435-1540 A. D.)

THE STATE CULT UNDER THE SŪRYAVAMŚI KINGS

In 1435, after the rule of the weak Gaṅga king Bhānudeva IV, Kapilendra, the grandson of a small ruler (*nāyaka*),[24] usurped the Gajapati throne (1435-1467) and founded the powerful Sūryavaṃśa dynasty under which the Orissan empire reached its zenith. By a series of successful military campaigns Kapilendra expanded the Orissan empire. In the year 1464, after he had taken possession of the entire coast of Eastern India and its linterland from the Ganges to the Kaveri south of Madras, he had become the most powerful Hindu king of his time.[25]

Despite the support of influential persons at the court,[26] after his *coup d'etat* Kapilendra had to face a stiff opposition by several feudatory rājās and members of the deposed Gaṅga dynasty. In an inscription at the Liṅgaraja temple in Bhubaneswar (1436 A.D.) he warned his enemies "not to continue on the path of evil conduct. If any [of them] engage in what is not beneficial to the [paramount] king, he is to be banished from the kingdom and all his property confiscated."[27]

In order to consolidate his power during the early critical years, Kapilendra tried to win the support of the Oriyas through a considerable remittance of taxes. Nearly simultaneously, when he threatened his opponents with the banishment from the kingdom, he announced: "At the time of beholding the Great God at the town of Śrī Puruṣottama [the king] said, by means of an inscription, we would record on the door of the temple of God Śrī Puruṣottama: 'the tax payable on salt and cowries [money] which is due to us of our kingdom of Orissa, I have remitted, I have . . . remitted! (He) who being a king, violates this, rebels against the deity Srī Jagannātha."[28]

As an usurper of the Gajapati throne Kapilendra needed a special legitimation. As a ruler over a kingdom which had been ritually dedicated to Jagannātha

[23] See below G.N. Dash, chapter 12.

[24] EI, vol. XXXIII (1959), p. 4.

[25] R.C. Majumdar, HCIP, VI, p. 367. For the Sūryavaṃśīs see P. Mukherjee, 1953 and R. Subrahmanyan 1957.

[26] Subrahmanyan, 1957, p. 33.

[27] Bhubaneswar (Liṅgarāja) inscription of the 4th aṅka, re-edited by K.B. Tripathi, 1962, p. 251ff.

[28] Puri inscription of the 4th aṅka, K.B. Tripathi, 1962, p. 254.

about two hundred years ago, it was obvious that Kapilendra would try to revive the ideology of the divine mission of the Gajapatis as deputies of Jagannātha. It was certainly not a mere incident that Kapilendra had ordered the remittance of the important salt and cowry taxes during a visit to Puri and that he had inscribed this order on the Jayavijaya door of the temple through which all pilgrims had to pass for having a *darśana* of Lord Jagannātha.

Another innovation in this inscription is of great importance for the further development of the ideology of the Gajapati kingship. Kapilendra cursed the future kings who would dare to revoke the remittance of these taxes with the wrath of "the Lord of the World". Kapilendra thus tried to sanction his acts with the highest conceivable legitimacy: any opposition and attack against the king was thus an offence and treachery (*droha*) against Jagannātha, the "Lord of the World" Himself.

Kapilendra went even a step further and allowed his courtiers and priests to call him an Elected of Jagannātha. His cousin and governor of the southern Rajamahendra province proclaimed that Kapilendra became the Lord of Utkal (*Utkala-adhīśa*) at the command (*ādeśa*) of Puruṣottama, the lord of the fourteen worlds.[29] So far his predecessor on the Gajapati throne had only claimed to act under the command of Jagannātha. The tradition of Kapilendra's divine election was still prevalent around 1600 A.D. when the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* was compiled and all other knowledge about Kapilendra's origin seems to have been forgotten. This temple chronicle of Puri relates that the God Jagannātha had ordered the last Gaṅga king Bhānudeva IV in a dream to nominate Kapilendra as his successor. "Some days later the Great Lord[=Jagannātha] made Kapiḷi Rāuta the king and ordered [to consecrate him with the royal] *śāṛhī* (turban)."[30] It is thus quite likely that it was through the usurper Kapilendra that this new aspect of the king being the Elected of the state deity was introduced into the ideology of Orissan kingship.

Claiming to be an Elected of Jagannātha, it is only consequent that Kapilendra consulted Jagannātha before he took up difficult decisions—or, at least, he is the first king who pretended in his inscriptions to have asked for Jagannātha's advice. In 1464, before he started an expedition against rebellious chiefs he paid a visit to Jagannātha in Puri and complained against them: "Oh Jagannātha! Thus prayth Thy servant [sevaka]. Throughout the kingdom, I maintained from childhood these feudal lords including the infantry and cavalry and gave them wealth. All of them have forsaken me. I shall deal with them and punish them each according to his desert. Oh Lord Jagannātha! Thou judge this fact whether I am right or wrong."[31]

This first inscriptional evidence from Orissa of a king's communication with his divine overlord is also interesting from another point of view. In it Kapilendra called himself a servant (*sevaka*) of Jagannātha. Most probably this is the origin of

29 Warangal inscription of Raghudeva, of 2. 2. 1460, in: EI, vol. XXXIII, p. 129.

30 MP, I, p. 42.

31 Puri inscription of the year 1464, lines 2-6; K.B. Tripathi, 1962, p. 272.

one of the official titles of the later Gajapatis of Khurda and Puri who—till today[32]—are called the "First Servants" (*ādya-sevaka*) of Jagannātha. This title, of course, might be interpreted as a sign of weakness of the king,—or as an indicator for the power of the priests of Puri over the Gajapatis (see below Dash, chapter 11). In the case of the powerful Kapilendra, however, it seems more likely that in the year 1464 the king himself, when he was the uncontested Hindu Rāja of Eastern India, had tried to assume quasi-priestly functions in the state cult. And it is even more probable that it might have been Kapilendra's intention to strengthen through this *sevaka* function this hold and control over the priests of Puri, the hierocratic power of his empire. In his later years Kapilendra might have further tried to confine the priestly influence when he reassumed in 1460 A.D. the title of a son of Śiva, Durgā and Puruṣottama.[33] Assuming the titles of a son and *sevaka* of Jagannātha he seems to have aimed both at a more direct relationship with Jagannātha under some kind of evasion of his powerful priests, and an extension of his legitimation in calling himself also a son of the deities of Bhubaneswar and Jajpur.

Despite these slight doubts about Kapilendra's intentions during his later years there can be no doubt that the "deputy ideology" of the Orissan kingship matured under Kapilendra to its full blossom which remained more or less unchanged till the downfall of the Orissan empire in the year 1568 A.D. Like Kapilendra, his successors threatened their opponents with the wrath of Jagannātha and tried both to gain the support and curb the influence of the priests, who seem to have become in the following decades more and more powerful[34] through immense donations of land and jewellery.

Especially Puruṣottama (1467-1497) knew no bounds to bribe the priests after he had snatched away the throne from his popular elder brother Hamvīra. Immediately after he had ascended the throne in 1467 he donated costly presents to Jagannātha.[35] In the same year "during his auspicious visit to the city of Puruṣottama" he announced: "I have confirmed the grants to the Supreme Lord, to the Sevakas . . . [illegible] and to the Avadāna-Sevakas: 1. of the forest countries of Jagannātha of Śrī Puruṣottama already granted of old in the Southern Viceroyalty, 2. of the countries of the Avadāna-Sevakas of the South and 3. of the income of the territories (*deśa*) as a sacred offering to the Supreme Lord."[36] Furthermore he donated two villages as offering (*bhoga*= enjoyments) for Lord Jagannātha. In the next year he remitted the watchman tax which was collected from the Brahmins in the Southern Viceroyalty—the stronghold of his ousted brother Hamvīra.[37] In his 15th regnal year he "advised the kings of Orissa: 'Never deprive Brahmins of these four matters—wealth, wife, life and land,'"[38]

[32] RR, III, Form D, p. 12.

[33] Warangal inscription (see note 29) and Srisailam inscription of 3. 7. 1460 (EI, vol. XXXVI, p. 79). For the introduction of this title in the 13th century see Kulke, chapter 8.

[34] See G.N. Dash's article on the Gītagovinda tradition in Puri (1976).

[35] M.M. Chakravarty, 1893, p. 98.

[36] Puri inscription of the 2nd year of Puruṣottama (K.B. Tripathi, 1962, p. 278),

[37] Puri inscription of the 3rd year of Puruṣottama (K.B. Tripathi, 1962, p. 283).

[38] M.M. Chakravarti, 1893, p. 100f.

and about ten years later he humbled himself to proclaim in an inscription in Puri: "Oh Jagannātha, Thou knowest everything of mine both external and internal. Whatever precious things I have, I will bestow on the Brahmans as much as I can."[39]

The tradition connects Rājā Puruṣottama with one of Orissa's most popular legends (see below Dash, chapter 12). According to it, Puruṣottama wished to marry Padmāvatī, the beautiful princess of Kanchipuram. Her father, however, refused to give his daughter in marriage to the Gajapati of Orissa whom he blamed for doing the work of a sweeper before Lord Jagannātha during the annual car festivals. The offended Puruṣottama waged a war against the Rājā of Kanchipuram which he finally won with the help of Jagannātha and Balabhadra who took part in the "*Kāñcīkāberī*" expedition in the guise of two horsemen.[40]

The importance of the legend, besides its romantical features, is based on Jagannātha's participation in the war. Like the various tutelary deities of the feudatory states of Orissa, Jagannātha thus helped "his" rājā against their common enemy.[41] Furthermore, the legend seems to be the first evidence for the existence of the ritual sweeping of Jagannātha's car (*cherāpahaṃrā*)[42] by the Gajapatis (see fig. 28). It is difficult to decide whether originally this ritual, which till today is the most important part of the "*Gajapati Mahārājā Sevā*" of the Jagannātha cult, had intended to subordinate ritually the kings under the priests of Puri. But even if we assumed that the priests had this intention when they allowed the most powerful kings of Orissa Kapilendra and Puruṣottama to attain priestly functions, the further development of the Gajapati kingship ideology shows clearly that the *sevaka* function strengthened more than anything else the position of the Gajapatis *vis-a-vis* the priests of Puri. It has been this most essential *sevaka* function which till recently provided the main legitimation to the Puri Rājas to interfere in the temple affairs. Furthermore, the introduction of this ritual has to be seen in the context of the great Kṛṣṇa devotion of the 15th and 16th century. The performance of the *cherā-pahaṃrā* certainly demonstrated first of all in front of all pilgrims the boundless devotion of Jagannātha's royal servant (*sevaka*) and deputy. Contrary to G.N. Dash's arguments (chapter 12) I assume therefore that *cherā-pahaṃrā* was introduced in order to strengthen the royal influence in Puri, the religious centre of the empire.

Puri's temple chronicle, the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* contains several examples of how Puruṣottama intervened in the cult of Puri. The *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*, written by the priests of Puri, of course, relates only that finally Jagannātha helped the priests against the

39 M.M. Chakravarti, 1893, p. 99f.

40 For the historicity of the *Kāñcīkāverī* tradition, see P. Mukherjee, 1945. This legend which describes Jagannātha's help for the king of Orissa, gained great popularity during the Oriya-nationalism through Ramasankara Ray's play "*Kāñcī Kāberī*" (see G.N. Dash, chapter 19).

41 Kulke, 1973, p. 129 and 1976, p. 10.

42 *cherā*=sprinkling of water, *pahaṃrā*=sweeping with a broom. The *Mādaḷā Pāñji* (p. 36f) refers to the Kanchipuram expedition but does not mention the *cherā-pahaṃrā*. The *Nītī*, the ritual text-book of the Jagannātha cult of about 1640 A.D. give a detailed description of the ritual. (See Kulke, 1975, chapter VII, 3).

royal interference.[43] The existence of a power struggle between the Gajapati and the priests of the state cult, however, is obvious from this evidence.

Puruṣottama's son and successor Pratāparudra (1497-1540) most likely chose a different way to check the growing power of Puri's priesthood. In order to evade their influence he supported the unorthodox saint Caitanya who had come to Puri in 1510 (see P. Mukherjee, chapter 14).

One of the last inscriptions of the imperial Gajapatis in Puri contains again in a nutshell the political function of the state cult for the regional medieval Hindu kingdom of Orissa. Govinda Vidyādhara, who had murdered the two sons and successors of Pratāparudra before he usurped the Gajapati throne in the year 1541/42, got inscribed on the Jayavijaya door of the Jagannātha temple in his 3rd regnal year the following order: "Before Śrī Jagannātha, the king prayed as follows: Oh Jagannātha! without [my] coming in order to behold Thy Lotus Feet all is hell. In regard to the gifts of pilgrims whether belonging to this country or to a foreign country up to the vicinity of the Vindhya and Udayagiri mountains [in Central and South India respectively] . . . the Gaḍajāta kings . . . should observe . . . . He who violates this, rebels against Lord Jagannātha."[44]

Although the inscription is badly damaged, its contents are quite clear. In a time when Orissa was encircled by several mighty enemies (see chapter 17) and when the feudatory Gaḍajāta states already seriously endangered the central power,[45] Rājā Govinda had recourse to the state deity and his priests. In order to secure their support—most probably—he reconfirmed their rights to the gifts offered by the pilgrims. In front of "the Lord of the World" Rāja Govinda then demanded obedience of his rebellious feudatories and threatened all his opponents with the wrath of Lord Jagannātha. During the most dangerous dacades of the history of Orissa, after the dynastical links had broken down, the state cult, with its powerful priesthood—besides the standing army—had thus seems to have become the most important central authority of empire.

[43] See G.N. Dash (note 34).

[44] K.B. Tripathi, 1962, p. 315.

[45] N.K. Sahu, 1956, vol. II, p. 388.

CHAPTER XII

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PRIESTLY POWER: THE SŪRYAVAṀŚA PERIOD

G.N. Dash

KAPILENDRA DEVA

According to popular tradition, the last of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa was issueless. He one day prayed to Lord Jagannātha to let him know who would succeed him to the throne of Orissa. Then Lord Jagannātha told him in a dream that the beggar boy he would observe in front of the Vimaḷā temple inside the precinct of the Jagannātha temple the next day was his choice to succeed him to Orissan throne. Accordingly, when the king went there the next day he found a beggar boy named Kapiḷi Rāuta, who first was a cowherd then a thief and finally had become a beggar in Puri, at the appointed place. He took Kapiḷi Rāuta alias Kapilendra to his palace with him and adopted him as his son who became the king of Orissa in due course.[1]

According to *Gaṅgavaṃśānucarita* by the eighteenth century poet Vāsudeva Ratha, Kapilendra, the founder of the Sūryavaṃśa usurped the throne.[2] *Bhakti Bhāgavata* by Jivadeva written in the sixteenth century A.D. during the reign of Pratāparudra, grandson of Kapilendra, more or less supports this theory when it says Kapilendra ascended the throne with the support of the nobility of the land and founded Sūryavaṃśa.[3] Last but not the least, Kapilendra was not an adopted son of the last

[1] See Mādaḷā Pāñji (1940) ed. A.B. Mahanti, pp. 42ff and *Account of the Gaṅgavaṃśa of Oḍradeśa*, Local Records, vol. 47, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras (GOMLM).

[2] P. Mukherji, 1953, p. 19 and R. Subrahmanyam, 1957, p. 32.

[3] But D.C Sircar thinks that the translation of the relevant verse occurring in Jīvadeva's *Bhaktibhāgavata* by H.P. Sastri leading to the above conclusion is wrong. He has translated the expression, "*kulapuruṣāṇām*" as "progenitor of the family" instead of "the nobility of the land" as translated by Sastri. See D.C. Sircar, 1962, p. 14. See P. Acharya, 1969, p. 110 for the original verse. But anyway, the usurpation of the throne seems to have been hinted at in that verse.

Gaṅga king Bhānudeva IV as the *Rājabhoga* tradition of the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* seeks to establish because Kapilendra founded Suryavaṃśa instead of continuing the Gaṅga line. Thus it seems that there is some truth in the remark of *Gaṅgavaṃśānucarita* that Kapilendra usurped the throne.

Secondly, according to the Raghudevapur grant of Kapilendra's nephew Raghudeva, Kapilendra's grand-father was a *nāyaka* and *nṛpa* which meant at least a local chief.[4] Again, according to the same authority, Kapilendra's father and his (father's) brother defeated their enemies though they themselves were slain in the same battle.[5] Further, according to the Warangal inscription of the same Raghudeva, Kapilendra's father Jāgeśvara was a *Mahārāya* and *nṛpa*, i.e., king.[6] Though the example of tracing an imaginary and exalted lineage after one becomes a king (like Kapilendra) or a big official (like Raghudeva) may not be rare,[7] Raghudeva's claim seems to be true and Kapilendra's early career seems to be not as lowly—that he was a cowboy, a thief, and a beggar in that chronological order—as the compiler(s) of *Rājabhoga* believed or wanted us to believe. His later career at least, which is quite brilliant in many respects, does not elicit much credence to his supposed early career.

So we tend to believe that the legendary tradition recorded in *Rājabhoga* has been completely created in which Kapilendra's usurpation of the throne has been ignored and his early career has deliberately been painted black. When was this legendary tradition created? We have at least solid reason to rule out the possibility that this tradition was created when the *Rājabhoga* was compiled for the first time, i.e., in late sixteenth century A.D. or thereabout. Persons without any claim to the throne becoming king through the grace of a deity is a well-known and popular motif and it is extremely unlikely that the priest compiler(s) of *Rājabhoga* used this very motif simultaneously in three different cases while narrating how Coḍagaṅga, Kapilendra and Puruṣottama became kings unless these legendary traditions were already prevalent. It seems then that these traditions were created at different times, most probably during the reign of Coḍagaṅga, Kapilendra and Puruṣottama respectively in order to legitimise the accession of these monarchs or with some such purpose. It follows that the creation of a legendary tradition in which Kapilendra's usurpation his deliberately been ignored and his early life has deliberately been painted black had a similar motive. We must now try to discover who might have created this tradition and with what motive? In order to do that we should first answer the question who might have benefited most out of the creation of this legend?

Kapilendra benefited from the creation of this legend because it legitimized his usurpation doubly:

[4] D.C. Sircar, 1959a, p. 4.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] D.C. Sircar, in: EI, vol. XXXIII, 1959, pp. 125ff. See lines 7 & 8 in the inscription.

[7] (i) *Ibid.*, Raghudeva claims that his uncle Kapilendra "became king of Orissa at the command of Śrī Puruṣottama, the Lord of the fourteen worlds".

(ii) In Gopinathapur inscription Kapilendra's minister Gopinātha Mahāpātra has made similar claims. Quoted in R.P. Chanda, 1957, p. 15.

(i) it proved that he was the adpoted son of the last Gaṅga king; and

(ii) it proclaimed that Kapilendra could become king because Lord Jagannātha desired it to be so.

We have definite information that Kapilendra at least encouraged the latter idea. In spite of that it is highly unlikely that Kapilendra was party to the creation of the tradition which falsely painted his early career with a black brush. Even if we accept, for argument's sake, that Kapilendra was really a cowboy, a thief and a beggar he would not have liked to give these facts wide publicity through the creation of a legendary tradition in which these black patches in his career came out prominently. Had he really wanted to publicize these facts he could have mentioned them in his numerous inscriptions. It can be imagined that at best he accepted only that part of the tradition which legitimized his usurpation.

The priests of Lord Jagannātha were those who benefited most from the creation of such a tradition as it proclaimed loudly the power and privilege of "their" deity, the deity which can make a king out of a cow-boy-cum-thief-cum-beggar whose spokesmen they were. Further in the medieval age this legendary tradition, zealously propagated by the priests, must have had also a tremendous effect on the people of Orissan empire and effectively silenced Kapilendra's opponents. Thus the priests provided quite substantial support to Kapilendra, though this does not necessarily mean that he acquired the throne or continued to keep it only through priestly support. Kapilendra did not perhaps oppose the creation and propagation of this legend because of this support however unpalatable a part of legend might have been to him. Obliged as he was to the priests, he had to pay a price (which we will be discussing shortly) for the support provided to him which was also beneficial to the priests. Finally the legendary tradition, in which Lord Jagannātha has been made to play such an important role, could not have been created without the active participation of the priests. Therefore we suspect that there was a collusion between the priests and Kapilendra against their common enemy: the Gaṅgas. it seems that the priests created and propagated the tradition primarily to acquire more power and prestige as spokesmen for the deity who can do and undo things as, for example, can make a king out of a cow boy-thief-beggar Kapilendra and secondarily to legitimize Kapilendra's usurpation which also enhanced their own prestige and power indirectly.

We must now discuss in a little more detail the price Kapilendra had to pay in return for the support provided to him by the priests and how it enhanced their power and prestige. We have already observed that the early imperial Gaṅgas dedicated their empire in favour of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha and accepted his overlordship which was immensely beneficial to the priests. We have also seen how the last imperial Gaṅgas changed their policy and did not acknowledge the overlordship of Lord Jagannātha, and how they even tried to interfere in the affairs of Jagannātha cult.[8] But in contrast to the policy followed by these last Gaṅga kings, Kapilendra

[8] See G.N. Dash, above chapter 9.

switched back to the policy of the earlier Gaṅgas as we have already referred to the fact that Kapilendra's officials publicly accepted that he had become king of Orissa at the command of Lord Jagannātha. In other words, in order to legitimize his usurpation he was prepared to accept the overlordship of Lord Jagannātha. Not only his officials, he himself in his 31st Aṅka inscription at the Jaya-Vijaya door of Jagannātha temple made a public proclamation to that effect.[9] This was a price Kapilendra had to pay in return for the support he got from the priests.

Not only that, Kapilendra accepted the '*sevaka*' (lit. servant) status of Lord Jagannātha.[10] This is significant because all the sevakas of Lord Jagannātha are not priests who are a kind of superior or exalted sevakas. To my assumption there is no reason to believe that Kapilendra was an exalted *sevaka* i.e. a priest. At best his relative position in the cult hierarchy was not precisely defined. We also do not know if he was assigned any ritual duty as a *sevaka* of Lord Jagannātha. But in order to understand the meaning of this *sevaka* status we must remember the context in which it was used: that both Non-Brahmin and Brahmin priests were claiming a higher position than that of the Orissa kings and the Non-Brahmin priests were claiming a higher position than that of the Brahmin priests in the cult hierarchy as is reflected in the *Mahābhārata* by Śāraḷa Dāsa, written during the reign of Kapilendra, where the ability to lift the holy log is indicative of the relative positions claimed.[11] Thus the rededication of the Orissan empire in favour of Lord Jagannātha and acceptance of a *sevaka* status seems to have been the price paid by Kapilendra to the priests in return for their support at a crucial moment which greatly increased the power and the prestige of the priests.

PURUṢOTTAMA DEVA

After this the priests intervened again successfully in the selection of a successor to Kapilendra's throne. According to legendary traditions Kapilendra had eighteen legitimate sons and one illegitimate son named Puruṣottama who was not the rightful heir to the throne. But Puruṣottama succeeded to the throne and could protect it against the challenges of the other sons of Kapilendra only because, according to these traditions, Lord Jagannātha wanted it to be so and overruled the claims of the other sons of Kapilendra.[12] It appears that Puruṣottama was not the real heir to the throne.

[9] K.B. Tripathi, 1962, pp. 265-266, see also above Chapter 11.

[10] Kulke, see above chapter 11.

[11] See Dash above chapter 9.

[12] (i) *Mādaḷā Pāñji* (1942), pp. 46ff.

(ii) *Account of the Gaṅgavaṃśa of Oḍradeśa*, Local Records, Vol. 47, (GOMLM).

(iii) *Geneology of the Kings of Oḍradeśa*, Local Records, Vol. 60, (GOMLM).

(iv) *Jagannātha Sthalavṛttāntamu*, Local Records, Vol. 60, D.No. 2612 to R.No. 1220, (GOMLM).

(v) *Kāñci-Kāberī*, a medieval narrative poem in Oriya, by Puruṣottama Dāsa ed. S. Sen & S. Sen 1958.

This is corroborated by '*Bhuvaneśvarī Stotra*' attributed to Puruṣottama in which he thanks Kapilendra for the kindness and preference shown to him.[13] The striking similarity between the situations and legendary traditions concerning the accession of Kapilendra and Puruṣottama is amply clear. As we have already analysed the tradition and the situation concerning the former's accession and argued and concluded that the priests created the tradition primarily to acquire more power and prestige and secondarily to legitimize Kapilendra's accession, there is no need to repeat them except the similar conclusion that most probably the priests created and propagated the legendary tradition concerning Puruṣottama's accession primarily to enhance their power and prestige and secondarily to legitimize Puruṣottama's accession as his claim to the throne, if at all, was very weak.

It appears that Puruṣottama had to accept a relatively lower position than that of the priests in the cult hierarchy in return for the priestly support for his accession and it seems he had to agree to the institution of "*cherāpāhārā*", the ceremonial sweeping of the cars of the three deites during the car-festival. This ritual duty was assigned to him as a *sevaka* (servant) of Lord Jagannātha which very clearly indicated his inferior position in the cult hierarchy because he might have been a *sevaka* but in contrast to the priests, the exalted *sevakas*, he was merely a sweeper-sevaka, the *sevaka* of lowest category.

The primary purpose of the famous *Kāñci-Kāverī* tradition, it seems, was to legitimize this *cherāpāhārā* or the ceremonial sweeping of the cars by the Orissan king though it also legitimized the succession of Puruṣottama to the throne of Orissa. The whole tradition rather hinges upon this *cherāpāhārā* and attempts at resolving the contradiction arising out of sweeper's job done by a king. The tradition runs as follows:

King Puruṣottama wanted to marry the princess of Kāñcī and the king of Kāñcī accepted the proposal. But on a subsequent visit to Orissa during the car-festival the king of Kāñcī discovered to his surprise and dismay that Puruṣottama was performing *cherāpāhārā*, obviously a sweeper's job before the deities. He went back and sent words to the effect that he would never give his daughter in marriage to a sweeper. Puruṣottama, who considered this rejection not only a personal insult but an insult to his deity, vowed that he would obtain the damsel by force and give her in marriage to a sweeper and thus vindicate his honour. He, therefore, marched against Kāñcī with a large army but was defeated. He came back in sorrow and prayed Lord Jagannātha to help him in his endeavour. Lord Jagannātha told him in a dream that he should once again march against Kāñcī and this time the Lord himself and his elder brother Balarāma would personally go and help him in the battle. Accordingly Puruṣottama marched against Kāñcī second time.

(vi) *Mackenzie Collection* (MSS), Vol. VIII (8), pp. 187ff, in the India Office Library, London.

Besides see also P. Mukherji, 1953, pp. 48ff and R. Subrahmanyam, 1957, pp. 68ff.

[13] See quoted in P. Mukherji, 1945, p. 38 and mentioned in R. Subrahmanyam, 1957, p. 69.

On his way, near the lake Chilka, a milkmaid named Māṇikī sought his audience and when the audience was granted produced a ring before him. She told him that she was selling curd on the way-side when two soldiers, one dark and the other fair complexioned, on horse-back approached her and ate all the curd she had to sell. But when asked by her to pay for it they told her that they belonged to the armed forces of the king of Orissa; and did not have any money to pay for the curd but a ring. They asked her to present the ring to the king following with the main army who would in turn pay for the curd they had eaten after the ring was presented to him. Puruṣottama immediately recognised the ring that belonged to Lord Jagannātha and knew that both Lord Jagannātha (the dark complexioned one) and his elder brother Balarāma (the fair complexioned one) were on their way to Kāñcī to help him. As requested by the milkmaid Māṇikī he established a village there named Māṇikīpāṭaṇa. Then he, with the help of Jagannātha, defeated the king of Kāñcī who was a devotee of Lord Gaṇapati and took the princess of Kāñcī captive. He then ordered his minister to find out a suitable sweeper bride-groom and to wed the princess of Kāñci with him. He came back to Orissa. During the next car-festival while the king was performing his ritual duty of *cherāpāhārā*, broom in hand, the clever minister suddenly appeared with the princess of Kāñcī, who at the beckoning of the minister put a garland round the neck of the king Puruṣottama indicating marriage with him. The king, surprised and angry, wanted to know the meaning of this. The minister explained that he was offering the princess to the most suitable sweeper he had found. Did the king want to deny that at that moment, in front of Lord Jagannātha, doing a sweeper's job, he was not a sweeper? The king, of course, could not deny the fact (that at that moment he was the sweeper of Lord Jagannātha) and thus accepted the princess of Kāñcī as his wife.[14]

This is not the place to analyse and discover in detail how this legendary tradition grew up. But on the basis of historical data, mythological accounts and legendary traditions available to us at present we can look back and make some guesswork regarding the origin and evolution of this legendary tradition.

As Puruṣottama figures prominently in this tradition, this tradition must have been created either during the reign of king Puruṣottama or a little later. In a painting in the Jagamohana (i.e. the audience hall) of the temple of Jagannātha, Lord Jagannātha and his elder brother Baḷarāma on horse-back and the milkmaid Māṇikī with a pot (obviously of curd) on her head are noticed which has supposedly

[14] Different versions of the *Kāñci-Kāverī* tradition have been recorded in various works such as:

(i) *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, pp. 50ff.
(ii) *Cakaḍābhasāṇa*, in *Cakaḍā Pothi.*, ed. S. Pattanyak.
(iii) *Kāñci-Kāberī*
(iv) *Dārḍhyatābhakti* by Rāma Dāsa. See 53rd Adhyāya.
(v) *Accounts of the Gaṅgavaṃśa of Oḍradeśa*, Local Records, Vol. 47.
(vi) *Geneology of the Kings of Oḍradeśa*, Local Records, Vol. 60.

See also P. Mukherji, 1940, pp. 45-46, (1945) and (1953) pp. 60ff; R. Subrahmanyam, 1957, pp. 181ff.

been mentioned by Baḷarāma Dāsa, a sixteenth-century poet and a contemporary of Puruṣottama's son Pratāparudra,[15] indicating the origin of the legend during the reign of Puruṣottama. Again from *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* a Bengali biographical work on Caitanya we come to know that Pratāparudra was performing *cherāpāhārā* during the car-festival of 1512 A.D.[16] There is not a hint there that the custom was of recent origin and was considered unusual. This means not only this institution of *cherāpāhārā* was created sometime earlier but it has already been justified and legitimatized by the legendary tradition which means the legendary tradition was created earlier i.e. during the reign of Puruṣottama. It seems Puruṣottama did not oppose the creation of this tradition as this indirectly supported and legitimized his accession. Had this institution *cherāpāhārā* been an old and established custom there would not have arisen any necessity to create this tradition to justify the institution during the reign of Puruṣottama. Therefore we may conclude that this institution *cherāpāhārā* originated during Puruṣottama's reign. Perhaps this is the reason why in this tradition the "king of Kāñcī" did not know the existence of this popular custom and it surprised him.

It seems the successful invasion of the territory of the Vijayanagar empire (in which Kāñcī was included) by Puruṣottama which was under the administration of Chandragiri-based Śālva Narasiṃha and his (Puruṣottama's) possible marriage with latter's daughter after his defeat provided some sort of historical basis for the creation of the legend.[17] The earlier kings of Vijayanagar were staunch Śaivas, devotee of Śiva-Virūpākṣa whom they had dedicated their empire and ruled as His viceroy[18] (rather like their contemporary, the early imperial Gaṅgas who dedicated their empire to Lord Jagannātha and ruled as His viceroy). That is why they were and especially Śālva Narasiṃha, was imagined as anti-Vaiṣṇava. It must be mentioned here that Gaṇapati (1198-1261 A.D.) was one of the most famous Kakatiya king who ruled around Warangal. His kingdom, perhaps known as Gaṇapati kingdom after him, came under the Reddies and Velamas after the collapse of Kakatiya power. The rivalry between the pro-Śaiva Vijayanagar and pro-Vaiṣṇava Orissa for this former Kakatiya or Gaṇapati kingdom created a situation in which the name Gaṇapati or Gaṇapati-kingdom got somehow mixed up with Śālva Narasiṃha against whom Puruṣottama had to wage war. According to Hindu mythology Gaṇapati, after all, is a son of Śiva. As a result Śālva Narasiṃha, supposed to be pro-Śaiva, was thought to be a devotee of Gaṇapati and anti-Vaiṣṇava though he was in fact

15 "*ethu anantare jagamohanare dekhiba beni bhāiṅki*
bīra je ghoḍāre caḍhiṇa satvare Kāñci Kāberi paīki".
Quoted in P. Mukherji, 1940, p. 46, fn.

16 *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Madhya Lilā/13/14-16.

17 Sālva Narasiṃha's defeat at the hands of Puruṣottoma is known from *Sarasvatīvilāsam* and Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra. See P. Mukherji, 1945, and 1953, pp. 57ff and R. Subrahmanyam, 1957, pp. 86-88 and 183 for details.

18 R.C Majumdar, (ed). HCIP, Vol. VI (Delhi Sultanat), second edition 1967, pp. 272 and 556.

pro-Vaiṣṇava.[19] Therefore he was considered to be the right person to be contemptuous of the institution *cherāpāhārā* in the tradition.

The various mythological romances like Rukmiṇīharaṇa, Uṣāharaṇa, Candrābati alias Lakṣmaṇāharaṇa, Surekhāharaṇa, Śobhābatīharaṇa occurring in the *Mahabhārata* by Sāraḷā Dasa[20] and later works like *Bhāgabata* translated by Jagannātha[21] Dāsa and *Harivamśa* by Acyutānanda Dāsa[22] supplied the general frame-work, the story structure and the romantic elements to this tradition. It must be pointed out here that Puruṣottama of this legend, who became king through the grace of Lord Jagannātha and ruled Orissa in all probability, as his Viceroy like his father Kapilendra who used the epithet '*Puruṣottama-putra*' (i.e. son of Jagannātha) may be equated with the heroes of many of these romances who were sons of Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha. The heroes and the heroines invariably fell in love with each other in these romances but the heroes became unsuccessful in their attempts to forcibly carry away the heroines from the latter's fathers' places and were defeated. Then Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha and his elder brother Baḷarāma came to their rescue and defeated the fathers of the heroines which led to their happy marriage. The strikingly similar story structure between these romances and the "*Kāñci-Kāverī*" tradition is evident.

The legendary material consists of two independent but related legendary traditions once current in the families of Pāraḷā and Baḍa Khemuṇḍi (Khimudi) kings. According to one Kaḷā Hammīra alias Narasiṃhadeva was eldest of Kapilendra's eighteen legitimate sons. When Puruṣottama became king of Orissa after Kapilendra and ruled from his capital Cuttack, Kaḷā Hammīra established himself at a place called Guḍāri in modern Koraput district and laid the foundation of Khemundi kingdoms. Puruṣottama prior to his march against the Cōḷas, advised by the goddess *Māṇikeśvarī* in a dream made peace with his brother Kaḷā Hammīra and with his help was able to defeat the Cōḷas. After that Kaḷā Hammira-Narasiṃhadeva adopted Maṇikeśvarī as his family deity.[23] According to the other legendary tradition sage Kapiḷa had a daughter named Māṇikyabatī who used to worship the Goddess Māṇikeśvarī. Svarṇabhānu, a son of Kapilendra, the king of Orissa, fell in love with this girl but the king of Vijayanagara kidnapped this girl from the hermitage of the sage and wanted to forcibly give her in marriage to the king of Bahmanī kingdom. But Kapilendra defeated the king of Vijayanagara and rescued Māṇikyabatī who

19 *Ibid.*

20 See *Mahābhārata* by Sāraḷā Dāsa, Madhva Parba for Candrābatīharaṇa, Surekhāharaṇa, Uṣāharaṇa and Sobhābatīharaṇa episodes. K.C. Panigrahi thinks that Puruṣottama's Kāñcī expedition provided the basis for Surekhāharaṇa episode in the *Mahābhārata* by Sāraḷā Dāsa. See K C. Panigrahi, 1976, pp. 182ff. But the truth seems to be the other way round.

21 See *Bhāgabata* translated into Oriya by Jagannātha Dāsa, 10th Skandha for Rukmiṇīharaṇa, Uṣāharaṇa aud Laṣmaṇāharaṇa episodes.

22 See *Haribaṃśa* by Acyutānanda Dāsa, Sixth Khaṇḍa for Rukmiṇharaṇa, Lakṣmaṇāharaṇa and Uṣābatīharaṇa episodes.

23 S.N. Rajaguru, 1972, pp. 73 & 75.

was thus happily married to Svarṇabhānu. At the time of marriage the sage presented Māṇikyabatī with an image of deity Māṇikeśvari and asked her to worship the deity regularly as before. From that day onwards Māṇikeśvarī became the family deity of Svarṇabhānu and his descendants who continued to reign in Khemuṇḍi region.[24] On the basis of these two legendary traditions regarding the deity Māṇikeśvari we suspect that the sons of Kapilendra and especially Puruṣottama had to do something with this deity.[25] Puruṣottama's Śākta leaning may be cited as an evidence in this respect.[26] It is quite likely that Puruṣottama constructed a temple for this deity whom he probably considered a consort (*śakti*) of Lord Jagannātha, near Chilka and established a village named "Māṇik (eśvarī) pāṭaṇā". But later, under the influence of Vaiṣṇavite bhakti movement this deity Māṇikeśvarī, supposedly the consort of Lord Jagannātha, underwent a transformation and in order to be conveniently identified with the milkmaid Rādhā, beloved of Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha, became a milkmaid named Māṇikī, The identifying ring motif might have been borrowed from the famous Sanskrit play "*Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*" by Kālidāsa or from "*Rāmāyaṇa*" where Hanumān's identification was established by Sitā after he produced Rama's ring.

Thus mythology, romance and history were woven round the institution *cherāpāhārā* in order to resolve the contradiction between kingship and a king's very unusual ritual-duty which was incidentally a sweeper's job and to legitimize this institution. That is why *cherāpāhārā* is in the centre of this legendary tradition; take it away and the whole tradition collapses. But this must be pointed out here that in spite of its support to Puruṣottama's accession this institution suggested his inferior position *vis-a-vis* the priests. That is why even in this tradition the king of Kāñcī contemptuously referred to Puruṣottama as a sweeper. (How it later became a prestige-symbol and legitimized the Rājas of Khurda/Puri is another story[27]). This was the price Puruṣottama had to pay in return for the support he got from the priests.

There is another tradition too in which Puruṣottama figures and which, though apparently not related to the Kāñcī-Kāverī tradition, later got incorporated into it. This tradition has fragmentally been preserved in "*Rājabhoga*" section of the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*. According to Rājabhoga, ". . . the king (Puruṣottama) became very angry at the sight of the cake in his (Dāsa Muduli's) hand and got this Dāsa Muduli (obviously a temple priest) arrested. The next day he (the king) got the *bhoga* (food offerings) prepared by another priest. This night Lord Jagannātha said to him (the

[24] This legend is the subject matter of the narrative poem "*Māṇikyabatī*" by A.C. Mahanti, 1934. Māṇikeśvarī is still worshipped as the family deity of the ex-kings of Baḍa Khemuṇḍi. I have been told that the Māṇikeśvarī image worshipped in the Baḍa Khemuṇḍi palace, Berhampur is a four armed metal image holding lotus, counch-shell, disc and trident.

[25] Māṇikeśvarī was also the family deity of the ex-kings of Parala-Khemundi and Kalahandi. This Māṇikeśvari may be equated with the Maṇināgeśvari of Ranapur (see above chapter 7).

[26] Puruṣottama's 5th *aṅka* year inscription can be cited as an evidence for his Śākta leaning. See K.B. Tripathy, 1962, pp. 284-285 for the inscription. In this inscription Puruṣottama has saluted "Jaya Durgā". It may be mentioned here that his preceptor Godābara Miśra compiled a treaties on the worship of Durgā during Daśaharā (Dussera).

[27] H. Kulke, 1976 and above chapter 11.

king) in a dream, 'You have imprisoned my Mahāsuāra (the chief cook). I am not at all satisfied with the cakes (prepared by this new cook)!' The king woke up, held this Dāsa Muduli in esteem and awarded him the title of Mahāsuāra. He issued him a turban as a token of this new title. He ordered him to prepare the cakes as usual.[28] A slightly different version of the same tradition preserved in the narrative poem *Kāñci-Kāberī* by Puruṣottama Das gives some more details which need not be given here because the main motifs are amply clear.

The beginning and the concluding portions of this tradition i.e. the interference of the king Puruṣottama in the cult affairs and the cessation of this interference are most likely based on truth. At least it shows Puruṣottama's unsuccessful attempt to control the cult and his defeat at the hands of the priests who used Lord Jagannātha to serve their ends. Either Puruṣottama's bid to control the cult provoked the priests intensely to thrust this very unusual ritual duty on his head indicating his inferior position or alternatively the imposition of the ritual duty *cherāpāhārā* upon Puruṣottama's head invited this royal interference. The latter inference seems to be more plausible and that is how this tradition got incorporated into the Kāñci-Kāverī tradition.[29]

Even if for argument's sake we do not accept the historical basis of this tradition and take it as completely fabricated and created by the priests, it at least records the priests' claim to superiority *vis-a-vis* the king and their nearness to Lord Jagannātha. They were also in a position to use Jagannātha in support of their claims. These claims and the atmosphere in which these claims could be made must have been responsible to the institution of *cherāpāhārā* custom which suggests Puruṣottama's place in the lowest strat of hierarchy (for a different interpretation see above Chapter 11).

In spite of the defeats he suffered at the hands of the priests, Puruṣottama, it appears, did not abandon the attempt to control the priests. In order to do that he, for the first time, got temple-rituals codified. This manual *Gopālārcanavidhi*, attributed to his authorship probably because of the initiative he took in this direction, was just one of the means available to him to control the priests through the elaborate prescription and descriptions of daily and other special rituals. Though the priests, especially the Non-Brahmin priests whom this inconvenienced most, resented this codification, as it curbed their independence so much that they could not resist it because all India Brahmanic recognition of Jagannātha must have been putting direct and indirect pressure from time to time in this direction. We can also imagine that the compilation of this manual in fact strengthened the hands of the Brahmin priests in some respects so that their resistance to it—if at all—was half-hearted. The Brahmin priests started taking the upper hands in the temple affairs and to predominate.

28 *Mādalā Pāñji*, p. 50.

29 *Kāñcī-Pāñji* by Puruṣottama Dāsa. See also *Accounts of the Gaṅgavaṃśa of Oḍradeśa*, Local Records Vol. 47, and *Geneology of the Kings of Oḍradeśa*, Local Records, Vol. 60, for slight different versions of the same tradition.

But this move on the part of Puruṣottama was not adequate enough to control the priests. Therefore Puruṣottama had to seek other means. One of these was to patronize the Brahmins other than the Puri priests, who, he probably thought, could successfully check the influence of the priests of Lord Jagannātha. The earlier Somavaṃśī and Gaṅga kings of Orissa patronized the Brahmins as a matter of policy and established Brahmin villages (*agrahāra* or *śāsana*). Kapilendra even seems to have worked in cultivating their support for his usurpation for which he patronized them. But during the reign of Puruṣottama there seems to have been sudden spurt in these activities. From traditions recorded in "*Cakaḍābhasāṇa*" we come to know that Puruṣottama wanted to establish sixteen Brahmin *śāśanas* near Cuttack out of which he was able to establish as many as fifteen *śāsanas*, only one short of the original goal.[30] He also lavished them with other gifts including tax-free land.[31] These Brahmins had their own reason to be envious of the Puri priests who were becoming more and more influential and they, perhaps, in turn helped Puruṣottama in the compilation of the manual of rituals of Lord Jagannātha. Not only this, they even went so far as to proclaim that king Puruṣottama was the incarnation of a part of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇa aṃśāvatāra*).[32]

This is probably the origin of the later concept "*calantī Viṣṇu*" or "*Ṭhākura rājā*". But it seems this concept of identifying the king with Viṣṇu-Jagannātha could not become popular during the reign of Puruṣottama. Otherwise epithet "*sacaḷa Jagannātha*" i.e. mobile Jagannātha could not have been given to Caitanya after his arrival in Puri as we find mentioned in some Bengali biographical works on Caitanya[33] because the existence of two mobile or moving Jagannātha simultaneously would simply have become ridiculous. It seems to be the hey-day of the institution *cherāpāhārā* indicating Puruṣottama's inferior position which became immensely popular with the spread of the "Kāñcī-Kāverī" tradition. It was really the victory of the priests over the state executive presided over by the king.

PRATĀPARUDRA DEVA

Pratāparudra (1497-1540 A. D.), son of Puruṣottama, though he accepted the institution of *cherāpāhārā* with good grace, seems to have made efforts to control the priests and the cult. Therefore hardly two years elapsed after his accession when he

30 See *Cakaḍābhasāṇa*, *in*: Cakaḍā Pothi.

31 See the 19th Aṅka year inscription on Puruṣottoma Deva in K. B. Tripathi, 1962, pp. 292-293. See also his 3rd aud 5th Aṅka year inscriptions in: K.B. Tripathi, 1962, pp. 283-285 for his various gifts to Brahmins.

32 This epithet is contained in one of the Sanskrit passages of blessing specially composed for Gajapati Puruṣottama and now found appended to *Cakaḍābhasāṇa*. See *Cakaḍā Poth*, p. 54. Though *Cakaḍābhasāṇa* might have been a later work these Sanskrit passages must have been composed when Puruṣottama was alive as there is no point in blessing him after his death.

33 See *Caitanya Bhāgabata* by Bṛndābana Dāsa, Antya Lilā, 3rd, 5th & 8th Adhyāya; *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, Madhya Lilā, 10th Pariccheda, and Antya Lilā, 5th Pariccheda.

started interfering in the temple affairs. In a proclamation to be found in an inscription at the Jaya-Vijaya door of the Jagannātha temple he prohibited the singing of *Gītāgovinda* by Jayadeva in the temple which, it seems, was a long standing convention and made the singing of "*Abhinava Gītagovinda*", supposed to have been written by his father Puruṣottama, mandatory in its stead. But the priests resisted this unsought for change and under their pressure Pratāparudra had to countermand his previous order within a short period.[34] Not discouraged by this failure and undaunted by the humiliation he suffered, Pratāparudra remained in constant look out for opportunities to crush the priestly influence once and for all. The advent of Caitanya in Orissa at this time came to him as a god-sent opportunity and the increasing popularity of the Caitanya cult offered him precisely what he has been seeking. Pratāparudra sought the support of the Caitanyaites and the Caitanyaites needed his patronage.

The immense popularity of Caitanya, under the state patronage, emerged as challenger to the Jagannātha cult and thereby successfully checked the power and influence of the Puri priests. Pratāparudra's association with this emerging popular cult improved his image, enhanced his prestige and strengthened his hands to the disadvantages of the priests. The Caitanyaites also extended him active support as is evident from "*Caitanya Caritāmṛta*" the famous biographical work on Caitanya, which lavishly poured praise on him. This led to a situation in which the priests felt threatened and took measures for their self protection one of which resulted in the additions and modifications in the famous Indradyumna legend. By this they challenged the very source of power of Pratāparudra over the Jagannātha cult as king of Orissa and successor of Yayāti Keśarī (though not his direct descendent) the "Second Indradyumna".[35]

The core of these additions/modifications in the Indradyumna's legend seems to be the seeking for a very unusual favour by Indradyumna, the mythical founder of the Jagannātha cult, from Viṣṇu-Jagannātha. When the Lord offered him to grant any favour he wanted, Indradyumna prayed for the complete extinction of his line (Vaṃśa) as a favour. Surprised the Lord wanted to know the reasons for this rather peculiar request. Indradyumna explained that he should not be survived by anybody lest a descendant of his overcome with vanity claimed to be the owner of the Jagannātha temple, the headquarter of the Jagannātha cult or in other words claimed exclusive right over the cult. Then the Lord was very much pleased and granted him this favour.

But this episode is not found mentioned in earlier Brahmanic and Non-Brahmanic versions of Indradyumna legend i. e. Sanskrit Purāṇas and *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata*. It was found mentioned for the first time in "*Caitanya Maṅgala*", a Bengali biographical work in verse, written by Jayānanda[36] "in the sixth decade of sixteenth

[34] See G.N. Dash, 1976, for details.

[35] In a paper manuscript entitled "*Śri Puruṣottama Kṣetra Dāru Brahma Mūrti Abatāra*" and preserved in the Gopītīrtha Matha, Bhubaneswar, Yayāti Keśarī has been given the title of "Second Indradyumna".

[36] *Caitanya Maṅgala*, ed. B.B. Majumdar & S. Mukhopadhyay (1971), Prakāśa 4/25 and also in Prakāśa 1/146.

century". This request by Indradyumna though often cited as the supreme self-sacrifice on the part of Indradyumna has, in fact, been very carefully, put in his mouth by the priests who sought to prevent the interference of Pratāparudra in the affairs of the Jagannātha cult declaring it as immoral and against the express wish of Indradyumna I, the founder of the cult. This suggests that the influences of the priests started declining during the reign of Pratāparudra with the increasing popularity of Caitanya cult and the priests were on the defensive.

CONCLUSION

Thus the power, prestige and the influence of the priests of Lord Jagannātha got ample opportunities to increase considerably during the reign of Kapilendra and reached the point of culmination during the reign of Puruṣottama. This was because both of them were not rightful heirs to the throne and, to some extent at least, depended on the priests for their legitimization. But with the accession of Pratāparudra the priests, though under increasing stress and strain, put on a bold front and were successful for the time being. But with the advent of Caitanya and the increasing popularity of Caitanya cult the outcome was decided, if not in favour of the kings certainly against the priests. Further, this internal dissension seems to have contributed to some extent to Pratāparudra's defeats at the hands of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and subsequent political decline of Orissa.

CHAPTER XIII

NAVAKALEVARA

THE UNIQUE CEREMONY OF THE 'BIRTH' AND THE DEATH OF THE 'LORD OF THE WORLD'

G.C. Tripathi

INTRODUCTION

Navakalevara—the new embodiment, so is called the ceremony of the periodical renewal of the wooden images in the Jagannātha temple, a ceremony which is unique in many respect in the field of Hindu religious worship. The ceremony involves a total replacement of the four worshipable images through the new ones after a certain period. The old statues are then discarded and buried underground.

In a way, the ceremony is obviously an unavoidable consequence of the fact that the images in the Jagannātha temple are made of wood and not of stone (*maṇi* or *śaila*) which needs renewal only after "ten thousand years" according to the Śastras.[1] One, however, does not wait for the images to decay completely, but renews the images latest after an interval of 19 years, sometimes even after 12 years. The reason why the ceremony takes place either in the 12th or the 19th year is, that it is performed only in the year having two Āṣāḍhas.[2]

The first half of the Āṣāḍha, starting from the day following the great bathing festival on the full moon day (*pūrṇimā*) of the month Jyeṣṭha is used every year for the repainting of the discoloured images and for making the necessary annual repairs on them. During this period ("anavasara") the sanctum is closed and the people may not

[1] Cf. the following verse from *Bhuvanaprakāśa* (quoted by A. Dash, 1969, p. 36) which mentions four types of images: 1. painted images (*rekhā*), 2. wooden images (*dārumayī*), 3. metallic images (*dhātumayī*), and 4. jewel or stone images (*maṇiśailamayī*):

mūrits caturvidhā proktā rekhādārumayī tathā|
saumyā dhātumayī puṇyā maṇiśailamayottamā||

These images are to be renewed at an interval of one, twelve, one thousand and ten thousand years respectively. Some texts add one more variety of image which is most short-lived. It is clay image (*mṛṇmayī pratimā*) which should be renewed every month.

[2] This other *Āṣāḍha* is an extra month which is added to the lunar calendar of the Hindus after every 32 months and 16 days in order to make up for the deficiency of a lunar month (29.5 days) against a solar month (30.44 days), i.e. of 0.9 day every month.

have the *darśana* of the deities who are popularly believed to be "sick". In the year with an extra Āṣāḍha, the new Āṣāḍha is intercalated after the first fortnight of the regular Āṣāḍha. The period of the "sickness" of the Deities (*anavasara*) thus extends itself to three fortnights and this gives sufficient time to the Temple to construct new wooden images and to consecrate them before the Temple is reopened on the first day of the bright half of the regular Āṣāḍha to make preparations for the chariot festival which starts from the next day.

The extra Āṣāḍha month is known as "Puruṣottama-māsa" all over India and during this month the Vaiṣṇavas dedicate themselves especially to the devotion of Viṣṇu by recitation of holy texts, chanting the names of God (*saṃkīrtana*) and by performing special pūjās of Viṣṇu. The Deities in the Jagannātha Temple are not made of wood solely. In fact, the wood supplies only the basic structure on which different layers (seven, according to the texts) raisin, sandalwood and cloth pieces are wrapped around. Some of these layers are opened every year (called in Oriya *śrīaṅgaphiṭā*, the opening of the body of the Lord) and renewed at the time of *anavasara*. New paints are then applied on them. If the wooden structure of the Deities shows signs of decay, the Daitas, the class of the Temple servants who are responsible for all the rites concerning the Deities during the *anavasara* period, inform the Temple administration and a decision to renew the wooden structure at the time of the next intercalary Āṣāḍha is taken by the Temple authorities after consulting some senior priests of the Temple as well as the Temple astrologer-astronomer ("Khuri Nāyaka"). This decision is thus taken at least a year before the commencement of the rite, in most cases even earlier.

Navakalevara is not bound to take place everytime when two Āṣāḍhas happen to occur in a year. It is an expensive affair and is performed only when necessary. There is also a sort of "small" Navakalevara. When the intercalary Āṣāḍha recurs after just 8 years, only the various coverings of the icons are renovated and not necessarily the wooden structure.

The Daitas (Sans. *daitya*, a term originally meaning "demon", but in Orissa applied to the aboriginal people living in the forests) who take charge of the Deities during the period of *anavasara*, also arrange the car festival and play a very important role in the ceremony of Navakalevara. They are believed to be the descendents of the Śabara Viśvāvasu, who, according to the legend of the foundation of the Jagannātha Temple,[3] worshipped Jagannātha (in the Nīlamādhava form) in a forest before Vidyāpati, the Brahmin minister of the king Indradyumna of Malwa could find Him out with the help of this Śabara. According to some popular versions of the legend,[4] the Śabara did this favour to Vidyāpati only at the request of his daughter Lalitā who had been deeply in love with this Brahmin from Malwa. The children born out of the marriage of Lalitā with the Brahmin minister also discharge important functions

[3] Examined in detail by *R. Geib*, 1975.
[4] Geib, 1975, p. 161f.

in the Temple.[5] The head of this group is known as [Vidyā] Pati Mahāpātra. He is one of the most important functionaries in the ceremony of Navakalevara, as we shall presently see and it is he who performs the most solemn ceremony of shifting the *brhmapadārtha* (the immortal life substance) from the old statue of Jagannātha into the new one.

Besides the Śabaras (*daitas*) and the half-Śabaras (*Pati Mahapatra*, etc.), the Brahmin priests, especially the Rājaguru of the king, have important functions (the "forest sacrifice" and the consecration of the images, etc.), to perform in this ceremony. Thus, the ceremony involving the Temple functionaries belonging to the different strata of the society and envisaging a proper distribution of labour for all these groups is a nice illustration of the eclectic character of Jagannātha.

How old is the convention of observing the ceremony of Navakalevara at regular intervals (i.e., within 10 to 20 years), is difficult to say. Though the very nature of the material used for the images implies their occasional renewal or replacement, yet, to our great dismay, none of the older texts ever explicitly refer to it. The *Pur. Māh.* of *Skd. Pur.* (written around A.C. 1300) goes into details of almost all the important festivals (*yātrās*) connected with the Jagannātha Temple, but it leaves Navakalevara unmentioned. Anybody interested in knowing the details of Navakalevara is immediately advised by the priests of the Jagannātha Temple to consult the "Sūtasaṃhitā" (i.e., the *Nīlādrimahodaya*, composed most probably in the middle of the 18th century) but it is strange that none of these priests seems to have read it himself since this voluminous work contains detailed instructions about almost every topic pertaining to the Temple, except on the ceremony of Navakalevara.

The two works which are presently in use with the priests of the Jagannātha Temple for the performance of the ceremony are called *Vanayāgavidhī* ("the procedure of the forest-sacrifice") and the *Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhāvidhi* ("the procedure of the consecration of the holy movable[6] images). The colophon of the first work mentions it

[5] According to *Deuḷā Toḷā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa which is based on a work of the same name by Nīlāmbaradāsa who wrote in the reign of Divyasimha Deva I (1689-1715 A.C., cf. K.N. Mahapatra, 1969, *Khurdhā Itihāsa*, 158) the descendents of Lalita and Vidyāpati were to serve as the cooks (*śuddha Suara*) in the Jag. Temple whereas the descendents of the Śabara, the pure tribals (the father of Lalitā) are to be known as Daitas:

bidyāpati brāhmaṇa je dūtapaṇe galā|
sabara jhiaku se je pradāna hoilā||
sabarūni ṭhāru jeu heba jāta|
suddha suāra se heba bole jagannātha||
sabarara ghare jeū putra hebe jāta|
daita sebaka hebe bole jagannātha||

[6] With 'movable images' not the metallic representatives (*calanti pratimā*) of the deities are meant but the original wooden images (*mūlaberam*) themselves. In contradistinction to the main images of the South Indian temples which are never moved, the imag s of Jagannātha etc. are brought out of the sanctum for such festivals as *Snānayātrā* (the bathing ceremony) and *Rathayātrā* (car festival) etc.

to be a part of a bigger work called *Partiṣṭhāpradīpa* by Agnicid Narasiṃha Vājapeyin[7] (patronised by Telanga Mukundadeva who died in 1568 A.C.): *iti agnicidvājapeyinarasiṃhaviracite pratiṣṭhāpradīpe vanayāgavidhiḥ.* The *Pratiṣṭhāpradīpa* is an unpublished work. As far as I know, the only copy available of this work is in the State Museum of Orissa.[8] On comparing the relevant portions of the *Vanayāgavidhi* and *Pratiṣṭhāpradīpa*, however, I have come to the conclusion that the *Vanayāgavidhi* is an independent text and is not a part of the *Pratiṣṭhāpradīpa.* Similar is the case with the *Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhāvidh.* It professes to be a part of the *Haribhaktivilāsa* (of Gopālabhaṭṭa, written around 1540)[9], cf. the beginning of the work : atha *śrīharibhaktivilāsantargatacalaśrīmūrteḥ pratiṣṭhāvidhiḥ.* The *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Goplabhaṭṭa, however, is a metrical work greatly honoured in the circle of the Gaudiya Vaiṣṇavas and though it does deal with the consecration ceremony in the 19th Vilāsa of its second part, the ceremony as described in this work is very much different from the ceremony laid down in the prose work *Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhāvidhi* (especially the *Nyāsamantras*) which alone is followed in the Jagannātha Temple. In fact, both, the *Vanayāgavidhi* as well as the *Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhāvidhi* seem to have been composed by some local priests on the basis of their own practical experience and knowledge for the sake of the posterity and probably also for their own personal use, since Navakalevara is a ceremony which takes place at such long intervals that one is likely to forget much of the ritual by the next time. They have then been loosely associated—either in the colophon or in the title of the work—with two works of superior merit (i.e. *Pratiṣṭhāpradīpa* and *Haribhaktivilāsa*) in order to lend a sort of authority to them and to indicate that the general line of the ritual as noted in these treatises (Vanayāgavidhi and Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhā) is in tune with the ritual as described in these famous works.[10]

The Pratiṣṭhāpradīpa of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin was popular in Orissa in the later half of the 16th and during the 17th century till it was superseded by the *Pratiṣṭhā* of Māguṇi.[11] *Haribhaktivilāsa* was not written in Orissa but—most probably—in Vṛndāvana. It may have taken some time till this work of the Gauḍīyas came to be held in high esteem with the priests of the Jagannātha Temple. I would, therefore, cautiously suggest roughly around 1600 A.C. as the *terminus post quem* and about 1700 A.C. as the *terminus ante quem* for the *writing down* of these two manuals pertaining to the ritual of the forest sacrifice and the consecration ceremony respectively, believing at the same time that they faithfully represent a tradition which has to be much older in its content.

[7] On this prolific writer see the scholarly article of *K.N. Mahapatra*, 1953 (OHRJ, vol. II. 1) pp. 1-16.

[8] A copy of the important portions of this manuscript is available in the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg.

[9] Cf. S.K. De, 1961, pp. 139-40.

[10] There is also a special reason to call the *Pratiṣṭhā* of Jagannātha etc. as following the contents of *Haribhaktivilāsa* which we shall deal below (*vide* pp. 258-59).

[11] Written around 1700 A.C. according to *K.N. Mahapatra*, 1958 (*Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS,* Vol. I) see Introduction pp. XXXIX-XL.

That the tradition of the ritual of Navakalevara is older than the time of the writing down of these two texts, is attested by a reference in the manuscript of the "Rājabhoga" which the Orissa Project has procured from the Deula Karaṇa of the Temple of Jagannātha. This manuscript was compiled sometime during the reign of Narasiṃha Deva of the Khurda dynasty (1623-1647 A.C.) on the basis of much older material. On page 168 of the paper transcript of this manuscript[12] it is mentioned that the text followed for the *vanayāga* is "the *Paddhati* of Vidyākara Vājapeyin of the family of Śambhukara" (*śambhukaravaṃśe vidyākaravājapeyipaddhatipramāṇe*. . .). Both Śambhukara and his son Vidyākara are the famous Smṛti writers of Orissa and Shri K.N. Mahapatra has convincingly dated them to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries respectively. The *Nityācārapaddhati* of Vidyākara Vājapeyin alluded to in the manuscript of Rājabhoga was composed sometime between 1330 and 1360 A.C. according to Mr. Mahapatra.[13] It is thus obvious that also before the composition of the *Nityācārapradīpa* of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin in the middle of 16th century, the rite of Vanayāga (and Navakalevara) was observed in the Temple.

That brings us back to the question: how old is then the custom and the ritual of Navakalevara? The printed text of the *Rājabhoga Itihāsa* (ed. by Prof. A.B. Mohanty)[14] of the body of the work popularly known as "Mādaḷā Pāñjī" which seeks to give the history of Orissa with special reference to the Jagannātha Temple and which, in all probability, was compiled around 1600 A.C. from older sources, mentions that the King Yayāti (the second,[15] ascended to throne sometime around 950 A.C.),[16] a scion of the Somavaṃśins, who coming from the west (Sambalapur-Sonepur region) had occupied the coastal region of Orissa, asked in his 11th regnal year the Brahmins and Saṃnyāsins etc. where "the great Lord Jagannātha, the lord of the kings of Orissa" was. The people told him that long ago because of some political disturbances the statue(s) of the Lord had been removed to some place near Sonepur. On investigation the king found out that they had been buried underground and the Daitas and the Brahmins who had come along with their Lord were now living scattered in different villages. When the king excavated the statues, he found that they were completely decayed and fallen into pieces.[17] "He brought them (the Daitas and the Patis) together, let the wood [for the Deities] cut according to the prescribed rules and caused the nice images of the highest Lord be carved":

12 A microfilm copy as well as a paper transcript of this manuscript are available in the South Asia Institute.

13 K.N. Mahapatra, 1958 (Des. Cat., Vol. I), Introduction p. IX.

14 Edited by Prof. *A.B. Mohanty* and published by the Prācī Samiti, 1940.

15 cf. H. Kulke, chapter 8 and von Stietencron, chapter 3.

16 N.K. Sahu, 1956, vol. II, p. 368.

17 cf. *se dine se mūrtimāne māṭi khāi chinnabhinna hoichanti* . . .

emānanku anāi bidhipatra-pramāṇe dāru-chedana karāi paramesaramku sumūrti karāile . . . (p. 5)

Though the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* is compiled a couple of hundred years after this 'nava-kalevara' which is supposed to have taken place in the 10th century, we are inclined to believe that the report of the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* is based on some historical consciousness. The compiler of the Pāñjī was aware of some historical tradition according to which the worship of the Lord had to be interrupted for quite some time (142 years according to the tradition) after which the statues were re-built and the worship re-instituted (see also above ch. 8). *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*, as the chronicle of the Jagannātha Temple, is not expected to be interested in inventing and propagating such an interruption of the cult, unless there has been some older tradition to this effect. In fact, it is beyond any doubt, as we have already observed (p. 223) that the statues have been renewed whenever required; the only question is whether they have been renewed at regular intervals or irregularly—i.e. as and when the need arose.

Though there is no direct reference to Navakalevara in the *Pur. Māh.* of Skd. P., as already mentioned (p. 225), yet there is an indirect hint in the Indradyumna legend which points in the direction that to the writer of the *Māhātmya* the fashioning of the images was not an event which took place only once at the time of Indradyumna, but a recurring incident. Cf. the following verses:

bahir vādyāni kurvantu yāvat tu ghaṭanā bhavet/
śruto hi ghaṭanāśabdo vādhiryāndhatvadāyakaḥ//
narake vasatim caiva kuryāt santānanāśanam/
nāntaḥ praveśanam kuryān na paśyec ca kadācana//
niyuktād anyaḥ paśyec ced rajño rāṣṭrasya caiva ha/
drastuś cāpi mahābhītir andhatā caksuṣor yuge//
tasmān nāvekṣaṇam kāryam yāvat pratimāvinirmitiḥ/

—Adhy. 18, śl. 39-42ab

A divine voice instructs in these verses the king Indradyumna to let the musical instruments be played outside the place where the wooden images are being fashioned so that the people may not hear the sound of the wood being worked upon. A person who hears this sound (and sees them being carved) becomes deaf and blind. Besides, his progeny is destroyed and he has to remain (for long) in the hell. Nobody should enter the place (i.e. the workshop), nor should see (the images being carved). If anybody other than those entrusted with the task watches it, it brings great calamity to the king, the state and to the person himself.

It seems justified to assume that here the contemporary conditions and practices find their reflection. The *Pur. Māh.* very often projects back the contemporary ceremonies connected with the Jagannātha Temple to the legendary period of Indradyumna and lets these ceremonies be described in the form of instructious

given to Indradyumna by either Brahman(m.) or the sage Nārada. It would mean that the author of the *Pur. Māh.* (Skd. P.) was at least aware of the fact that the images are not permanent objects and that they are to be re-fashioned from time to time. The reference, however, is not sufficient to show that the images were fashioned *regularly* at the time of double Aṣāḍha.

In 1568 when Orissa was overrun by the Moslem troups of Suleiman Karrani under the general Kālā Pahāḍa ("black mountain"), the most notorious iconoclast from Bengal, the wooden image (images ?) of Jagannātha (and others?) were taken to Bengal and publicly burnt on the bank of Hoogly. The *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* (printed ed.) narrates how an Oriya named Bisar Mohanty recovered the "*Brahmapadārtha*" (life-substance)[18] from the bust of the image, hid it in his drum (*mṛdaṅga*) and brought it to the place named Kujanga in Orissa where it was kept and worshipped in secret till 1586 when Rāmacandra Deva of Khurdha sent for Bisar Mohanty and let the new Jagannātha figures be made and installed, according to H. Kulke, first in his own palace and later in the Jagannātha Temple at Puri in the year 1590 when a peace treaty with Mānasiṃha was signed.[19]

The statues of Jagannātha etc. installed in 1590 in Puri are thus said to contain the same "*Brahma-padārtha*" which was recovered by Bisar Mohanty from the old statues.

In the 160 years after the re-establishment of the images in the Jagannātha Temple (i.e. from 1590 A.C. to the establishment of Marāṭhā rule in Orissa in about 1750 A.C.), the priests of the Temple have had to flee away from Puri with their Deities for about a dozen of times under the apprehension of a new sacrilege from the hands of the Muslim generals of Cuttack. On some of these occasions the statues have to be buried in sand and sometimes they have simply been kept in mud-houses with a thatched roof and worshipped there.[20] It is obvious that the removal of the deities from the sanctum, their transport and concealment etc. must often have caused severe damage to their wooden figures necessitating very frequently, if not everytime, their total renewal. It would appear that it was most probably in this turbulent period of political insecurity that the ceremony of Navakalevara attained more or less a regular character. The introduction of a regular Navakalevara might have had a psychologically advantageous aspect as well. It shows to the priests and the devotees alike that the images of Jagannātha etc. are, by their very nature, a transitory and perishable object. They are the wooden forms of the immortal Deities, to be discarded and buried, as it is, every 12 years or so. Of importance is only the continuity of the divine substance, the *Brahmapadārtha*, and the fact that the new images be constructed exactly in the same manner as the previous ones. This psychological element, when introduced in the cult, would definitely be of great consolation to the devotees of Jagannātha and would make them well-prepared for any new

18 cf. below, p. 260-261.
19 cf. H. Kulke, chapter 17.
20 cf. MP (Prācī Ed.) pp. 75-77; *H.K. Mahtab*, 1960, p. 467.

sacrilege on the Temple without getting hurt in their strong belief in the 'Lord of the World' and in their devotional feelings towards Him.

If the above presumption is correct, and the historical facts as well as the literary evidences make it seem very probable, it would mean that though the rite of Navakalevara itself may well have existed at all the times, envisaged to be performed as and when the necessity to renew the images was felt, its celebration at the *regular intervals* of 11 (or 19) years has been introduced after the re-installation of the Jagannātha figures in 1590 A.C.

The ceremony of Navakalevara as it is carried out presently, consists mainly of the following five phases:

1. To find out the *dāru* (divine wood) with the prescribed characteristics and to bring it to the Temple; i.e.
   (a) to go in a party to the forest and look out for an appropriate tree
   (b) to perform a fire sacrifice near the tree to ward off the evil and to sanctify the tree
   (c) to pull the *dāru* on a small cart to the Temple

2. The carving of the wooden structure of the images
3. The consecration of the images and the insertion of the 'life-substance' (*brahmapadārtha*) into them
4. The burial of the old figures, the funeral and the purificatory rites of the Daitas
5. Giving the images their final shape by means of several coverings of cloth etc. and by applying paints on them.

In the following I shall try to give an account of the salient features of the ceremony of Navakalevara based on the above noted fivefold division. For this account I draw the material from the undermentioned three types of sources, namely :

1. The published material in the form of small pamphlets and guide-books for the pilgrims, mostly printed in 1969.[21]
2. Information given by some important and reliable Temple functionaries, especially the Rājaguru (who functions as Ācārya in the ceremony) and the Daita Pati etc.

[21] Of these I want to mention particularly the following:
(a) A. Dash, *Navakalevara* (in English), Cuttack 1969,
(b) A. Dash, *Nabakalebara* (in Oriya), Cuttack 1969,
(c) S. Khuntia, *Jagannātha Tathya Samīkṣā* (Oriya), Puri 1969,
(d) K.C Mishra, *Śrījagannātha aur Navakalevara* (Hindi), Puri 1969,
(e) *Orissa Review* (A publication of the Govt. of Orissa), July 1969, (Navakalevara Special Number).

Almost worthless is the pamphlet (containing 4 pages!) of S. R. Sharma: *Nuakalevar or Metempsychosis of Lord Jagannātha*, printed in Cuttack, no date (1950?).

3. The following unpublished manuscripts collected by me during my field studies in Orissa in 1970-72 and in 1973:

(i) *Vanayāgavidhi* ascribed to Narasiṃha Vājapeyin; abbr. VYV (NV); available by courtesy of K.C. Rajguru.

(ii) *Vanayāgavidhi* (incomplete), collected from Kandrapāḍā; abbr. VYV (KP). The MS mentions twice the name of the King Rāmacandra Deva (III) of Khurdha as the patron or Yajamāna of the ceremony, seems therefore to have been compiled either in 1828 or in 1855 A.D.

(iii) *Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhāvidhi* (acc. to Haribhaktivilasa), available by courtesy of K.C. Rajguru.

(iv) *Banajāgabidhira Sūcanā* (in Oriya), personal notes of K.C. Rajguru, prepared on the basis of older texts and personal experience.

(v) *Navanirmitadārubrahmacaturdhāmūrtipratiṣṭhāvidhi*, discovered in Kendrapāḍā, very valuable but incomeplete; mentions in the *Saṃkalpavākya* the Kali-Era 4,900 as current, must therefore have been compiled sometime in the last century.

(vi) *Dārubrahmapratiṣṭhāvidhi*, a paper transcript available through the courtesy of the previous ruler of the Keonjhar state.

(vii) *Jagannāthasya Netrapratiṣṭhāvidhi*, for remarks cf. (vi) above.

(viii) *Yātrāpaddhati* of Sadāśiva, discovered in Kantilo, describes the festivals of the Temple; written around 1800 A.C.

(ix) "*Rājabhoga*" (Mādaḷā Pāñjī) procured from the Deula Karaṇa of the Temple; compiled around 1650 A.C. [pp. 167-178 of the paper transcript] abbr. M.P. (D.K.).

It may casually be mentioned here that the author also has had the privilege of being present in Puri at the time of the last Navakalevara in 1969 due to a generous grant of the German Research Council.

Rites Observed in the Forest

1. FINDING OUT THE DĀRU FOR THE DEITIES

(*a*) *Setting out in search of the Dāru*

The ceremony commences on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra, i.e. 65 days before the great bathing festival (*snānayātra*) of the Deities which takes place on the *pūrṇimā* of the month Jyeṣṭha. All the four woods should arrive at the Temple before this date, since they are also given bath on this day. To locate and fetch the four Dārus 28 Daitas are selected, 21 of whom go to the forest whereas 7 stay back in Puri as a sort of 'reserve force' to be called to the forest if and when required. The Daitas come to the Temple with Pati Mahāpātra

at about 11 O'clock (between the morning and the midnoon Pūjā[22] and while they wait outside the sanctum, the Pati Mahāpātra goes into the sanctum and performs a small worship of the Deities. He then takes down the four garlands from the person of the Deities which have specially been prepared for this purpose that morning by the gardeners of the Temple and have already been offered to the Deities by the Pūjāpaṇḍās. He comes out with the garlands which now carry the designation *ājñāmālā*-s ("the garlands of authorisation") and distributes the three garlands of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha to the three leaders of the group who are called "Baḍa-bāḍa"[23] Daita (family title: *dāsa-mahāpātra*, responsible for Balabhadra), "Majhi-bāḍa" Daita (family title: *dāsa*, responsible for Subhadrā) and "Mahāprabhuṅka-bāḍa" Daita (family title: Svāī-mahāpātra, responsible for Jagannātha) respectively. The Ajñāmālā of Sudarśana he keeps for himself.[24]

Outside the sanctum, each of these three Daita chiefs are presented a silken *sāḍhī* (unstitched garment) of full length (6 metres) by the storekeeper (Bhitaraccha Mahāpātra) of the Temple. The rest of the Daitas receive only a 2-metre piece (cārihāta) of the same garment.[25] Another Temple servant (called 'Mekāpa') then applies sandal paste and red powder etc. on the forehead of all the Daitas to mark the auspicious beginning of the *Yātrā* in search of the Dārus.

The Bhitaraccha Mahāpātra then comes to the "Jayavijaya" gate (the entrance between the audience hall—*jagamohana*—and the dancing hall—*nāṭamandira*) and binds a full length of the silken *sāḍhī* on the forehead of the Deula Karaṇa,[26] Taḍhāu

[22] Acc. to *Record of Rights*, Vol. II, p. 64, however, after the mid-noon Pūjā (*madhyāhna-dhūpa*).

[23] The word *Bāḍa* means the [wooden] statue (*śrīvigraha*) in the terminology of the Jagannātha Temple; hence *baḍa-bāḍa* Daita is the Daita responsible for the statue (*bāḍa*) of Balabhadra, the elder brother. Similarly *majhibāḍa* means the statue of the middle one (i.e. Subhadrā) and *Mahāprabhuṅka bāḍa* is the statue of the 'great Lord' Jagannātha.

[24] The rite of accepting the Ājñamālā of the deity by the Sevaka who is entrusted with any special duty, is very common in the rituals of the Jagannātha Temple. For each special ceremony in the Temple, whether big or small, the 'order' of the Deity is sought which expresses itself in the form of handing over a flower garland to the person who is required to carry out the job. These Mālās are often offered to the Deity (or the Deities) at the time of Morning Pūjā by the Pūjāpaṇḍās and are taken down later when required.

[25] Such *Sāḍhī*-s are presented in the Temple only by order of and on behalf of the Raja of Puri and the presentation symbolises that the person concerned has been admitted to the group of the Temple Sevakas. All regular Sevakas have to undergo the ceremony of *Sāḍhī-bandhana* at the hands of the Rājā or his representative before they could discharge their duties in the Temple. Since the Daitas are not considered to be the regular functionaries of the Temple, only those of them who take part in the Navakalevara are presented *Sāḍhīs* which means that they have been authorised by the Rājā, the foremost Sevaka of the Temple and the representative of Jagannātha on earth at the same time (*calantī Viṣṇu*, L. Panda [1954] Pt. I, ch. 5, H. Kulke 1974c p. 75ff.) to perform the proposed work.

[26] Deula Karaṇa is the 'accountant' of the Temple and keeps record of the expenditure etc. involved in the ceremony. He also has the full list of the articles required in the ceremony and seest to it that nothing is left out. He is also entrusted with the task of keeping a record of all importan events connected with the Temple and hence maintains a register which is known as *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*.

Karaṇa[27] and the Beharaṇa Khunṭiā.[28] The Pāḍiyā Karaṇa,[29] the four Viśvakarmā-s (i.e. carpenters) and the Leṅkā[30] are thereupon presented the "*Śilpi-sāḍhīs*" made of cotton.[31] The three Karaṇas (accountants), four carpenters, Leṅkā, the twentyone Daitas and the Pati Mahāpātra thus constitute the nucleus of the group going in search of the Dāru. The rest of the party consists of the Brahmins required for performing the fire sacrifice as well as the persons like police constables and the like for discharging various worldly functions.

The whole party[32] then comes out of the Temple to the accompaniment of the music of conches, trumpets, drums and gongs etc. and proceed to the palace of the Rājā of Puri situated on the main road[33] leading from the Temple to the Guṇḍīcā-ghara. The Rājā comes out to greet the party and offers two metallic plates consisting of auspicious articles like coconuts, areca nuts, some pieces of gold, coloured thread and unbroken rice etc. to his Rājaguru, of which the Rājaguru presents one to Viśvāvasu or Daita Pati—the leader of the Daitas and keeps the other for himself as the representative of the Brahmin members of the party. The offering of these articles to the party has two symbolical meanings. On the one hand it represents the request of the king unto the party to go in search of the Dāru and at the same time the auspicious articles presented to the party are meant to ward off all evil in its undertaking.

The party, together with the Rājaguru, then retreats to a nearby monastry (*maṭha*) known as "Jagannātha-vallabha" Maṭha, a place which is associated with such illustrious personalities as Viṣṇusvāmin, Rai Rāmānanda and Caitanya and which plays a key role in many of the annual festivals of the Jagannātha Temple.[34] There they stay for one or two days to make the final preparations for their expedition.

[27] The Taḍhāu Karaṇa is responsible for the proper observance of the different rites involved in a particular ceremony (called, in general, the *Nītī*) in accordance with the tradition and also sees to it that only the right Sevakas are allowed to perform the various acts or rites of a ceremony. He also maintains a *Mādalā Pāñjī* in his house.

[28] Beharaṇa, Khunṭiā, functions and duties not known.

[29] Pāḍiya Karaṇa, function and duty not clear.

[30] A Temple servant who has the function of carrying the discus of Viṣṇu fixed on a long wooden staff.

[31] Cf. *The Record of Rights*, II, p. 64

[32] According to my informants, the *Taḍhāu Karaṇa, Paḍiya Karaṇa* and the *Beharaṇa Khunṭiā* do not proceed to the forest. They remain in the Temple to discharge their duties there. They are presented the *Sāḍhīs* because they have important roles to play after the Dārus arrive in the Temple. The *Record of Rights*, II, however, does not mention this fact.

[33] The palace of the Rājā of Puri stands at this place for about a hundred years only. Before that the palace was in Bālī Sāhī at the spot now known as *Puraṇā Nahara* (=*nagara*= palace). Ruins of this old palace built in the 17th century can still be seen at the said place. It is not known whether the Vanayāga party in those days proceeded to this palace or the Rājā received the party at some other place.

[34] Cf. *Sundarānanda*, V. (1951) pp. 225-233. Kṛṣṇadāsa mentions in his *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* (II.6) that Caitanya stayed in the Jagannātha Vallabha Maṭha for 9 days during the Car Festival of Lord Jagannātha when He was at Guṇḍīcā.

Four more learned Brahmins who later carry out the functions of the Brahmā, Caruhotā, Samiddhotā and the Pratinidhi (of the King as Yajamāna), are, for example, invited to join the party and the rest of the required articles collected.

In an early morning[35] the whole party then sets out to Kākaṭapur, a place some 50 Kms away from Puri and famous for the temple of goddess Maṅgalā, situated on the bank of the river Prācī. There is a dense forest containing mostly Nīma trees —which alone are used to fashion the images of Jagannātha etc.[36]—at a distance of some 6 Kms from the town of Kākaṭapur. This place, therefore, remains—so to say— the headquarter of the party from where they undertake different expeditions in search of the Dāru for the Deities and come back in the evening to Kākaṭapur. In Kākaṭapur the party stays in the compound of a small monastry called Deuli (or, Siddha Deuli) Maṭha belonging to the Ramānujīya Vaiṣṇavas and maintained by the Emār Maṭha of Puri.[37] The Maṭha has a very unpretentious character and it is presently almost in a delapidated condition. But it has a specious garden. The party sleeps in open under the shade of the trees.

35 The overnight stay of the Vanayāga party in this Maṭha, however, does not seem to have any religious significance It seems that the party does not immediately set out for Kākaṭapur which is situated at a distance of some 12 hours foot journey from Puri in order to avoid travelling at night. It starts next day early in the morning in order to reach Kākaṭapur well before dusk. The stay in Jagannatha Vallabha Matha is extended for one more day if the preparations for the journey are not yet complete.

36 *Nīma* (Melia Azadirachta) is a tree with very bitter and pungent juice. Its twigs are generally used by the Indians to clean their teeth in the morning. It is a mystery why in spite of the best teak wood (e.g. *śāla*) available in plenty in the forests of Orissa, this soft wood of Nīma is used to construct the images of Jagannātha. The *Vaikhanasa Āgama* of Marīci does not mention Nīma in the list of the trees out of which divine images are fashioned (cf. Paṭala 17., p. 78f.: "*khadirāsanatimiśamīcandanacampakamadhūkajātivṛkṣāś ca anye snigdhāḥ sārāḥ śubhavṛkṣāś ca . . . saṃgrāhyāḥ*"). Varāhamihira, however, enumerates Nīma among the trees which could be used to fashion images for the use of Kṣatriya caste ("*kṣatrasyāriṣṭāśvatthakhadirabilva vivṛddhikarāḥ*, *Bṛhatsaṃhita* 59.5cd) and according to *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* Nīma counts among those trees which could be worshipped by all classes alike: (*nimbādyāḥ sarvavṛkṣāṇām vṛkṣāḥ sādhāraṇāḥ smṛtāḥ*/Adhy. 131.6). Is this perhaps the reason why Nīma has been accepted to supply the perishable body of the Deities? We do not know. To me two facts seem to have decisively contributed to the choice and preference of Nīma: first that it is available very frequently everywhere, not only in the forests but also in the agricultural fields and in the villages and second, that because of the antiseptic and bitter character of its juice, it is normally not attacked by worms and white ants etc.

37 Our personal enquiries with the incumbents of this monastry revealed that the custom of residing in this Maṭha is not very old. It started most probably in 1912. During all Navakalevaras previous to this year, the party used to stay in the temple of Maṅgalā itself. But due to some alterations and additions etc. in the beginning of this century, the temple compound did not remain spacious enough to accommodate the party. *Shyāmasundar Khuntiā*, 1969, p. 13, narrates a story to explain why the party stays in the Deuli Maṭha and not in the temple. According to this story the temple of Maṅgalā was originally situated at the place where now the Deuli Maṭha stands. Once during heavy floods the statue was washed away and was found at the spot where the present temple stands. The old and abondoned temple of Maṅgalā was then transformed into a monastry. Honouring the old tradition, however, the party still takes shelter in the Deuli Maṭha and not in the present recent temple. Needlessto say that the story has no historical foundation at all.

Messengers are sent to the temple of Maṅgalā to announce the arrival of the Vanayātrā party from Puri. The priests of the goddess and others come forward in a procession to receive and welcome the party with music. The party brings the Mahāprasāda of Jagannātha and a garment for the goddess Maṅgalā (Plate 48) as a present of the Lord. The priests of Maṅgalā then perform the worship of the goddess and offer the garment and the Mahāprasāda to her. The Pūjā is an extensive one and it starts with the ceremonial bāth (*mārjanā*) of the deity. While the Pūjā is performed, the four Pandits accompanying the party and the Ācarya recite the Durgāsaptaśatī before the goddess. After the worship is over, the Mahāprasāda brought by the party and offered to the goddess is partaken of by the priests of Maṅgalā as well as the members of the Vanayātrā party.

Whereas the other members of the party return to their lodge (i. e. the Deuli Maṭha), the Ācarya, Brahmins and the Pati Mahāpātra remain in the temple of Maṅgalā and sleep there. It is believed that the goddess Maṅgalā tells the Pati Mahāpātra (or to the Ācarya, acc. to my informant K.C. Rajaguru) the exact location and appearance etc. of all the Dārus and the next day the Daitas are sent in the directions indicated by the goddess to spot the trees. To get the instructions from the goddess the Ācarya, the Rājaguru and the Pati Mahāpātra etc. mutter the so-called *Svapnāvatī* (or *Svapnamāṇavaka*) Mantra[38] for 108 times before going to bed. As an alternative, however, it is also allowed to utter the Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha[39] for equal number of times. If no instruction is received by the Pati Mahāpātra or the Ācarya for three days, an extensive worship of the goddess is again performed in which the statue is completely bedecked with flowers. The first flower falling down from the statue is taken to be indicating the direction in which the first Dāru could be found

[38] The *Svapnāvatī*, also called *Svapnamāṇavaka*-Mantra is as follows:

oṃ namaḥ sakalalokāya viṣṇave viśvāya viśvarūpāya
svapnādhipataye namaḥ/
ācakṣva devadeveśa prapanno'smi tavāntikam/
svapne kāryāṇi sarvāṇi hṛdisthānīha yāni me//
oṃ oṃ huṃ phaṭ viṣṇave svāhā/

This information I have got from the personal notes of K.C. Rājaguru which he prepared at the time of Navakalevara in 1969. The Mantra has not been specially composed for use in the ceremony of Navakalevara. It is an old Mantra which is found in some Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās as well. See, e.g., *Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā* (ed. by L.N. Bhaṭṭa, Tirupati 1972) III. 35ed 36ab where this Mantra occurs in the following form in the chapter dealing with *Dārusaṃgrahaṇa* (collection of *dāru*):

oṃ namaḥ sarvalokāya viṣṇave prabhaviṣṇave/
viśvāya viśvarūpāya svapnādhipataye namaḥ//

The word "*prabhavṣṇave*" is dropped [by mistake?] in the notes of K.C. Rājaguru.

[39] The Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha is the Ānuṣṭubha-Nṛsiṃha-Mantra which runs as follows:

ugraṃ vīram mahāviṣṇum jvalantam sarvatomukham/
nṛsiṃham bhīṣanaṃ bhadram mṛtyumṛtyum (v. l. *mṛtyor mṛtyum*) *namāmy aham//*

cf. *Nṛsiṃhatāpanīya Upaniṣad* (*pūrvā*), II. 3.5.

and the following three for the rest of the three Deities. During the last Navakalevara (1969), the party searched out all the Dārus within eight days.

The Dārus of the different Deities should not only have a certain form and a definite number of branches etc., but they should also be characterised by certain features which distinguish them from the other common trees. The following are the characteristics which are to be looked for in the Dāru of Jagannātha and even if the tree is endowed with any five of them,[40] it may be accepted as the Dāru for Jagannātha. These characteristics are:

> [*Note*: A complete list of all these features is found in none of the older texts or the books mentioned under footnote 21 above. The following list has been compiled from different sources which are mostly mentioned in brackets against each feature. Kindly refer to footnote 21 and the bibliography]

1. The colour of the tree should be dark (Miśra) or dark-red (i.e. *mañjiṣṭha*[41]).
2. The trunk must be straight, pleasant to look at [Miśra, MP(DK)] and should have a height of 7 to 12 cubits (Dash).
3. The trunk should have four main branches [MP(DK)].[42]
4. The tree should stand near a river or a pond (Khuntia) or on a crossing of three ways, or else be surrounded by three mountains (Miśra).
5. There should be a cremation ground near the tree (Dash, Khuntia).
6. There should be a temple dedicated to Śiva (!) in the neighbourhood of the tree (Khuntia).
7. There should be some hermitage not too far off from the tree (Dash).
8. The tree should be free from parasite plants and creepers [MP(DK)]
9. There should not be the nests of [carnivorous, acc. to some] birds on the tree [MP(DK), Miśra.] "no bird had ever perched over the tree" writes Dash].
10. The tree must not have been struck by lightning, nor partially broken before by storm etc. [MP(DK), Miśra].
11. There should be an anthill (*valmīka*) near the tree (Dash).
12. There should be at least a few snake-holes at the roots of tree or one could spot a few snakes creeping around in its vicinity (Dash, Khuntia, Miśra; acc. to Khuntia and Dash these snakes 'guard' the tree).

[40] According to a personal information of K.C. Rājaguru and not *twelve* as mentioned by A. Dash, 1969, p. 39.

[41] The original (i.e. the first) tree of Jagannātha is said to have been of *mañjiṣṭha* colour in the Skd. Pur., cf. *Pur. Māh.* Adhy. 18.7ab

mañjiṣṭhavarṇah sarvatra śaṅkhacākrāṅkitaḥ plavan|
snānaveśmasamīpe'sau dṛṣṭo'smabhiḥ paro'dbhutaḥ||

K.C. Mishra, 1969, p. 12 writes, however, that the tree should be of somewhat *black* colour.

[42] cf. *Pur. Māh.* (Skd. P.), Adhy. 18. śl. 21ab

tathā dadarśa tam vṛkṣam cakṣuḥ (! corrupt for *catuḥ*) *śākhaṃ caturbhujam|*
also the MP (DK), p. 173 (. . . *e vṛkṣa* . . *caturthaśākhā hoiba*)

13. The tree trunk should contain at least two of the signs of weapons of Viṣṇu, i.e. śaṅkha, cakra, etc.[43] (Dash, Khuntia, Miśra; please see also the photographs No. 12 and 13).
14. The tree should not stand alone but be surrounded preferably with the trees of Varuna, Sahada and Bilva (Khuntia). They should be away from a human settlement [MP(DK)], but should not stand in a swamp surrounded by marsh or mud (*ibid*)

For the Dāru of Balabhadra the following signs are to be looked for:[44a]

1. The bark of the tree should have 'white' (i.e. light brown) colour.
2. The tree should preferably have seven branches.
3. The upper branches and twigs etc. of the tree should form a canopy looking like the hood of a cobra.
4. The tree should bear the signs denoting plough and pestle, the weapons of Balarāma.

The Dāru of Subhadrā should have the following characteristics:[44b]

1. The bark of the tree should have a yellowish tinge.
2. It should have five branches.
3. It should bear the mark of a lotus flower with five petals.

Finally, the Dāru of Sudarśana should display the following features:[44c]

1. The bark of the tree should have a reddish tinge.
2. The tree should have three branches.
3. There should be a sign of Cakra (i.e. some lines looking like spokes) with a small depression in the middle.

Of these characteristics those of Jagannātha are sought about more strictly. The signs prescribed for other Deities are simply the colour of the image of that Deity and a sign symbolizing his or her weapon. It is said that the Dāru of Jagannātha collected for the Navakalevara of 1969 (see photographs No 9, 10 and 11) contained seven of the prescribed characteristics. It stood near a pond, not too far from a cremation ground and there was an anthill near its roots from which two cobras were seen coming out.

It is obvious that the wood which is to be worshipped later as a deity should have some extraordinary characteristics which may distinguish it from the other similar pieces of wood. Many of the desirable features of the Dāru of Jagannātha

[43] cf. *Pur. Māh.* (Skd. P.), Adhy. 18, śl. 7.
[44] a, b, c. A. Dash, 1969, p. 39.

are, however, of general nature and find mention in the older texts also dealing with the temple worship. Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira, e.g., also enjoins that the tree chosen for fashioning the image of a deity should not be illformed, should not have been smitten by lightning or have been (partially) broken in storm, nor previously cut for any purpose, nor destroyed by the elephants and must be free of beehives. It should also not be entwined with other creepers and should not have been fallen on ground or dried up by itself.[45]

In some points, however, there is a strong divergence of opinion between the older authorities and the practice followed in the Jagannātha Temple. Varāhamihira, for example, very clearly states further that one should *avoid* taking the trees "which stand on a cremation ground, in the neigbourhood of a temple, near an anthill, in a penance grove, at the confluence of rivers or which have been nurtured (by human beings) with water brought in pitchers."[46] It is strange that in the ritual of Jagannātha, the trees having these characteristics (except the last) are highly recommended.

The *Vimānārcanakalpa* of Marīci, an authoritative text of the Vaikhānasa Āgama also states that one should not go in for a tree for preparing the image of a deity "which has an anthill in its vicinity, which has serpents living in the roots, which stands in the neighbourhood of a cremation ground or a settlement of Cāṇḍālas and further which is laden with flowers or fruits, or which has been gnawed by the worms, has been partially destroyed by fire or a storm and which has many birds living on it".[47]

It will thus be seen that whereas the ancient authorities explicitly forbid the use of trees standing on cremation grounds, on road crossings, near ponds, having anthills nearby or snakes living in the roots etc. for fashioning the worshipable images, in the ritual of Jagannātha such trees are specially recommended to be selected for the icons of the deities. It is difficult to say whether the preference—or at least acceptence—of such trees which are otherwise considered ritually impure, points more towards the unorthodox origin of Jagannātha, i.e. to the fact that the statue (s) of Jagannātha (etc.) used originally to be fashioned irrespective of the canons laid down in the Brahmanic Śāstras (and these unorthodox elements were later retained to stress the exceptional and exclusive character of Jagannātha) or towards the strong influence of the Śaiva sect of the Pāśupatas (cf., e.g., the feature No. 6 of the Dāru of Jagannātha) who were very influential in Orissa in the 7th to

[45] *kubjānujātavallīnipīḍitā bajramārutopahatāḥ|*
svapatitahastinipiḍitāḥ śuṣkāgnipluṣṭamadhunilayāḥ|| 59.1

[46] *pitṛvanamārgasurālayavalmīkodyānatāpasāśramajāḥ|*
caityasaritsaṃgamasambhavāś ca ghaṭatoyasiktās ca|| 59.2
taravo varjayitavyāḥ . . .

[47] *puṣpaphalavistīrṇāḥ krimidaṣṭā jantuyutā agnidagdhā vātāhatā jīrṇāḥ sakoṭarās tvacāhīnā bhinnā anekapakṣinivāsā valmīkasaṃkaṭa sarpāvāsā devāyatanasthā śmaśānacāṇḍālāvāsasamīpasthā ayuktasthānasthāś ca agrāhyāḥ*/Adhy. 17, p. 78.

the 11th-12th centuries, a sect which is well-known to prefer such uncanny places as cremation grounds for its habitat.

Regarding the characteristics of the trees to be selected the *Vimānārcanakalpa* further states that a tree of which the lower portion is thick and the upper slender is a *strīvṛkṣa* (feminine tree), a tree thicker or wide above but thin below is a *pumvṛkṣa* (masculine tree) and a tree having the same girth throughout is a *napuṃsaka* (eunuch, of neuter gender) and that for preparing the divine images this fact should be taken into consideration, i.e. for carving the image of a god, a masculine tree should be used and of a goddess, a faminine tree etc. No such rule is, however, observed in the ritual of Jagannātha.

The order of selecting the trees for the four deities of the Jagannātha Temple is as follows:

1. Sudarśana
2. Balabhadra
3. Subhadrā
4. Jagannātha

The same order is followed in bringing the Dārus to the Temple and also for the ceremony of changing the life-substance of the Deities.

The search of the Dārus may last for a couple of weeks. The members of the party usually return to the Deuli Maṭha after having been out for the day. When, however, they are successful in tracing out the Dāru they are looking for, they build temporary shelters around the tree, perform the forest-sacrifice (*vanayāga*), cut down the tree and send it to Puri. With each Dāru a few Daitas (5 to 7) come back to the Temple so that the strength of the party is gradually reduced.

(*b*) *The ceremony af Vanayāga*

As soon as the Dāru is located, the Sudarśana Cakra, brought by the Leṅkā from the Temple (cf. footnote 30) is put up near the roots of the tree to ward off the evil. The place and the surroundings are cleared of the bushes, shrubs and thorns etc. The place is swept, besprinkled with water and possibly smeared with clay or cowdung etc.[48]

The Brahmins and the Ācārya make themselves ritually pure by taking a bath etc. and perform a small fire sacrifice under the tree in which 108 oblations of clarified butter are poured in the 'Vaiṣṇava'[49] fire with the Ānuṣṭubha-Mantra (the soc. 'Mantrarāja') of Nṛsiṃha.[50]

[48] cf. MP (DK), p. 169 "*se sthāna sama kuri se bhūmi jalare dhauta kari gomaya gheṇi lipibe. . . .*"

[49] The fire kindled with Vaiṣṇava Mantras while the Ācarya considers himself to be Viṣṇu and imagines the presence of Lakṣmī in the fire pit etc. The process is described in detail in the VYV (NV) pp. 10-14. See below pp. 244-45.

[50] On the religious efficacy of this Mantra cf. *Pur. Māh.* (Skd. P.) Adhy. 28.18-24.

The members of the Vanayāga party then circumambulate the tree to the accompaniment of loud music for seven times and sprinkle it with the sacrificial water in order to give it a ritual bath. The tree is then applied with sandal paste and vermilion etc. and one offers flowers to it. It is then wrapped with a piece of new cloth. Finally the Ājñāmālā of the Deity (brought from the main Temple) of whom it is going to assume the form, is placed on it by the Pati Mahāpātra thus symbolising the identity between the Deity and her Dāru.

After finishing this small worship of the tree, a Yajñaśālā (sacrificial pavilion) with a thatched roof is erected on the western side of the tree having a length and a breadth of 12 or 16 hastas (cubits).[51] The Śālā has to have four *toraṇas* (gateways) at the four cardinal points and they are to be constructed of the woods of Aśvattha (E), Udumbara (S), Plakṣa (W) and Vaṭa (N) respectively. A *vedī* (fire altar) six *hastas* square in size is then to be constructed in the Yajñaśālā and the length of the each side of the fire pit in the middle of the Vedi amounts to one *hasta.* A canopy (*vitāna* or *candrātapa*) is to be tied over the Vedi.

The next important rite is that of *aṅkurāropaṇa* or the sowing of some varieties of seeds for germination. The importance of this rite can be guessed by the very fact that it is almost invariably observed in connection with every significant religious ceremony[52] and only after the seeds have germinated, the main part of the religious ceremony may take place. For sowing the seeds a special rectangular bed[53] (in East-West direction) containing earth and cowdung etc. is prepared in the

[51] According to older manuscripts, however, the length of the one side of the Śālā amounts to 10 hastas (cf. *tatradaśahastamaṇḍapakaraṇam* . . . VYV (NV) and *daśahastaiḥ śālāṃ kārayitvā* . . . VYV(KP).

[52] cf. *dīkṣāyam abhiṣeke ca navaveśmapraveśane/*
utsaveṣu pratiṣṭhāsu kuryād aṅkuraropaṇam//
āsaptadinamārabhya pratiṣṭhādeḥ śubhe dine/
aṅkurāropaṇam kāryaṃ yathāvidhi śubhecchubhiḥ// —VYV(NV), 1-2

and further :

prāsādapūrtavanikāpratimāpratiṣṭhā
dīkṣābhiṣekanavadurgagṛhapraveśe/
anyesu cotsavadineṣu kilārthasiddhiḥ [=°ddhyai]
kāryo'ṅkurārpaṇavidhir bahumaṅgalo'yam// —VYV(KP), 6-7

[53] According the manuscripts of Vanayāgavidhi ascribed to Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, however, the seeds are not sown in a bed but in three different types of earthen utensils, namely : *pālikā*, *ghaṭikā* (with five mouths, *pañcamukhī*) and *śarāva*. Four pieces of each type of vessel are required and these are placed in the northern part of the śālā. The order of placement is: pālikās (towards the west), ghaṭikās (in the middle) and śarāvas (towards the east). These utensils are identified with Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva respectively (p. 3, 4). It may be noted here that the text describes an *Aṅkurāropaṇa* ceremony lasting for 12 days. It is not imaginable that the Vananyātrā party waits for 12 days near the tree to start with the main ceremony of cutting down the tree. It seems that the description of the *Aṅkurārodaṇavidhi* in this text has been taken over from some other work on Dharmaśāstra without adapting it to the requirement of the Aṅkurāropaṇavidhi as it is, or ought to be, observed for Vanayāga. Or should we postulate that the VYV(NV) has preserved a rite which is now lost in the course of the last centuries and that the Vanayāgavidhi for each Deity lasted really for 12 to 15 days in older times?

northern side of the Śālā and after the Brahmins have uttered the Svasti-[54] Ṛddhi-[55] and Puṇyāha-vācana-[56] Mantras, the seeds of barley (yava), paddy (śāli), wheat (godhūma), Sesamum (tila), white mustard (sarṣapa), green beans (mudga), black beans (māṣa) and black wild rice (śyāmāka) are washed with luke-warm water to the utterence of the *bījamantra* 'Vaṃ' (signifying ambrosia, as well as water) and are sown into the earth one by one beginning from the west to the east. Water mixed with the powder of turmeric and sandal paste etc. is then sprinkled on the seeds with the Mantra "*jitam te puṇḍarīkākṣa* . . . ."[57] Some drops of the holy water of the Ganges and a few drops 'charged' with the basic (i.e. Nṛsiṃha-) Mantra are also sprinkled on the seeds. The bed is then covered with a cloth uttering the Mantra "*jitaṃ te dakṣinato vṛṣabha eti havyah*. . . ."[58]

The Yajñaśālā also serves as the nocturnal shelter for the Ācārya, the Brahmins, the Pati Mahāpātra and the Daita Pati. For another Sevakas accompanying the party, especially for the Daitas, some temporary huts are erected towards the south of the tree. This cluster of huts is known as *Śabarapalli*—the settlement of the Saoras (Plate 11).

After the rite of Aṅkurāropaṇa the party takes food (haviṣyānna) and retires to take rest. It may be noted here that during the period of their total stay in the forest, the members of the party are allowed to take food only once a day, and that too a very frugal one consisting of some rice and a few vegetable currys.

The members of the party sleeping in the Yajñaśālā (i.e. the Ācārya etc.) mutter each the *Svapnamāṇavaka* (also called *Svapnāvatī-*) Mantra (*vide* the footnote 38 above) for 108 times before going to bed. In this Mantra the persons entrusted with taking the final decision about the Dāru of Jagannātha etc., request Viṣṇu as the Lord of the dreams, to tell them in the dream by means of good or ill omens or signs whether the Dāru chosen by them is acceptable to him or not. They conclude the muttering of the Mantra by expressing a request to Hari and Lakṣmī in the following words: "O Hari (or, O Mahālakṣmī) let there be a manifestation of the auspicious (or inauspicious) character [of this our enterprise] in the dream."[59]

According to the *Mādalā Pāñjī* of the Deula Karaṇa, the next morning after finishing the obligatory daily rites, the members of the party sit together on the west of the tree on a mat of the Kuśa grass and after paying reverence to and seeking the permission of Lakṣmī and Nṛsiṃha they first discuss the auspicious or inauspicious

[54] i.e. *svasti na indro vṛddhaśravāḥ* . . . (RV I.89.6)

[55] i.e. *ṛddhāḥ karmaṇy anapāyino yathā san* . . . (VS, Kaṇva, II.5.8)

[56] i.e. *punas tvāditya rudrā vasavaḥ samindhatām* . . . (VS 12.44)

[57] *jitaṃ te puṇḍarīkākṣa jitam te viśvabhāvana|*
jitam te'stu hṛṣīkeśa mahāpuruṣa pūrvaja||

[58] Reference not traceable. As the next line of this verse (?) as quoted in the text, runs as follows: *indro jayā adhirāja'yaja surā jayāti*", can it be a corruption for AV VI, 98.1 (*iendro jayati na parā jayāti* . . .)?

[59] "*hare* [or, *mahalakṣmi*] *tvatprasādat svapne śubhābhivyaktirastu*".

character of the dreams which they have had the last night.[60]

The text of the *Vanayāgavidhi* (NV) gives a description of the objects which when dreamt of, are to be taken as auspicious signs foretelling all success in the enterprise. If, for example, one sees the (a?) tree laden with flowers and fruits or set ablaze and surrounded with fire without any smoke, it is a good sign and so on.[61]

The forest sacrifice near the tree lasts generally three days, i.e. the party passes two nights at the place. The manuscript of the *Banajāgabhidhira Sūcanā* mentions that the *Svapnamāṇavaka-Mantra* is uttered on both of these nights whereas the *Vanayāgavidhi* (NV) prescribes the speaking out of this Mantra only in the second night, i.e. in the night just preceding the final act of cutting down the tree. To me the *Vanayāgavidhi* (NV) seems to represent the older tradition more faithfully.

Let us pause here for a moment and ask the question, what is, after all, the necessity of uttering the *Svapnamāṇavaka Mantrā* in the temple of Maṅgalā? I think that the very character of the Mantra shows that it is uttered to find out in the dream, on the basis of some auspicious or inauspicious omens, whether the choice of the party regarding the Dāru of the Deity is correct or not. The Mantra is addressed to Viṣṇu and not to the goddess Maṅgalā. Nowhere in this Mantra the devotee asks Viṣṇu to lead him to the tree which should bear the characteristic marks of a *brahmadāru*. And if for three nights the party fails to get any instruction from Maṅgalā, it has to interpret the flowers falling down from the image of the Goddess as a sign of the direction in which to proceed! All this shows that the incorporation of the goddess Maṅgalā is a much later trait in the ceremony of Navakalevara. It seems that the party looking for Dāru usually came to Kākaṭapur and stayed, for the sake of convenience, in the temple of Maṅgalā to find out a suitable tree in the forest of the Nīma trees situated nearby.[62] The goddess Maṅgalā herself, however, had originally no

[60] *lakṣmīnṛsiṃhaṃku āgyā māgi vṛkṣapaśeimapākhe kuśa-śayyā kari basi saṃyata hoi svapnara śubhāśubha bicāribe . . .* —MP (DK), p. 171 of the paper transcript

[61] *yadā saṃpaśyate vṛkṣam jvalantam dhūmavarjitam|*
phalitam puṣpitam caiva tadā siddhir na dūrataḥ||
prajvalantīṃ śilām paśyet śriyā eādhiṣṭhitām śubhām|
brāhmaṇādhiṣṭhitām vāpi sā sadā sarvakāmadā||
śriya juṣṭam prajvalantam atha paśyati parvatam|
tataḥ pravṛttam śikharaṃ kāñcanadrumamaṇḍitam||
yuktam śailodbhavair vṛksaiḥ phalapuṣpasamanvitaiḥ|
evaṃvidhe . . . svapne pratimā śobhanā tathā||
śilāṃ cet paśyati svapne prajvalantīm adhisthitām|
devatādvijagoliṅgaiḥ śubhadravyair anekadhā|
tadā grāhyam vanam śailam evam paśyati ced guruḥ|| —VYV (NV), p. 19-20

[62] The MP (DK), p. 169 mentions that the Dāru for Jagannātha etc. is to be brought either from the East or the North or the intermediate direction (*iśānakoṇa*, NE) of the Jagannātha Temple. One proceeds first in the direction in which it is auspicious to go on the day of journey on the basis of the astrological considerations. Kākaṭapur lies in the NE (rather NEE) direction of Puri. It seems to have been a favourite place for collecting the Dāru since long time because of the availability of plenty of Nīma trees here and also because of the sanctity attached to this region due to the holy river Prācī. This seems to have led to the injunction mentioned in the

role to play in the ceremony of Navakalevara. This is corroborated by the fact that the *Vanayāgavidhi* ascribed to Narasiṃha Vājapeyin giving detailed account of every rite of Vanayāga, does not mention Maṅgalā at all! She, however, finds mention in the *Vanayāgavidhi* collected from Kendrapāḍā which has been composed in the last century (see above, p. 231).[63]

In view of its ritualistic importance, the second day of the Vanayāga is the most important one. After finishing the daily purificatory rites, the Brahmins with Ācarya at their head draw a big *Sarvatobhadra* Maṇḍala (diagram) in the NE corner of the Śālā. On it is placed a water pitcher in which Nṛsiṃha is invoked and worshipped. Another diagram is drawn similarly for Durgā in the west of the Śālā with a water pitcher on it and in the water of the pitcher Durgā is invoked and offered worship. A pitcher for Varuṇa is placed in the southern part of the Śālā. Another 32 pitchers are placed on the different spots of Yajñaśālā to worship various Hinduistic deities (e.g., the ten Dikpālas, Gaṇeśa, Kālī, Sarasvātī, Bhairava, Kṣetrapāla, the eight Vasus, Nāgas, Nāginīs).

The axes made of gold, silver and iron respectively and later used in cutting the tree, are kept in the NW direction of the Śālā on a piece of cloth which is spread on a eight-petalled lotus. The axes are smeared with sandal paste, vermilion etc. and flowers are scattered on them.

The sacrifice starts with the Ācarya offering worship to Varuṇa in the pitcher

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MP. The VYV (KP) also mentions the fact that the Dāru for Jagannātha etc. is to be collected either in the North or in the East of the Jagannātha Temple: either in the Viraja Kṣetra near Vaitaraṇī river (North) or in the vicinity of the Prācī river (in the East). The following is the text of the verse (composed in rather bad Sanskrit):

pūrvottare nīlādrau ca prācī vaitaraṇī nadī/
sandhānaṃ nṛpadūtena evaṃ ca virajamaṇḍale//

--Folio 2 (p. 3)

The collection of Dāru in the East or North has become such a strong convention in the cult of Jagannātha that the MP (DK) prescribes that if the Dāru is, for example, found in the West of the Temple, it should first be taken to the East or North of the Temple and from there brought back to the Temple! (cf. p. 172f. of the Paper Transcript).

63 *vide* p. 3 of the paper transcript of VYV (KP):

sthāne sthāne sthitāḥ sarve praveśam maṅgalālaya/
pūjāhomādikaṃ kṛtvā maṅgalādevīm arcayet//
anujñaṃ prārthaye (d) devīm dārusāṅketasatvaram/
naradehe prasannām vā saṃveśe vācajñānakam//
ājñām kṛtvā mahāmāye dāru yasya pramāṇakam

(the text is in corrupt Sanskrit)

Most probably the words '*naradehe prasannāṃ vā saṃveśe vācajñānakam*' means that the goddess (Maṅgalā) should manifest her will through the words of a man who gets possessed by her (*saṃveṣe*, in the condition of being possessed). It is not improbable that in former times the will of Maṅgalā was expressed through some priest falling in trance. There are still hundreds of Devī temples in Orissa in which the priests regularly get possessed by the deity and the Devī is then worshipped as present in the body of this person. On such occasions the Devī also expresses her wish through her medium (See Eschmann; chapter 4).

envisaged for him. The Ācārya then asks the Brahmins to utter the *svasti-*, *ṛddhi-* and *puṇyāha-* mantras as usual[64] and formally selects the *Pratinidhi* (of the Yajamāna), the Brahmā, the Caruhotā, the Samiddhotā and the four Dvārin-s. The last named persons are four Brahmins belonging to the four Vedas who are usually invited from the nearby villages. They sit at the four gateways of the Yajñaśālā and recite the Mantras from their respective Vedas while the sacrifice is going on in the Śālā.

The representative of the Yajamāna (i.e. the king) offers some (uncooked) food by way of [*Nāndīmukha-*] *śrāddha* to the devotees of Viṣṇu. The Ācārya then worships Nṛsiṃha, Durgā, the Dikpālas and other minor deities in the jars meant for them and offers *bali* to the ten Dikpālas and the Bhūtas outside the Maṇḍapa by invoking them with appropriate Mantras for which the reader is referred to the work *Pratiṣṭhāpaṭala*.[65] The offering (bali) contains meat,[66] turmeric powder, puffed rice, curd, barley flour and black beans etc.

The Ācārya then thinks of himself as Viṣṇu (with the help of the '*Nyāsas*' etc.[67]) goes to the tree, imagines that he is now surrounded by a moat of fire and sprinkles a few drops of water on the tree meditating upon Sudarśana and uttering the Sudarśana-Mantra.[68] He offers flowers to the tree and worships it as it were an image of Viṣṇu Himself.

He then proceeds to the axes placed on a piece of cloth in the NW corner of the Śālā and adores them with *gandha* (sandal paste) and *puṣpa* etc.

Sitting in front of the Vedī he now kindles or generates the so-called *Vaiṣṇavāgni*. The fire can be produced by striking two stones together, by rubbing two fire-woods (*araṇi*) or it is brought from the house of a Vedic Brahmin (*śrotriya*) who carefully maintains it.[69]

The process of 'Viṣṇuising' the Agni is a detailed one. The Ācārya first draws some lines in the fire pit, then lays some straw or blades of Kuśa grass in it signifying

[64] See above the footnotes 54, 55 and 56.

[65] It has unfortunately not been possible for me to establish the identity of this work nor to trace a copy of it in Orissa. This reference obviously is very important for ascertaining the date of the composition of the text of VYV(NV).

[66] This article (meat) is mentioned only in the *Vanayāgavidhi* ascribed to Narasiṃha Vājapeyin. In the *Vanayāgavidhi* of Kendrapāḍa as well as in MP (DK) etc. it is totally absent.

[67] See details in ch. 15 "The daily Pūjā ceremony of the Jagannātha Temple etc." by the author.

[68] The *dhyāna* of Sudarśana described in the text in this context is as follows:

oṃ sudarśana mahāteja harer dakṣakare sthita/
surāsuraparīhāra kṛtavirya namo'stu te//

and the Mantra:

oṃ sudarśana mahācakrarāja phaṭ phaṭ sarvaduṣṭa-
bhayam chindhi chindhi vidāraya vidāraya paraman-
trān grasa grasa bhakṣa bhakṣa huṃ phaṭ cakrāya
namaḥ/ vide VYV (NV), p. 9.

[69] "*sūryakāntāraṇibhavaśrotriyagṛhabhavagner ānayanam.* , ."

—VYV (NV), p. 10.

a bed. Now he contemplates that the goddess Lakṣmī is lying on this bed (in the fire-pit). He imagines himself as Viṣṇu and lays the fire which has been kept either in a copper or an earthen vessel, into the pit. The fire is obviously considered to be identical with the semen of Viṣṇu. With several oblations of *ghee* and *samidh-s* etc. offered mostly to the accompaniment of the basic Mantra (i.e. the *Ānuṣṭubha-Nṛsiṃha*);[70] the fire-child is made to grow and all the *saṃskāras* up to *vivāha* (marriage) are performed on him with the different parts of the Mūlamantra and finally he is worshipped with five Upacāras.

Agni now has grown into a mature adult ready to accept the offerings of the Ācārya. The presiding deity of the sacrifice is Nṛsiṃha. Except the first nine Āhutis which are offered to the Vedic gods (Vāyu, Sūrya, Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya, Agni-Vāyu, Agni-Varuṇa, Agni, Varuṇa-Savitṛ-Viṣṇu-Viśvedevāḥ-Maruts, Varuṇa, Prajāpati) with Ṛgvedic Mantras, all other oblations dropped in the fire are meant for Nṛsiṃha followed by a few for the Deity for whose image the tree is going to be cut. Meditating upon Narasiṃha with Lakṣmī in his lap and the serpent Śeṣa forming an umbrella with its hoods over his head,[71] the Ācārya, accompanied by the Caruhotā and the Samiddhotā etc., first offers 308 oblations into the fire uttering the long *Pātāla-Nṛsiṃha-Mantra*.[72] Thereafter 1,000 oblations are offered in the fire to Nṛsiṃha with his Mantrarāja, the basic (mūla) Mantra of the ceremony of Navakalevara (*vide* Note 39). Towards the end either 54 or 103 oblations (depending upon the *caru* left!) are offered in the fire uttering the Mantra of the Deity for whom the tree is meant. A few of the Āhutis are also offered (one each) for the Pārśvadevatās of the Deity, the gods worshipped on the door jamb of the Temple (Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Navagrahas etc.) and for the gods represented with the pitchers in the Yajñaśālā. The final Āhuti (*pūrṇāhuti*) is, however, to be carried out with the Pātāla-Nṛsiṃha-Mantra. If all these oblations cannot be finished on this second day of Vanayāga, the *homa* is resumed on the third day and the rest of the oblations offered in the sacrificial fire (see Plate 14 for this rite).

The four Jāpakas sitting at the four doorways of the Maṇḍapa and reciting the Vedic Mantras, also offer a small fire sacrifice in the evening on a small platform

70 For the Ānuṣṭubha-Nṛsiṃha-Mantra or the soc. ' Mantrarāja" cf. above the Note 39.

71 The meditational verse for [Lakṣmī-] Nṛsiṃha is as follows:

satyajñānasukhasvarūpamamalaṃ kṣīrābdhimadhyasthitam
yogārūḍhamatiprasannavadanam bhūṣāsahasrojjvalam/
tryakṣam cakrapinākasābhayavarān vibhrāṇamarkacchavim
chatrībhūtaphaṇīndramindudhavalaṃ lakṣmīnṛsiṃham bhaje// --VYV (NV) p. 14

72 The Pātāla-Nṛsiṃha-Mantra is in prose and is one of the longest Mantras of the Āgamas. A part of it is quoted below to give the reader an idea of the nature of the Mantra:

oṃ namo bhagavate nṛsiṃhāya pradīptasūryakoṭisahasrasamatejase vajranakhāya daṃṣṭrāyudhāya sphuṭavikaṭavikīrṇakesarasaṭāya kṣubhitamahārṇavāmbhodadundubhinirghoṣāya sarvamantrottāraṇāya ehy ehi bhagavan narasiṃharūpa puruṣa parāpara parabrahmasattvena sphura sphura vijṛmbha vijṛmbha ākrama ākrama garja garja muñca muñca siṃhanādan(°dān or °dena) vidrāvaya vidrāvaya āveśaya āveśaya sarvamantrarūpaṇi sarvayantrajātīś ca hana hana chindhi chindhi saṃkṣipa saṃkṣipa dara dara dāraya dāraya sphuṭa sphuṭa sphoṭaya sphoṭaya jvāla-mālām saṃghātaya sarvato'nantajvāla. . . etc.

(*sthaṇḍila*), a few inches in height and made of sand, on which they put small twigs and kindle fire.

In case all the Āhutis are finished by the evening of the second day, the Brahmins, Ācarya, Pati Mahāpātra and the Daita Pati, all circumambulate the sacrificial fire seven times and offer it each a handful of flowers (puṣpāñjali).

All the members of the party then come to the tree and sprinkle it with the holy water and the ghee of the sacrifice (*sampātājya*). They offer worship to the *Bhūtas* (spirits) living on or in the tree with five Upacāras[73] and present them lumps made of white gourd, ginger, turmeric, curd, barley flour (*saktu*) and black beans, all crushed and mixed together, as *naivedya* (food-offerings). These balls or lumps are placed in all the ten directions around the tree and also at its roots. The Ācarya and Vidyāpati then request Viṣṇu to give orders to the spirits to leave the tree ("*deva, ājñāpaya ito gacchantu bhūtani iti*") and while offering the *bali* or *naivedya* to the spirits, speak out the following prayer unto the spirits: "The spirits which reside here, the Yātudhānas, Guhyakas and the Siddhas etc., all of them I offer worship and beg pardon of them. We have undertaken this journey (? *yātrā*, better 'religious ceremony'?) at the behest of Keśava to find out [a suitable tree for fashioning] the image of Viṣṇu. Our enterprise is in the interest of Viṣṇu Himself (lit. "whatever is the task of [=for] Viṣṇu, is also our task"). Be pleased in every respect with these our offerings and go away quickly leaving this place."[74]

After offering this Bali the members of the party take the rest of the sacrificial *caru* (made of semi-boiled barley, rice and sesamum & c.). They are not allowed to take anything thereafter and the next day i.e. (the day on which the tree is cut) they have to abstain from taking even a drop of water till the tree has been felled.

Before retiring to bed, the Ācarya, the Vidyāpati (i.e. Pati Mahāpātra) and the Viśvāvasu (i.e. the Daita Pati) utter the *Svapnamāṇavaka* (or Svapnāvatī) Mantra in order to ascertain in the dream that their choice of the Dāru has been a correct one and that it would be acceptable to the Deity.[75]

In the morning of the third day after finishing the daily purificatory rites the Brahmins etc. offer water (*arghya*) to the Sungod and worship the door attendants

[73] i.e. *gandha* (sandal paste), *puṣpa*, (flowers), *dhūpa* (incense), *dīpa* (lustration) and *naivedya* (food).

[74] *atra ye saṃsthitā sattvā yātudhānāś ca guhyakāḥ/*
siddhadāyo vā ye cānye tān sampūjya kṣamāpaye//
viṣṇubimbārtham asmākaṃ yātrāiṣa keśavājñayā/
viṣṇvartham yad bhavet kāryam asmākam api tad bhavet//
anena balidānena prītā bhajatha (bhavata?) sarvathā/
kṣemeṇa gacchatānyatra muktvā sthānam idam tvarāt//

VYV (NV), p.18.

[75] As already noted above (p. 242-43), the night previous to the day of cutting the tree is the only correct occasion to speak out the Mantra. The oldest treatise on Vanayāga which we possess, prescribes the utterance of the Mantra only for this night. The Oriya manuscripts of the *Banajāgabidhira Sūcanā* mentions, however, that it is to be uttered on the both the nights while the Vanayāga is in progress and now-a-days the Mantra is uttered in the Temple of Maṅgalā - where it has nothing to do—for the first three nights.

etc. of Viṣṇu. In addition to this they briefly worship all the 35 gods for whom the water pitchers have been put up in the Yajñaśālā by invoking them in their respective pitchers.

If the required number of oblations with the Nṛsiṃha- and the Devatā-Mantra etc. could not have been performed the previous day due to shortage of time, the *homa* is resumed and the rest of the *caru* as well as the Samidhās etc. are dropped in the sacrificial fire and the Pūrṇāhuti, circumambulation of the fire etc., take place on the morning of the third day.

After finishing the *homa* the Ācārya etc., charge their bodies with the different parts of the Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha (the rite is known as *mantrāṅganyāsa*) and muttering this Mantra they proceed towards the tree. There they utter the words: *Viṣṇo tvadbimbārtham dāru gṛhṇāmi* (i.e., O Viṣṇu, I am taking the *dāru* for the construction of your image). The Ācārya worships the tree with several Upacāras (sandal paste, flowers etc.) uttering thereby the soc. *Vanaspati-Mantra*, i.e., *ārāt te'gnir astu ārāt paraśur astu te/ nivāte tvabhivarṣatu / svasti te'stu vanaspate / svasti me'stu vanaspate//*[76]. With this Mantra 108 Āhutis of milkrice are dropped in the sacrificial fire at the roots of the tree. After Pūrṇāhuti the Ācārya, Brahmins and the Śilpins (i.e., carpenters) etc receive their *dakṣiṇā* in form of clothes and golden ornaments etc.

The three axes which are kept in the NW corner of the Yajñaśālā are then worshipped with the Astra-Mantra which runs as follows: *Oṃ namo bhagavate mahāsudarśanāya mahācakrāya mahājvālāya dīptarūpāya sarvato rakṣa rakṣa svāhā.* These axes are then brought outside.

The tree is smeared with the ashes taken from the sacrificial altar and is sprinkled with the drops of holy water and the clarified butter (*sampātājya*) remaining from the fire sacrifice carried out just now. Speaking the Sudarśana-Mantra[77] one then draws with the help of Kuśa grass dipped in the sandal paste, the figures of a man whose head is downwards and the feet above.[78] The Ācārya and Vidyāpati etc.

76 Taken from the Āpastambīya Gṛhyasūtra III.9.3; Cf. also *Āpast. Mantrapāṭha* ed. by Winternitz, Oxford 1897, I.13.7.

77 *oṃ sudarśana mahācakra phaṭ phaṭ sarvaduṣṭabhayaṃ chindhi chindhi vidāraya vidāraya paramantrān grasa grasa bhakṣa bhakṣa grāsaya grāsaya huṃ huṃ phaṭ/*
—VYV(NV) p. 22.

78 The drawing of a figure of a human being upside down is mentioned only in the 'Oriya' tradition, i.e. in MP (DK) p. 171 and in *Banajāgabidhira Sūcanā* p. 4, whereas the Vanayāgavidhi (NV) refers only to the 'scratching' (?) of (the bark of ?) the tree with a blade of Kuśa grass ("*tanmantreṇa darbhaiḥ Kuśollekhanam. . .*" p. 22). The exact wordings of the Oriya manuscript of the *Sūcanā* are: *astramantra re kuśa dvārā candanare goṭie mūrti aṅkana karibe/ sehi mūrtiṭi goṭie manuṣya ākṛti hoi tāhāra muṇḍa taḷaku hebo goḍa uparaku hebo/* p. 4. It is not clear whether this figure is drawn only for some ritualistic purpose or to mark the portions of the Dāru with which later the head and the feet etc. of the deity are to be carved out. If this be so, it would be totally against not only the practice of the orthodox Āgamic texts which lay stress on the fact that from the lower portion of the tree stem the lower part of the image is to be made and from the upper, the upper part. That is why it is necessary to mark the upper and the lower ends of the tree before it is cut down (cf. *yathocitam chitvā ūrdhvabhāgam mukhaṃ pārśvādi ca aṅkayet . . . Vimānārcanakalpa* of

then touch the tree with the *Nārāyaṇa Mantra* (*tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam* . . . RV I.22.20), the *Viṣṇu Mantra* (*idam viṣṇur vicakrame* . . . RV I.22. 7) and the *Vāsudeva Mantra oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*) respectively and cover it with a piece of white cloth. The Pātāla-Nṛsiṃha-Mantra is then uttered in order to 'protect' the tree. The tree is then offered an extensive worship, so as if it were already the image of Viṣṇu.

Once more the *Bhūtas* (spirits) are beseached to leave the place. A white gourd is then brought to the tree which represents a 'sacrificial animal'. Four sticks are stuck into this gourd in order to represent the 'legs' of the 'sacrificial animal' and it is put on these 'legs'. With a small sword (? *Kaṭuri* in Oriya) charged with the Khaḍga-Mantra this gourd is cut into two halves. The whole gourd is then chopped into pieces. These pieces are smashed, mixed with the ingredients like turmeric powder, black beans, fried rice and barley flour etc. and, placed on plantain leaves offered to the ten Dikpalas as well as to the Bhūtas at the roots of the tree.

Sesamum seeds and gold etc. are then presented to the Brahmins and the Ācarya finally announces to Viṣṇu that he his now going to 'take' (i.e. to cut down) the tree for Him. He mutters the Mantrarāja and thinks of himself as Viṣṇu. The carpenters he takes for Viśvakarman, the divine architect.

He first takes the golden axe in his hand uttering the Sudarśana-Mantra (*vide*: note 77) offers sandal paste and flower to it (i.e. the axe). With the same Mantra he applies clarified butter and honey to the axe[79] and hands it over to Vidyāpati or Pati Mahāpātra. Pati Mahāpātra moves around the tree clockwise uttering the Mantrarāja and gives a few symbolic strokes to the tree with his golden axe (which then goes over to his possession). All the Brahmins present there chant the Vedic hymns, especially the Viṣṇusūkta (RV I. 22) at this time and all the available musical instruments are played upon.

The Ācarya then similarly charges the silver axe with the Sudarśana Mantra and hands it over to Viśvāvasu or the Daita Pati who strikes the tree at its lower part

Marīci, p.79). also such a great authority on Śilpaśāstra as Varāhamihira clearly states in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* that the wooden statue of the deity should stand in the same manner as the tree stood in the forest; the upper and the lower portions of the tree trunk, therefore, should clearly be marked before cutting down the tree:

liṅgam vā pratimā vā drumavat sthāpyā yathādiśam yasmāt|
tasmāc cihanyitavayā diśo drumaśyordhvam athavādhaḥ|| —59.7

The Hindi commentary of the Chowkhambha edition of *Bṛhatsaṃhita* commenting on this śloka quotes a verse ascribed to Kaśyapa which corroborates the view of Varāhamihira:

vṛkṣavat pratimā kāryā prāgbhāgādy upalakṣita|
pādāḥ pādeṣu kartavyāḥ śīrṣam urdhve tu kārayet||

[79] The application of honey and ghee to the axe before it is used to cut the tree has also been referred to in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (Adhy. 59., śl. 12):

vṛkṣam prabhāte salilena siktvā
pūrvottarasyām diśi sannikṛtya|
madhvājyadigdhena kuṭhārakeṇa
pradakṣiṇam śeṣam ato nihanyāt||

while going around and uttering the Mantrarāja as before. He is also allowed to keep the silver axe for himself.

Finally the Ācarya hands over the iron axe (or axes) to the Viśvakarmans (called Mahārāṇā, the carpenters) having charged it with Sudarśana-Mantra and it is they who actually cut down the tree by uttering the names of Hari (no Mantras!) and saying devotional prayers, to the accompaniment of loud music and to the overwhelming joy of all present[80] (Plate 15).

The tree should fall only in the eastern, northern or the north-eastern direction. Falling in other directions is considered to be inauspicious[81] (Plate 16).

Only the trunk of the tree is required for fashioning the images. A log some five *hastas* (i.e. 2.5 metres) in length[82] is cut out from the tree trunk and the rest of the trunk as well as the branches and leaves etc. of the tree are buried underground at that very spot. The Dāru is disbarked and given a quadrangular shape.[83] It is then wrapped up in silken cloths.

According to an information supplied to me by a reliable Temple functionary who himself has attended two Vanayāgas, the thick branches of the tree are not buried. They are reduced to a convenient size and are brought to the Temple to furnish later the arms of Jagannātha and Balabhadra. If they are not required immediately, they are kept in a store room and are used to repair the images if some part of them is sometime broken. I have seen myself such log pieces preserved in a special store room which is usually not accessible to the public. If the Temple has no utilization of these *dārus*, it gives them away to the Maṭha

[80] It seems that the formality of letting Vidyāpati and Viśvāvasu first symbolically cut the tree with a golden and a silver axe respectively is of a rather late origin. The Sanskrit text of Vanayāgavidhi (NV), for example, mentions that the Ācārya holds the [iron] axe in hand and uttering the Vedic Mantras etc. gives a few symbolic strokes to the tree . . Then he hands over (the same) axe to the Viśvakarmans (carpenters !) who ultimately cut down the tree (p. 22.23). The Vidyāpati and the Viśvāvasu do not come here into picture at all nor their golden and silver axes which they are later allowed to keep for themselves!

[81] cf. *udakśirasaṃ prākśirasam īśānaśirasaṃ vā pātayet*, . . —VYV (NV) p. 23

also Bṛhatsamhita 59. 13.
pūrveṇa pūrvottaroto' thavadak-
pated yadā vṛddhikaras tadā syāt |
āgneyakoṇāt kramaśo' gnidāha-
rugrogarogas turagakṣayaś ca||

[82] The texts often speak of the 96 Yavas (=approx. 5⅓ *hastas*) as the length of the Dāru and of 2 4 Yavas as the breadth of its each side or facet see Singh, Jagabandhu (1964) 524-25 (the number 16 given in this book for the length of the Dāru is obviously a misprint for 96 !). K.C. Rajaguru, who has personally attended more that one Navakalevara ceremonies. also told the author that the length of the Dāru is 5 *hastas* and that of the cart 8 *hastas*.

[83] See the MS of the *Banajāgabidhira sūcanā* ". . . *sehi gaṇḍiku caupaṭa karibe*" (p. 4) and the VYV (NV) ". . .*śākhāpatrāṇi chitvā vṛkṣam caturasram vidhāya* . . ." (p. 23). In the Photograph No. 18 (cf. also No. 17) the rectangular character of the Dāru is quite obvious.

and other Jagannātha temples which construct their own Jagannātha statues out of them.

(c) Transportation of the Dāru to the Temple

Meanwhile a cart is constructed to carry the Dāru to the Temple. The length of the cart and the types of wood used in its construction are also laid down in the texts. The cart is eight *hastas* in length. Its body is constructed of the wood of a *Kendu* tree, the wheels of a *Vaṭa* tree and the axle of a tamarind tree. All these varieties of trees are readily available in the forests of Orissa.[84] The principal of construction is very simple. Two long logs of Kendu are joined together with a few cross bars or planks. The wheels have no spokes; they are massive and are formed by joining three planks together with the help of iron clamps (see plate 17).

While the Dāru is lifted to be kept on the cart, the *ṛcā* "*uttiṣṭha brahmaṇas-pate . . .*" (RV I. 40.1) is loudly chanted. Similarly while placing the Dāru in the cart the *ṛcā* "*rathe tiṣṭhan nayanti vājinaḥ . . .*" (RV VI. 75.6) is recited. The Dāru is covered with coloured cloth pieces and tied up firmly with the cart in order to avoid the risk of falling down from it. While performing this act, the verses of the *Saṃkalpa-sūkta* of the White Yajurveda (VS 34.1 ff, *yaj jāgrato dūram udaiti . . .* etc.) are recited meditating upon Viṣṇu, the Ācarya etc. then offer *arghya* to the Dāru and taking into consideration the lord of the day and the constellation etc., pull the cart first in the direction which is astrologically conisdered to be auspicious.[85] While pulling the cart the Brahmins chant the verses of the Ṛgvedic *Śakuna-sūktas* (II. 42 & II. 43). The cart should be pulled exclusively by human hands right up to the Temple in Puri.[86]

If some untoward and inauspicious event takes place on way to Puri, or if some portion of the cart etc. is broken, the journey is interrupted. The party goes to the next Viṣṇu temple and offers 108 oblations in the sacrificial fire with sesamum seeds dipped in ghee to the deity Nṛsiṃha with his Mantrarāja.

Before the cart reaches the outskirts of the city of Puri, the news of the arrival of the Dāru is communicated to the priests in the Temple. A large group of

[84] Is it the reason why the texts prescribe that the tree should not stand alone but be surrounded with other trees (cf. p. 237) ? These other trees are perhaps required for constructing the cart.

[85] An example of such astrological considerations is the principle of *Dikśūla*. It is, e.g., considered inauspicious to undertake a journey towards East on mondays and saturdays, towards South on thursdays, towards West on sundays and fridays and towards North on tuesdays and wednesdays. If, besides, the Dāru has been found on the Western side of Puri, it will first be pulled for some distance towards the North or the East of the Temple (cf. the note 62 above).

[86] It is a canon prescribed in the Śāstras that the wood meant for fashioning divine images (or for the purpose of *Indradhvaja* etc.) should not be carried by the animals but by human beings or be brought on a cart pulled by human hands; cf. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 43.21 and *Vimanārçanakalpa* of Marici, p. 80 (. . . ācāryādibhyo dakṣiṇām dattvā *taṃ vṛkṣam śakaṭe samāropya narair vāhayitvā* ālayam āviśya karmamaṇḍape saṃsthāpya . . . &c.)

the people and the temple functionaries come out of the city to greet the Dāru and to the accompaniment of loud music, rejoicing and dancing, they take it to the Temple through its north gate. Sometimes (mostly for the Dāru of Jagannātha) the Rājā of Puri also comes out of his palace to solemnly greet the Dāru before it is brought to the Temple.

The Dārus are brought in the Temple in the same order in which they are collected. All the Dārus must reach the Temple before the annual bathing festival of the Jagannātha-Figures on the full moon day of Jyeṣṭha since on this day they also receive a ritual bath. Till this day they are kept in a shed specially built for this purpose on those very carts on which they have been brought. This shed as well as other sheds meant for the consecration ceremony etc. are all situated in the northern side of the outer circle of the Temple.

One day after the bathing festival in the Temple and immediately before the fashioning of the images starts, a small 'vanayāga' (the soc. *antarvanayāga*) is performed in the precincts of the Temple to counteract any possible evil or contamination etc. which the Dārus might have been exposed to on their way to the Temple.

Rites Observed in the Temple

It has already been mentioned (p. 223) that after the bathing ceremony of the Deities on the full moon day, the Temple is closed for public. In a year with double Āṣāḍha, the Temple remains closed for one and a half month. This period of six weeks may be divided into three parts which are characterised by three different phases of work:

(i) in the first two weeks (the dark half of the *śuddha Āṣāḍha*) the statues are carved; simultaneously a piece of Dāru is consecrated and the *Brahma-padārtha* of the old statues is transferred into the new ones (phases 2 and 3 of Navakalevara).

(ii) in the first fortnight of the *adhika* (extra) Āṣāḍha, the Daitas are ritually impure and observe obsequies because a (rather four!) death(s), i.e; of Jagannātha (etc.) has occurred in their 'family'. Nothing is done on the wooden images during this period (phase 4).

(iii) in the second (bright) fortnight of the *adhika* Āṣāḍha, the wooden skele ton of the statues is wrapped up with silken and cotton stripes etc.; they are given their characteristic form and shape and are painted (phase 5).

2. THE CARVING OF THE WOODEN FORM OF THE IMAGES

After receiving the ritual bath simultaneously with the four statues of Jagannātha etc., the Dārus are brought in a new Maṇḍapa which is known as *Nirmāṇa-Maṇḍapa*. It is the place where the wooden structure of the Deities is carved by the carpenters

(Mahārāṇās) all of whom belong to the class of Daitas.[87] These carpenters receive silken turbans (or, *Sāḍhīs*) from the Rājā of Puri on the first day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha which is a symbolical authorisation of the king to the carpenters to proceed with their work. The work of carving starts on the second day and simultaneously with it, the ceremony of *Aṅkurāropaṇa* is initiated for the consecration of the *Nyāsa-dāru* (see below p. 254f) by Brahmins. The carving of the images takes place behind the closed doors and nobody else except the Daitas and the Pati Mahāpātra are allowed to enter the pavilion in which the statues are being fashioned.

We have quoted above (p. 278) a passage from the *Pur. Māh.* of Skd. P. which strictly forbids anyone else to see the fashioning of the images or even to hear the sound. It may lead to blindness or deafness. The person has to remain perpetually in the hell after his death and it destroys all his progeny etc. Tumultuous noise is, therefore, produced with several musical instruments outside the *Nirmāṇamaṇḍapa*[88] in order to suppress and subdue the sound of the cutting and chopping etc. of the woods going on inside.[89]

The way and means of carving the images as well as the measurements of the different parts of the statues are a very closely guarded secret of the Daitas. The carpenters of the Daitas fashion the images on the basis of the details contained in old palm-leaf manuscripts which they possess from their family tradition. Some of these details are, however, also found in the old manuscript of the *Mādalā Pāñjī* procured by us from the *Deula Karaṇa* (see above p. 231,3. ix) of the Temple in 1971. According to this manuscript the height of Balabhadra and Jagannātha as well as of

[87] cf. Pur. Mah. (Skd. Pur.) Adhy. 19. śl. 33. 34. This passage explicitly states that only the descendents of Viśvāvasu and Vidyāpati are to be employed in the task of fashioning the image and also in colouring them :

nāmnā viśvāvasur nāma śabaro vaiṣṇavottamaḥ/
purodhasā sakhyam āsīt tena sārdham purā ca te//
tayoḥ santatir evāsya lepasaṃskārakarmaṇi/
niyujyatāṃ mahārāja bhaviṣyatsūtsaveṣu ca//

[88] cf. *bahir vādyāni kurvantu yāvat tu ghaṭanā bhavet* etc. as quoted above on p. 228.

[89] cf. also *Nīlādrimahodaya* printed ed., Cuttack 1926.

I. *vinā sevakam etasya viṣṇor darśanameva hi/*
na kuryān manasā vācā tatrāpi ca na cintayet//
etasmin samaye rājan viṣṇor darśanakāmyaya/
drakṣyāmīti vaded yas tu pitṛbhiḥ saha majjati//
virūpam vā surūpam vā tasmin kāle nṛpottama/
ye paśyanti ca te sarve pacyante niraye dhruvam//
pitṛbhiḥ sahitās te tu sahasrayugasaṃkhyayā/
nirayam pratipadyante nocitam tatra vīkṣaṇam// —p. 138

II. *ghaṇṭāmardalaśaṅkhānām niḥsvane ca punaḥ punaḥ/*
tatpādaracanāśabdo na kena śrūyate yathā//
tad vidheyam nṛpaśreṣṭha tasmin kāle punaḥ punaḥ/
tasyākarṇayataḥ karṇau jāyete vadhirau tataḥ//
atas tatśravaṇaṃ kāryam nocitam nṛpasattama/ —p. 142-43

Sudarśana amounts to 84 Yavas[90] each, whereas that of Subhadra only 52½ Yavas.[91] The carpenters divide the height of each statue into 32 *bhāgas* for the sake of convenience of the measurement of the different portions of the body in other words 1 *bhāga* is equal to the 32nd part of that statue. With Jagannātha and Balabhadra etc. 1 bhāga=2·625 Yavas and with Subhadra 1 bhāga=1.625 Yavas approximately.

The statue of Jagannātha, iconographically speaking, consists of five parts, i.e *śrīmukha* (face), *urākha* (neck), *hia* (heart), *paridhāpana* (waist) and *payara* (feet). The measurement of these parts in *bhāgas* are 14, 5, 3, 4, and 6 respectively corresponding to 36¾, 12, 9, 10½ and 15¾ *Yavas*. The statue of Balabhadra consists of four parts, i. e. *phaṇa and śrimukha*, *urākha*, *hia+paridhāpana* (counted together) and *payara*. The measurements as given in the manuscript in *bhāgas* are: 12, 4, 6 and 10 corresponding to 31½ (the snakehood=6, forehead=1½ and the face=24 *Yavas*), 10½, 15¾ (rounded up in the MS to 16) and 26¼ (rounded off to 26 in the MS) *Yavas* respectively.[92]

The arms of Balabhadra and Jagannātha are added separately. Each one is made up of two logs, one inserted into the head and protruding towards the left or the right side and the other joined to it and projecting towards the front. The length of both the arms of Jagannātha taken together corresponds exactly to his total height (84 *Yavas*). Each arm has a length of 42 *Yavas*. The side-arm has a length of 20 *Yavas* out of which 12 *Yavas* are invisible since they are inserted in the head and a piece of 8 *Yavas* is seen protruding to the side. The arms projecting forward have a length of 22 *Yavas* each. Thus each arm has a total length of 42 *Yavas* out of which 12 *Yavas* are not visible. Because of the fact that the arms of Jagannātha have the same length as His height, He is designated as *cakrākṛti*, i.e. having a round shape like a discus (Plate 19).

The arms of Balabhadra have a total length of 36¾ *Yavas* each or 73½ *Yavas*

[90] A *Yava* ('barley corn') is the length of the middle part of the middle finger (of the carpenter) which is approximately 1 inch (=2.5 cm.). We may recall here that the legnth of thedāru of Jagannātha is 96 yavas (p. 249, fn. 82).

[91] cf. A. Dash, (1969), 45 (quoting B.K. Ghosh).

Jagabandhu Singh, (1964) 524-26 gives very exact details of the height etc. of the Jagannātha images which to a great extent tally with the information contained in the MP (DK). It seems that he has had recourse to some similar text of "Mādaḷā Pāñji" as the one that we have procured from the Deula Karaṇa

[92] The following comparative table shall show the iconographical difference between the statues of Jagannātha and Balabhadra more clearly : (*bh* stands for *bhāga* and *y* for *yava*).

Jāgannātha		*Balabhadra*	
1. From *Trimuṇḍi* (Skull knot) to the face	14 bh.=36 ¾ y.	1. From *Saptaphaṇa* to the chin	12 bh.=31½ y.
2. *urākha*	5 bh.=12 y.	2. *urākha*	4 bh.=10½ y.
3. *hiā*	3 bh.= 9 y.	3. *hia* & *paridhāpana* (no extra *paridhāpana*)	6 bh.=15¾ y.
4. *paridhāpana*	4 bh.=10 ½ y.	4 *śrīpayara*	10 bh,=26¼ y.
5. *śrīpayara*	6 bh.=15 ¾ y.		

together. They are also divided in two parts. The sidearm has a total length of 13¾ *Yavas* out of which 7 *Yavas* remain inserted in the head and are, hence, invisible. The rest of the 6¾ protrudes towards the either side. The length of each front arm amounts to 23 *Yavas*, i.e. 1 *Yava* more than that of Jagannātha. However the total length of both the arms taken together (including the invisible portion) is less than that of Jagannātha (73.5 Yavas against 84 Yavas). The Image of Balabhadra is said to possess the form of a śaṅkha (conch), may be due to longer front arms and slender legs (Plate 20).

Subhadrā has the shape of *padma*, a lotus flower (face !) standing on a thin stalk (body !). Her body (i.e. statue) is iconographically divided into four parts, viz. *śrīmukha* (the face) and the chin, *hia* (heart), *paridhāpana* (waist) and *payara* (feet) which have the measurements of: 12, 2, 12 and 6 *bhāgas* respectively corresponding to 19¾, 3¼, 19¾ and 19¾ Yavas. "The arms of Subhadrā are to kept hidden and invisible" says the text (MD (DK), p. 176) ! The cavity (*brahmarandhra*) for placing the Brahmapadārtha in the statue is situated just below the left eye according to the text (*ibid.*) (Plate 21).

As already mentioned (p. 252-53) Sudarśana has to have the same height as Jagannātha or Balabhadra. It also consists of four parts having a measurement of 8 *bhāgas* each. A highly interesting and hitherto unknown fact mentioned in our manuscript is that the log of Sudarśana (see Plate 22) contains in itself a real miniature discus made of gold which weighs 16 *palas* and is inserted into it probably at the time of consecration. This fact unmistakably connects Sudarśana in its origin to the tribal posts, worshipped as images of gods and [especially] of goddesses in Orissa and which are inserted with three golden nails at the time of their consecration (for details, see Eschmann, Ch. 14).

We have just referred to the cavity in the wooden image of Subhadrā. All the four images carved by the Daita carpenters contain a cavity which is cube in its form. In this cavity some mysterious object is later placed by the concerned Daitas and Pati Mahāpātra, after it has been taken out of the old image. This mysterious substance is considered to be the 'soul' of the image. According to K.C. Mishra[93] the length, breadth and depth of this cavity amounts to 12 *Yavas* each. In view of the measurements of the heart and the belley etc. of the statues, however, the stated volume of the cavity seems to be too large to me.

The carpenters are responsible only for constructing the wooden structure of the Deities. For this they get a time of some 13 days. The change of *Brahmapadārtha* is effected in the night of the new moon day of the śuddha Āṣāḍha, by which time the carving has to be finished.

3. THE CONSECRATION OF THE IMAGES

Parallel to the fashioning of the four images of Jagannātha etc. in the *Nirmāṇa-Maṇḍapa* by the carpenters, the Brahmin priests of the Temple, the Rājaguru and some

[93] K.C. Mishra, *Śrījagannātha and Navakalevara*, p. 15.

other Vedic scholars undertake the ceremony of consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*).

Unlike the Pratiṣṭhā ceremony of other worshipable images, this consecration ceremony is performed on *a piece of wood* which has been cut from any one of the four Dārus (most probably from that of Subhadrā!) brought from the forest into the Temple. It is not possible to consecrate the images because they have not yet been fashioned at all! The piece of the wood that the Brahmin priests consecrate is known as *Nyāsa-Dāru* and after an extensive ceremony of consecration lasting for two weeks, the Nyāsadāru is cut into four pieces of prescribed size and each one of these four parts serves as a lid to cover the cavity in the belley (or the heart) of a wooden image after the *Brahmapadārtha* (the life-substance) has been inserted into it.

Owing to its extra-ordinary importance the consecration ceremony is obviously very extensive.[94] For the sake of convenience it can, however, be divided into five broad heads:

(a) the preliminaries, i.e. preparations and the worship of subsidiary deities.
(b) the *abhiṣeka* (bath) of the Nyāsadāru.
(c) the numerous *Nyāsas* on the Dāru (-*Nyāsadāru*).
(d) the fire-sacrifice.
(e) the change of the *Brahmapadārtha*

The consecration ceremony takes place in the so-called *Pratiṣṭhā-Maṇḍapa* which is erected towards the east of the shed in which the images of the Deities are carved. The area of the Pratiṣṭhāmaṇḍapa is usually 16×16 or 12×12 *hastas* with a fire altar (*vedi*) in the centre having a square form with its each side measuring 5 *hastas* and 8 *aṅgulas*. There are at least three smaller Maṇḍapas around the *Pratiṣṭhāmaṇḍapa* which serve the purpose of bathing the *Nyāsadāru* ("the Snānamaṇḍapa"), for keeping the large number of water pitchers for the bath ("Adhivāsamaṇḍapa") or for storing the articles used in the ceremony ("Sambhāramaṇḍapa") respectively.

The king of Puri or his representative nominates the Ācarya (i.e. the chief priest of the ceremony, usually one of the Rājagurus) on the second day of the dark half of Aṣāḍha which marks the formal beginning of the ceremony. It is interesting that the Ācarya is required to be a worshipper of Nṛsiṃha and to thoroughly know the application etc. of the Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha.[95] A number of other priests and helpers are then nominated either by the King or by the Ācarya himself.

(*a*) *The Preliminaries*

On the first day of the Pratiṣṭhā ceremony (i. e. the *dvitiyā* of Āṣāḍha), several

[94] Our paper transcript of the text of *Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhā* contains some 200 pages of full size.

[95] "... *śāntam ṣaḍḍcārapratiṣṭhitam mantrarājamantritatanum*. . .", *Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhāvidhi*, pp. 5-6.

Maṇḍalas are drawn at the different places of the Maṇḍapa of which the *Cakrābja-*, *Sarvatobhadra-* and *Vāstu-Maṇḍalas* are more important. The Ācarya, clad in white, sitting with his face towards east, performs a small Pūjā of Nṛsiṃha on the *Cakrābja-maṇḍala* to initiate the ceremony and requests the deity to bless the undertaking. He then worships Gaṇeśa, the Dikpālas and several other Hinduistic deities (like Bhairava and Nāgas etc.) in the water pitchers as well as the door-attendants of Viṣṇu by coming out of the Maṇḍapa. He also offers *bali* to the Dikpālas and the Bhūtas outside the Maṇḍapa which is buried underground in a small pit in everyone of the ten directions. On each of the *toraṇas* (gateways) seven seeds (barley, wheat, green-beans, sesamum, Kaṅgu, dark wild rice and grams) are sown for germination in earthen pots (the *aṅkurāropaṇa* rite).

The Bali to the Bhūtas etc. is offered henceforward daily in the evening. And it is interesting to know that on the seventh lunar day (acc. to another personal information, on the 12th day) even live *madgura* fishes are brought into this Vaiṣṇava Temple, sacrificed to the Dikpālas and the Bhūtas and are later buried outside the Yajñaśālā (i.e. Pratiṣṭhāmaṇḍapa) in all the ten directions.

On the *Cakrābjamaṇḍala* drawn in the SE corner of the Pratiṣṭhāmaṇḍapa, a special metallic figurine of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha remains placed for the whole of the duration of the Pratiṣṭhā ceremony. This statue comes out (of the small temple containing the movable images situated on the southern side of the main Temple) and is worshipped only during the period of Navakalevara. The Pati Mahāpātra has the duty of worshipping this image daily in the morning. He comes regularly in the morning, worships this image and goes away. Only after that the other functions of the day start.

The drawing of the Maṇḍalas, the worship of the different minor deities, Vāsudeva, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṃha etc. in pitchers as well as other smaller rites last for four days. On the 6th day the Nyāsadāru is brought into the Pratiṣṭhāmaṇḍapa and kept in its western part on a cot covered with silken cloths. On this day fire is kindled in the Vedī and the fire-sacrifice starts.

(b) The Abhiṣeka of the Nyāsadāru

One hundred and eight Āhutis of *ājya* clarified butter are first dropped in the sacrificial fire to the accompaniment of Nṛsiṃha Gāyatrī and the remaining *ājya* is sprinkled on the pitchers (17+81 in number) containing water which is to be used to bathe the Nyāsadāru. A '*Kautuka*' (talismen) containing mustard seeds and *dūrvā* grass is then tied round the "right hand" of the Nyāsadāru (contemplated as Deity) to ward off the evil[96] and it is then brought to the Snānamaṇḍapa with Vedic Mantras. It is kept on a platform, twelve *aṅgulas* in height, and given bath first with water of 17 special pitchers containing [besides water] flowers, fragrance, saffron, the

[96] such 'Kautuka' is bound in the right hand of the image of Jagannātha etc. by the Daitas when they come out of the Temple for the Chariot Festival; Cf. *Mishra*, K.C. (1969), 53 who takes them to be "traces of magical rites prevalent among the aboriginals of Orissa". The present author does not agree with his view since such *Kautukabandhana* is very common in Hindu religious rites elsewhere also.

sand of Gaṅgā, fruits, *ghee* and other similar articles separately in each pitcher. The bath is conducted to the utterance of Vedic Mantras. To conclude these Mantras the Nṛsiṃha Gāyatrī and the Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha are spoken and the Dāru is bathed with warm water and with plane water alternately.

The water of the 81 pitchers placed on the 81 squares of a *Vāstumaṇḍala* is poured in a big pitcher having innumerable holes (a soc. '*sahasradhārā-kumbha*') which is kept hanging over the Dāru. Between the pitcher and the Dāru a sufficiently big piece of cloth is tied up so that the water of the 81 pitchers collected in the big 'Sahasradhārā-Kumbha' pours down in numerous streams, first on the cloth tied over the Dāru and then on the Dāru itself. While thus bathing the Daru the Brahmins recite the *Puruṣasūkta* (RV X. 90) for Jagannātha, the *Radrādhyaya* or the *Nīlasūkta* (VS 16.1 ff.) for Balabhadra[97] and the *Śrisūkta* (RVKh. V. 87.1 ff.) for Subhadrā.

After having the bath (*abhiṣeka*), the Dāru is rubbed with a towel and is offered most of the 16 Upacāras which the image of a deity is usually offered at the time of Pujā.[98] One offers, e.g., flowers (as a substitute for clothes), *madhuparka* (refreshment), *snānīya* (bathing water, once more!), *gorocanā* (red powder), collyrium, flowers, incense, lamps, mirror, umbrella, chowries and ornaments etc. to it mostly to the accompaniment of the Nṛsiṃha Gāyatrī or the Ānuṣṭubha (*Mantrarāja*) Nṛsiṃha Mántra. The priests then give *dūrvā* grass and rice corns in the "hands" of the Dāru and speak out a stotra, i.e. the *Saṃkalpasūkta* of *white Yajurveda* (VS 34.1 ff).

The Dāru is then brought back to the Pratiṣṭhāmaṇḍapa with the *Śākunasūkta* of *Ṛgveda* (II. 42 & II. 43) and is made to lie on a bed with cushions etc. while the priests recite the *Puruṣasūkta.* (RV X 90). Drinking water and refreshments are placed near its 'bed' and it is covered with cloth sheets while the Mantrarāja is spoken out.

(c) *Nyāsas on the Dāru*

The next day the Ācarya first performs the preliminaries of Pūjā (i.e. *bhūta-śuddhi* and *matṛkānyāsa* etc.) on his own body.[99] He then worships the Deity Nṛsiṃha on his *pīṭha* (identical with his Maṇḍala) in his heart ("*antaryajana*") and meditates upon the Dāru as the god Nṛsiṃha, who according to the older texts like the *Pur. Māh.* of Skd. P. assumed the fourfold forms of the Deities of the Jagannātha Temple.[100] After finishing the *Āvaraṇapūjā*, worship of the deities belonging to the Cakrābjamaṇḍala (håving the form of the Sudarśana-cakra) is conducted.

97 Mark again the close connection of Balarāma with Rudra-Śiva (some details regarding the connection of Balarāma with Rudra-Śiva in the Pāñcarātra system have already been given in ch. 10).

98 See my article on the daily Pūjā of Jagannātha in this volume, ch. 15.

99 *ibid.*, also G.C. Tripathi, (1975), 209-11.

100 The *dhyāna-verses* are as follows :

kundenduśaṅkhadhavalaṃ sūryakoṭisamaprabham|
candrasūryāgninetrāḍhyam śeṣadevaphaṇāvṛtam||

Now follows a very important rite. The letters, syllables, words, word-groups and the four metrical feet of the Ānuṣṭubha-Nṛsiṃha-Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha are placed on the different parts of the 'body' of the Nyāsadāru.[101] The Nyāsa has the purpose of imparting the character of Nṛsiṃha to the Dāru. The whole group of the Nyāsas is repeated three times, that is to say, for each important Deity (Balarāma etc.) it is carried out once in its entirety.

The Mantrarāja-Nṛsiṃha-Nyāsa is followed by the own Nyāsas of the triad of Jagannātha; i.e. for Jagannātha the *Keśavādi-Nyāsa*, for Balabhadra the Śaivite *Śrīkanthādi-Nyāsa* and for Subhadrā the *Kalā-Nyāsa* is performed.

A long series of other Nyāsas numbering about 30 then follows which are all placed on the different parts of Dāru. Since Viṣṇu is considered to be identical with the whole world, almost all the important objects of the world, concrete or abstracts, are placed on His body.

Interesting in this connection is the fact that towards the end of these Nyāsas Rādhā, the beloved of Kṛṣṇa comes into picture. The Ācarya meditates upon her[102] and places her Mantra in the sixfold manner ("*ṣoḍhā-nyāsa*") on the Nyāsadāru.

This is the only influence of the Caitanya movement on the cult of Jagannātha which I have been able to trace. According to the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas (i.e. the followers of Caitanya), Jagannātha is a *combined* form of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. He is not Kṛṣṇa alone[103] and hence the Nyāsadāru of Jagannātha (etc.) must be charged with the Mantra of Rādhā also. This is also the reason why the text presently followed for the consecration ceremony in the Jagannātha Temple (see above p. 226) bears

jaṭāmukuṭasaṃbhūṣam caturbāhuṃ smitānanam/
lakṣmīnivāsasaṃramyakroḍadeśam maheśvaram//
Saṅkhacakragadāpadmadhāriṇam vanamālinam/
pītaceladharam devam śrīvatsakautsubhānvitam//
stūyamānam munigaṇair devair brahmapurogamaiḥ/
evam dhyātvārcakaḥ śrimān tatra dārusvarūpinam//

cf. this *dhyāna* with *Pur. Māh.* (Skd. Pur.) 23.27-32ab in which Nṛsiṁha is said to be a combined form of all the four Deities.

101 Also the *Pur. Māh* (Skd. P.) norrates (Adhy. 27.98; cf. besides Adhy. 28. 52cd and 53) that the god Brahman (m) consecrated the images of Jagannātha etc. with the Ānuṣṭubha Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha.

102 The meditational verse of Rādhā as given in the manuscript is as follows:
smerāsyām kuṃkumābhāṃ sphuradadharapaṭaprāntakḷptāvaguṇṭhām
ramyāṃ veśena veṇīkṛtacikuraśikhālambipādmāṃ kiśorīlm/
tarjanyāṅguṣṭhayuktyā harimukhakamale yuñjatīm nāgavallī
parṇaṃ karṇāyatākṣīm tribhuvanarucirām rādhikaṃ bhāvayāmi//

It is interesting to mention here that Pt. K C. Rājaguru told me that this Nyāsa is no more performed on the Nyāsadāru. Has the Jagannātha cult then cast off this only sign of the influence of Gaṇḍīya Viṣṇuism on it which was introduced probably in the beginning of the 17th century in the ceremony? We cannot say. But since it is there in the text, we can at least say that it has been there in older times.

103 A.K. Majumdar, (1969) 290ff.
See also P. Mukherjee ch. 14,

the subtitle "*Haribhaktivilāsāntargata*-calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhāvidhiḥ". The Haribhakti-vilāsa is the most authoritative canonic work of the Gauḍiya Viṣṇuism.[104]

After the long series of the Nyāsas is over, the Dāru is endowed with life (*prāṇa*), flesh, blood and sense organs etc. with the help of the Prāṇapratiṣṭhā-Mantra[105] uttered one hundred (or ten) times. Finally the people present in the Maṇḍapa offer to the Dāru three handfuls of flowers each.

(d) *The Fire Sacrifice*

The fire sacrifice is usually conducted at the end of a Pratiṣṭhā ceremony after all the Nyāsas etc. have already taken place. In the Temple of Jagannātha, however, since the sacrifice is a very elaborate one, it is started already on the 6th day of the dark half of the Āṣāḍha, i.e. exactly on the day on which the Nyāsadāru comes to the Pratiṣṭhāmaṇḍapa after having been given the ceremonial bath (*ubhiṣeka*).

The fire is kindled in the Vedī inside the Pratiṣṭhāmaṇḍapa in the prescribed manner with Vedic Mantras. The main deity of the fire sacrifice, as for the whole ceremony of Navakalevara at all, is again Nṛsiṃha and the major part of the oblations is offered to him. The ingredients poured into the fire are *ājya* (clarified butter), *samidh*-s (twigs of fire wood) and *caru* (half cooked rice, sesamum, barley, coconut and some plant bulbs mixed together) for which three different Hotā-s are required. First of all ten thousand oblations of these articles are poured in the sacrificial fire uttering every time the full text of the Ānuṣṭubha-Nṛsiṃha-Mantra. The priests performing this task say that it is not possible to offer more than two thousand oblations in a day, so that the offerings to Nṛsiṃha themselves take about five days (from 6th to the 10th day). On the 11th day 1008 Āhutis are dropped with the Vāsudeva-Mantra (i.e. the Mantra of Balabhadra), on the 12th day the same number of Āhutis with the 18-syllabic Gopāla-Mantra (i.e. the Mantra of Jagannātha) and on the 13th day the same number with the monosyllabic Bhuvaneśvarī-Mantra (with which Subhadrā is worshipped) as well as with the 6-syllabic Sudarśana-Mantra. The 14th (and, if necessary, the 15th or the newmoon day) is reserved for subsidiary Āhutis to Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Śiva, Kālī, Vimalā, Durgā, as well as all other possible or imaginable "deities" of Hindu pantheon such as the Dikpālas, Bhairavas, the 81 Vāstudevatās, the 27 Constellations, 12 signs of Zodiac, the days of the week, oceans, rivers, mountains etc. etc. according to the maxim "*yāvantaḥ sambhārās tāvanto vidhayaḥ*" ("as long as the stock lasts").

104 For a detailed summary of the contents of this work cf. S.K. De, (1961) 449-519. Though the *Haribhaktivilāsa* itself does not attach any importance to Rādhā and does not mention her as the consort of Kṛṣṇa, yet it is such an important work of this school that any treatise following also partially the tenets of Gauḍīya Viṣṇuism is immediately brought in contact with this work.

105 Refer to my article on the Pūjā of Jagannātha (Ch. 15) for this Mantra.

(e) The Change of the Brahmapadārtha

By the fourteenth lunar day usually the consecration ceremony of the Nyāsadāru is over. The fashioning of the wooden structure of the new images is also finished by this time. In the night of the 14th, the Nyāsadāru is placed on a small cart and is taken around the main Temple (in its inner precincts) seven times. It is then taken inside the main Temple and handed over to the Daitas or their carpenters who cut it into four pieces possessing theform and the measurements as laid down in the texts.

The newly fashioned images are taken around the Temple thrice in the similar manner on the next day in the night one by one (in the order: Sudarśana, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, and Jagannātha). They are subsequently brought inside the Temple in the verandah leading to the sanctum (i.e. in the *Aṇasara-ghara* or *Aṇāsara-piṇḍī*) and are placed near the old statues.

The statues of Jagannātha etc. consist of a very thick layer of the substances like resin, stripes of silken cloth, gips and sandal paste etc. In order to take out the "life-substance" of the old statues they are stripped off all their coverings and layers by the 12th lunar day.

The change of the life-substance is effected by the Daitas, only that of Jagannātha is accomplished by the Pati Mahāpātra himself. When the newly constructed images are brought inside and are placed in front of their old prototypes, all the lights of the Temple are put out. The Daita entrusted with the job opens the belley of the old image in the dead of night with his eyes blindfolded and the hands wrapped up to elbows so that he may neither see nor feel the *brahmapadārtha* of the image.[106] The casket containing the Brahmapadārtha is then taken out of the old *mūrti* and placed in the new one. The cavity of the new image is then covered with one of the four pieces of the Nyāsadāru which has been consecrated for about two weeks by the Brahmins.

Since the beginning of the last century the people have been curious to know what this Brahmapadārtha is and how it looks or feels like. Many theories have been advanced from time to time but the mystery is still unrevealed and is perhaps going to remain so. The suggestions made for the identification of this mysterious substance range from an old Buddhist relic (the tooth of Buddha!) over mercury and *Śālagrāma* etc. up to the Tantric Yantras drawn on metallic plates. The author of these lines cautiously suggested in 1970 in a report submitted to the German Research Council on the Navakalevara of 1969 that the statue of Jagannātha might now contain the rests of the Jagannātha statue burnt in 1568 by Kālā Pahāḍa and which were brought to Orissa by one Bisar Mohanty and first worshipped in Kujang for some time till they were inserted, kept in a casket, in the newly fashioned Jagannātha images of Rāmacandra Deva of Khurdha in order to establish a sort of continuity of the new Jagannātha with the 'original' Jagannātha.[107] The present opinion of the

[106] A. Dash, (1969) 43f describes the uncanny atmosphere of this rite in an impressive manner.

[107] See p. 31 of this cyclostyled pre-print (Udaipur 1970) meant for internal circulation only (copies available on request).

priests of Puri tends more towards interpreting the Brahmapadārtha as a sort of *Śālagrāma* and when now a days a new Jagannātha statue is established somewhere (outside Puri) the priests (who are mostly invited from puri to consecrate the image or images) normally put a *Śālagrāma* inside the body of this Jagannātha figure.[108]

4. THE BURIAL OF THE IMAGES AND THE PURIFICATORY RITES OF THE DAITAS

As soon as the 'life-substance' is taken out of an image, it is considered to be 'dead'. It is then loaded on the same cart on which the new image had been brought in and is immediately carried from the western door of the Temple to the place known as Koili Baikuntha (*kaivalya vaikuṇṭha*) which serves as the graveyard for the old Deities. Here a pit, 9 *hastas* (4½ metres approx.) deep and 6 hastas in diameter is kept ready to receive the old wooden images. The pit is spread out with red velvet and it is situated in a nice garden on the northern side of the Temple. The 'dead' images are sunk in this pit.

Along with Jagannātha all the wooden images of the Temple which decorate the wooden chariots of the Deities every year at the time of *Rathayātrā* (e.g. the *pārśvadevatās, apsaras*' and horses) are also buried in the same grave and are made afresh for the new Deities.

When finally the life-substance of the old Jagannātha statues is transferred into the new ones and the old ones are buried, the Daitas start weeping and crying. They mourn for Jagannātha whom they consider to be one of *their* clan. They remain in the state of ritual impurity for 10 days and take a small frugal meal during this period. They leave their hair unshaved and observe all sorts of obsequies prescribed in the Hindu Dharmaśastras. On the tenth day they come to the Temple rub oil on their bodies near the Muktimaṇḍapa, proceed to the Mākaṇḍeya tank where they let their hair and nails cut and take a purificatory bath in this tank. They also white-wash their houses for which the costs are borne by the Temple. The Temple also supplies foodgrains and vegetables etc. to them during the state of their ritual impurity. On the 12th day the Daitas give a feast ("*mṛtyubhoja*") to the servitors of the Temple which they themselves organise and meet the costs of.

Since the heirs of a deceased person inherit his property, the Daitas lay claim on the articles used by the 'deceased' Jagannātha. The Temple, therefore, has to pay some money to the Daitas by way of redemption or compensation (e.g., Rs. 5,000 in 1969). However, they are allowed to take the 'relics' of the old statue like the cloth stripes, sandal paste and resin etc. which they mostly sell to the pilgrims who attach high religious importance to these objects.

5. GIVING THE FINAL FORM TO THE WOODEN IMAGES AND THEIR PAINTING ETC.

During the period of the *aśauca* (ritual impurity) of the Daitas (i.e. in the bright half

108 I personally know of such a case of the consecration of the Jagannātha images which took place in Cuttack and in which Śālāgramas were put into the statues of the Deities.

of the extra Āṣāḍha) nothing is done on the new images of the Deities. They remain standing in the *Aṇasara-ghara* isolated by a bamboo curtain from the Mukhaśālā ('Jagamohana') where their painted pictures hang on this bamboo curtain as well as their representatives (i.e. Madanamohana for Jagannātha, Dola-Govinda for Balarāma, Lakṣmī and Viśvadhātrī for Subhadrā and Nṛsiṃha for Sudarśana) receive worship from the devotees. These representatives are the small, movable, metallic images of the Deities.

The wooden structure of the statues is considered simply to be the 'skeleton' of the images. In the beginning of the dark fortnight of the extra Āṣāḍha, these images are entrusted to the care of the temple servants known as Datta Mahāpātra. They are said to belong to the caste of Kāyasthas. Their task is to infuse 'flesh' and 'blood' etc. to these images by applying on them different substances and by wrapping them up with several cloth stripes.

The *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* of the DK quotes on p. 177 of its paper transcript a Sanskrit sentence mentioning that the body of a human being consists of seven *dhātus*:

tvagasṛṅmāṃsamedo'sthimajjāśukrāś ca dhātavaḥ

and that all these *dhātus* should be represented in the statues of Jagannātha etc. also It further mentions that out of these the *skin* is represented by cloth stripes the *blood* by cloth pieces of red colour (*neta pāṭa* in Oriya, *netra-paṭṭa* in Sanskrit), the *flesh* by the resin of the trees (especially of Śāla), the *marrow* by perfumed oil, the *fat* by sandal paste and the *semen* by the starch of rice or wheat flour.[109]

A similar description is found in the *Nīlādrimahodaya.*[110] Giving a detailed description of the annual repairs on the statues of Jagannātha etc., it (implicitly) identifies the wooden structure with the bones. On these bones first perfumed oil is rubbed (that has been prepared by keeping some fragrant flowers in the oil for many days) which represents, so to say, the marrow inside the bone. Stripes of the coloured "Netra Paṭa"[111] are wrapped around on every limb of the statue which represent of veins and the blood flowing into them. A thick paste of camphor, musk and sandal paste is then applied on this structure which is, so to say, the 'flesh' of the statues and which to a great extent is responsible for bringing out the facial features or contours the figures. This paste is again wrapped up with strong stripes of cotton cloth

[109] . . . *ethaku carmaniminte vastra lāgi, raktaniminte pāṭa lāgi māṃsaniminte sarjaḷasa, medaniminte subāsitataiḷa asthiniminte . . . candana śukraniminte aṭakāḷi, e prakāra saptāvaraṇa lāgi hoiba| e uttāre bānakalāgi niminte āgakapūra khaḍi daitāpati saṃskāra kari śrīaṅga lāgi uttāru śrīmukhasinghāri khaḍi lāgī karāibe|*

[110] Adhy. 14; pp. 143-44 of the printed text and Folio 57b and 58a of the Project manuscript.

[111] The Daitapati of the Temple has told me in a personal conversation that after applying the oil, first of all, long red *threads* are wrapped around on every limb of the statue symbolising the blood vessels. This seems to me to be more convincing than the '*netrapaṭa*' cloth pieces mentioned in the Nīlādrimahodya.

which represents the skin of the statue. The starch applied from above to strengthen the cloth pieces and to prevent it from becoming loose is interpreted by the author of *Nīlādrimahodaya* (less convincingly!) with the corporal hair.

The process of preparing the images of Jagannātha does not seem to have changed in the course of the last several centuries. The *Pur. Māh.* of Skd. P. unmistakably makes reference to the annual repair of the statues and also refers to *Paṭa* (cloth), *niryāsa* (resin or gum of trees) and *valkala* (? thin bark of the trees) as the articles which are to be used for repairing the statues. It also strictly prohibits the general public to watch the statues in a state when they are stripped of all their coverings.[112]

After the statues have been infused with flesh and blood etc. and they have achieved their final shape and form, they are given over to the *Citakaras* (*citrakāra*-s) who paint the images within two days (on the 14th and the new moon day of Āṣāḍha) with indigenous colours (e.g. charcole for black, the powder of the mothers-of-pearl for white, *haratāla* or turmeric for yellow etc.).

The most remarkable and interesting fact about the painting is that the painters are not allowed to paint the pupils of the eyes of the Deities. This task is carried out by the Brahmin priests of the Temple the next day (the 1st day of the bright half of the regular Āṣāḍha) with great solemnity in the sanctum while reciting the Ṛgvedic Mantra VII. 66.16, i.e. *tac caksur devahitaṃ purastāt śukram uccarat* . . . etc . The rite is known as *Netrotsava* (the term *netronmīlanam* is, however, the usual expression of this rite elsewhere).

After giving the last stroke of brush in the eyes of the Deities the Brahmins bathe them (i.e. their reflections) in the bronze mirrors placed before them with *pañcāmṛtā* (i.e. milk, curd, ghee, honey and sugar), give them water to rinse their mouth (*ācamaniya*) and once more give them a second bath with scented water uttering the *āpo hi ṣṭhā mayobhuvaḥ* . . . (RV X. 9.1) and the *samudrajyesṭhaḥ salilasya madhyāt* . . . (RV VII. 42.1 ff.) Mantras. This bath following the *Netrotsava* has obviously a purificatory character. It aims at making the images free from the contamination that they have undergone in the hands of the carpenters, sculptors and painters etc.[113]

112 cf. Adhy. 19.22-27 (also 19.37 cd) :
ami dārusvarūpeṇa dṛṣṭāḥpāpāya hetave/22cd
gopanīyā prayatnenā paṭaniryāsavalkalaiḥ/
tasmāt prathamam evaitan taror evāsya valkalaiḥ//23
śilpibhiḥ karmakuśalaih dṛḍham ācchādayāgrataḥ/
varṣe varṣe ca saṃskāryāḥ pūrvasaṃskāramocanat//24
nektifavyā tvayā rājan kndācid apavāraṇāḥ/26 cd
manuṣyais cāpi rājendra dṛṣṭāḥ syur bhayahetavaḥ/
tasmāt sacitrā draṣṭavyā bahulepavilepitāḥ//27

113 cf. the *Saṃkalpapāṭha* of the *Calaśrīmūrtipratiṣṭhā* p. 63:
namas te'rce sureśāni praṇīte viśvakarmaṇā/
prabhāvitāśeṣajagaddhātrī tubhyam namo namaḥ//
tvayi sampūjayāmīśe nārāyaṇam anāmayam/
rahita śilpidoṣais tu ṛddhiyuktā sadā bhava//

With this last act of the purification of the new images, the ceremony of Navakalevara comes to an end and on the next day (2nd day of the bright half of the regular Āṣāḍha) the famous car festival of Jagannātha takes place in which the newly fashioned Deities come out of the Temple to be hailed and greeted by an immeasurable multitude of the people.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

1. The different rites of the Navakalevara ceremony are a nice example of the superim-position of the Brahmanic Hinduism on a cult which was purely tribal in origin. The presence of the Daitas, who are avowedly of tribal origin, everywhere in this ceremony and the important part that they play in this ceremony is an irrefutable proof to this effect. Though *Vanayāga* in itself is a phenomenon belonging to the Brahmanic tradition being referred to in detail in the older texts like *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and *Vaikhānasa-Āgama* etc., it is they (Daitas) who fell the tree, bring it to the Temple and fashion the images. The Brahmins are not allowed even to enter the Nirmāṇamaṇḍapa. They are neither allowed to see nor to touch the unfinished wooden images, not even for the sake of consecration. The Nyāsadāru which they consecrate for 15 days and which serves as a lid to close the cavity in the torsos of the statues is a weak consolation for the Brahmanic ritual and clearly exhibits its secondary character. In the same manner they are kept away from knowing the 'life-substance' of the Deities and it eems that they have had to struggle hard to get hold of the statues at least on the last day, just before the end of the whole ceremony, in order to make a small stroke in the eyes of Jagannātha and others.

2. The use of Nṛsiṁha Mantra in every rite of the ceremony and the treatment of the Deites as Nṛsiṁha make it look very probable that that Jagannātha has been identical with Nṛsiṃha at some stage or other.

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cf. also the *Saṃkalpavâkya* for the consecration of the images in the MS entitled *Dārubrahma-pratiṣṭhāvidhi* which we have collected from Keonjhar : "... *Śrijagannāthasya śilpisaṃsparśadoṣa-vyapohanārthaṃ saṃskārakarmaṇi* ... ācaryatvena tvām aham vṛṇe".

Folio 84a

Chapter XIV

PROTOTYPES OF THE NAVAKALEVARA RITUAL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE JAGANNĀTHA CULT

A. Eschmann

THE NAVAKALEVARA RITUAL AND HINDUIZATION

As already noted (Eschmann, chapter 4), a main element in the Hinduization of a tribal cult is the gradual addition of Hindu ritual, an addition which eventually will mostly lead to a total substitution. Summing up, the contrasting functional characteristics of tribal and Hindu worship can be characterised as follows: the tribal shrine contains an unanthropomorphic symbol of the deity, whose apparition and presence is not so much connected with that symbol, but occurs through the medium of a human being by possession: the centre of the cult is the sacrifice, which is celebrated at considerable intervals only. As opposed to this, the functional characteristics of Hindu worship are an anthropomorphic image which is believed to convey the very presence of the deity because it is daily worshipped with an elaborate ritual (*pūjā*) which asks the deity to appear in that image.

The process which leads from one pole to the other, and may also be reversed, has been called Hinduization. It operates on different levels, mainly village cults and "proper" temples, which are recognised by all castes and are of more than local importance and have daily worship. On that level, some features of tribal religion which are still fairly frequent in folk religion as, for instance, possession will usually no more be present. By then, the daily rituals performed especially the mode of worship usually belong fully to Brahmanical "High Hinduism". The only ritual which may have been continued from the beginning right to the final stages of even more intense Hinduization is sometimes the sacrifice, but as an institution the details of its execution having mostly been changed.

From the ritual itself, the tribal origin of such Hinduized temple cults can therefore usually not be inferred. Other realms, mainly three, may still point to that origin: the legend attached to the temple, the peculiar nature of the icon, and the

affiliation of all or some of the priests to a non-Brahmin group or caste which may even be of tribal origin. Also in this respect, as in so many others, the Jagannātha Temple offers an exception within its complex mode of worship which belongs to the highest level of Brahmanical Hinduism. And there is one ritual which is as unique as the icons themselves: their periodic renewal (see Tripathi, chapter 13). The close connection to the iconography—it is their being of wood which allows or necessitates the renewal of the Jagannātha images—as well as the dominating role which the *daitas*, i.e., the priests of tribal origin play in this ritual, strongly suggest its being of tribal origin.

However, this obvious implication has so far hardly been considered. Probably for two reasons: The Puri Navakalevara ritual used to be secret and consequently its study was taken up only very recently.[1] This, in a way, is a happy circumstance, because, if even the inhabitants of Puri hardly used to know about the Navakalevara ritual, it is impossible to assume that it should have penetrated into tribal and folk religion "from above" by an inversion of the process of Hinduization. Moreover, these prototypes of the ritual are by far too widespread to allow such an assumption. Secondly, the existence of such rituals in tribal and folk religion of Orissa as well seems to have been so far almost completely unknown.

The question of renewal is naturally relevant only where wooden poles or structures are involved—stones need not be replaced. Curiously enough, a renewal, namely the removal and disposal of the old structures and the installation of a new one at the very same spot is hardly ever mentioned in the ethnographic literature. Though also in tribal religion the ritual tends to be kept secret, at least from foreigners,[2] this can only mean that a ritual renewal is not necessarily connected with the existence of wooden structures in tribal religion. Obviously, some wooden structures, as for instance, memorials for the dead[3] are not renewed. But even where wooden structures seem to be at the very centre of the worship of a tribe, their renewal is not necessarily ritually relevant. The Saoras in South Orissa, for instance, have their villages shrines consisting of a post on which a pot is hung. The poles may be very small or rather big and carry even a thatched roof. However, the part which may be called the symbol of the deity or which is at least relevant to the worship, is the pot in which offerings are put and not the pole. It therefore seems almost logical that

[1] The latest study is G.C. Tripathi's article which is incorporated in this volume. See also his previous essay: Tripathi, 1970 & 1974; A. Das, 1969 and K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 139 ff.

[2] During my field work in Orissa I was lucky enough to witness by chance such a ritual of renewal, namely the renewal of the Khambheśvarī posts at Gopalprasad during the festival of Hiṅgulāyātrā which occurs only once within the lifetime of a rājā of Talcher after his accession (see below). Thereafter when I searched systematically for occurrences of this ritual I could often notice how reluctant the priests were to talk about it. Usually, only after they realised that I was already familiar with it, they were prepared to speak. This naturally involved the danger that I should influence them, which I tried to avoid as far as possible by a very cautious questioning.

[3] On memorials in general see S. Settar and G. Sontheimer, 1977.

repairs or even a replacement of that post are not an important ritual. As an old Saora explained, "You just go and fetch another stick of wood".

One might therefore venture the hypothesis that rituals of renewal can occur only where the very post—not a more complicated structure, which might be repaired —is considered to be the symbol of the deity. This hypothesis would explain why such a ritual—as far as I could find out up to now—is mainly found in Central and Western Orissa, almost exactly in that area where since the sixth century A.D. the "lady of the post" (*Stambheśvarī*, Oriya *Khambheśvarī*), a Hinduized tribal goddess, is worshipped. (Eschmann, chapter 4; Kulke, chapter 7). In this area, most of the tribal cults—mainly Khond—and many folk and temple cults on different levels of Hinduization are centered in wooden posts dedicated to a goddess, a feature which might originally have been connected with the Khond Meriah cult.[4]

TRIBAL EXAMPLES OF THE RITUAL OF RENEWAL

The Khonds

A typical shrine of a Khond village of the area consists of an open mud house with thatched roof and an enclosure fenced by posts of *sāl* wood. Whereas within the enclosure there is always a stout post of *rohiṇī* wood (see figs. 59,60), the shrine may be completely empty as well as contain another post of *mūhula* wood.[5] At these shrines, once in a while buffaloes are sacrificed, often with details which remember the Meriah sacrifice.[6] At the time of such festivals, the priest (*dehuri*) worships the

4 There is probably a connection between these posts and the famous Meriah posts. This is suggested for instance by the fact that "the brass effigy of a peacock is burried besides the Meriah post" (McPherson, 1865, p. 4.), which recalls the metal buried underneath the posts discussed here (see also below notes 8 and 24).

5 Empty shrines are found manily in the Phulbani area, dedicated to Bāralā Devi, for instance in the villages Ganjuguda, Urumunda, Balasgumpha (see below). Posts within the shrines as well as in the outer enclosure are frequently met in the Khond Mahals (between Dasphalla and Baudh), for instance in Thakuda (Bandirī Ṭhākurāṇī) and Ranıganj (Bāralā Devī). A stone within a shrine which has a post in the outer enclosure is found for instance in Bahali (for the goddess Pītabalī) in the Northern Khond.

6 As shall be seen below, the common practice amongst the Khonds and Dumals is to tie a rope from the buffalo to the sacrificial post (set up for this occasion only), from there to the "navel" of the outer post and eventually to the inner post, so that both posts partake of the sacrificial blood at the very moment of sacrifice. In addition, the blood is usually poured over these posts, or, at least, symbolically offered to them. The head of the buffalo is also often offered, worshipped and then buried within the outer enclosure. In some villages (Raniganj for instance) the buffalo roams freely through the village to be worshipped and offered gifts. Often, the buffalo has also to eat the rice offered to the goddess (*puñji*).

This practice recalls the meriah sacrifice, where the victim was also allowed to roam through the village and stay in whatever house he or she chose. A burial of the remains of the Meriah sacrifice is also mentioned in some reports (McPherson, 1865, p. 50 ff; History etc. 1954, p. 73 ff.). See also below note 24.

post by offering water, milk, flowers, heaps of rice (*puñji*) etc. in a process which, sometimes, resembles the giving of the five *upacāras*, typical for the Hindu *pūjā*. Elements of Hinduization cannot be excluded in these villages which, since long, have been interacting with Hindu communities. However, the cults listed here are tribal as they are sponsored by villages entirely or almost entirely inhabitated by Khonds. The further development, once other castes are involved, is clearly discernible from this stage. For instance in Urumunda, a village with mixed population, the Khond priest offers milk once a week to the post, a first step towards the daily performance of the five *upacāras*.

The renewal of the post is always carried out on the eve of such a sacrificial feast, but not at regular intervals. It may be done whenever it is necessary and the community can afford it. The inner and the outer post are not necessarily replaced at the same time, but with the same ritual[7] which may be most conveniently described according to the classification used by Tripathi for the Puri Navakalevara.[8]

(a) *Selection and Transport of the Log*

The goddess herself indicates the spot or the direction where the tree is to be found. She usually appears in a dream to the *bhejinī* (the medium or shaman) who in most of the instances also leads the search party to the right tree while being possessed. The search party always consists of the *dehurī*, the *bhejinī*, the *bāhuka* (the person who kills the sacrificial animal), the drummers, and mostly the village chief. In some instances, the whole village or at least one person from each house, sets out. The tree to be selected has to display certain features: it must be straight, strong and round, not show any mark of having been struck by lightning or by an axe and not bear any bird's nests.[9] Before it is cut, the *dehurī* worships the tree in the same way as the post in the shrine is worshipped. After that, a sheep or goat may be sacrificed. Then the tree is cut, the first stroke being invariably performed by the *dehurī*. While falling, the tree should not touch the ground. The upper part is therefore cut first, or else branches and shrubs are arranged in such a way that the tree will fall on them.[10] The log is then freed from the branches and covered with a new cloth which may be red or white. Sometimes it is stated that the search party now eats what has been offered to the tree[11] and then the log is carried to the village with drumming

[7] The posts I could so far find in the Khond area were all quite old, so no recent occurrence of the renewal could be related. However, the accounts given in the different villages were conforming in nearly all major features, varying only in details. The following description follows mainly the account given by Bāmadeva Mālīka Khanda, the priest of the Pītabalī temple in Bahali. Major variations in details, as found in the villages listed in Note 5, are mentioned.

[8] Cf Tripathi, 1974, p. 412. and above ch. 13.

[9] In Raniganj it was added that the top of the tree should be shaped like a triangle and its leaves should not touch the ground, in Thakuda the condition was that it should not be hollow, if found to be so, another tree must be selected.

[10] Urumunda (here the log is immediately covered with a red silk cloth) and Balasgumpha.

[11] Raniganj.

and shouting. The log should never be put on the ground. Whenever this becomes inevitable—mostly while crossing a river—a sacrifice has to be offered.[12]

(b) *The Carving of the Post*

Once in the village, the log is put into a newly constructed shed near the shrine.[13] Whoever is entrusted with the carving—the whole search party, the *dehurī* only, or the village carpenter[14]—is not supposed to leave this place until the work is completed. He has to eat only once a day rice which is specially prepared there and to abstain from drinks or drugs.

(*c*) *Removal and Disposal of the Old Post*

Before the new post can be installed, the old one has to be removed. This is done by one of the priests—the *dehurī*, the *bhejinī* or the *bāhuka*[15] or by all of them together. The old post is either thrown on the ground—usually within the compound —"to be eaten by the ants as we ourselves will be", or else later on, when the installation ceremony and the subsequent feast are over, buried within the enclosure towards south.[16]

(*d*) *Installation and Consecration of the New Post*

The same person who removed the old post cleans the hole where it used to stand and puts five metals (gold, silver, iron, copper, brass metal), either in one plate or in five different pieces, into it.[17] The old pieces of metal are usually not removed, because "the earth eats them". Then the new post is inserted and erected, sometimes by filling up the hole with sand from the river bank "on which nobody has walked yet".[18] In many Khond villages this actual installation of the post is preceded by a consecration through a Brahmin who often is called for this purpose only from considerable distance. He performs fire sacrifice (*homa*) and gives the

12 An additional precaution, namely that the log is never actually put on the ground but only on blocks of newly cut wood, was mentioned in Uddayagiri and Raniganj.

13 Whether another *pūjā* and sacrifice was performed there could nowhere be well remembered—it may depend on the wealth of the community. In respect to the carving, Bahali offers a major exception as it was said that the whole carving was done already in the wood.

14 Raniganj: the whole party, Urumunda, Balasgumpha: the *dehurī* only, Thakuda: the village carpenter.

15 Bhejini (Khond) is the person who becomes possessed (Oriya *Kālisi*), *bāhuka* is the person who kills the sacrificial animal.

16 Urumunda, Raniganj.

17 Only in Thakuda people could not remember that metal was given into the hole but named rice and milk instead, in Uddayagiri salt was mentioned.

18 Bahali only.

prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā-mantra to the carved post. Naturally there are no mantras or ritual prescriptions relating to the goddesses worshipped by the Khonds. The Brahmin will therefore usually construct the *mūla mantra* to her name according to the rules, and for the rest follow the instructions given for the worship of *Vana Durgā* in the ritualistic handbooks current in Orissa as for instance the *Purohita-Karma-Kāṇḍa*. This consecration by a Brahmin may be called a first decisive step of Hinduization. By imparting a mantra, the Brahmin so to speak formally acknowledges the post as a Hindu *mūrti*, an acknowledgement which on this level of predominantly tribal worship is of no further consequence. This occasion which recurs at the utmost every twenty years is the only one where a non-tribal has any ritual function. The Hindu intervention is not practised in all villages of the area.[19]

As soon as the post is installed, the regular worship and afterwards the sacrifices are performed. Usually after a renewal a buffalo has to be sacrificed as first animal. The buffalo is tied to a specially erected post of *sāl* wood outside the enclosure at the southern side. Sometimes a rope is led from his neck over the *sāl* post to the *rohiṇī* post. The blood of the sacrifice is poured over the inner and the outer post, its head buried within the enclosure, also on the southern side.[20]

The Khond ritual of renewal is by far more simple than the Puri Navakalevara. Nevertheless, the parallels are obvious. Not only do the main actions—with the exception of the painting of the figures which is found in Puri only—coincide many significant details are also alike, namely:

> The spotting of the direction in which the tree is to be found through a dream.
>
> The identification of the right tree by certain features, as for instance, no bird's nests, no signs of strokes of lightning or axes.
>
> The worship of the tree with a sacrifice which in the Puri ritual is only symbolically performed.
>
> The first stroke to be performed by the main priest.
>
> The fact that the tree should fall towards east.
>
> The special precautions in the transport of the log.
>
> The deposition of the log in a newly constructed shed or *maṇḍapa* near the main shrine.
>
> The restrictions under which the carpenters have to live during their work.
>
> The beginnings of the separation between the consecration, carried out exclusively by Brahmins - in Puri it is performed by seventy Brahmins during thirteen days—and the installation or exchange of the posts which is carried out by the tribal priests in the Khond villages and accordingly by the *Daitas* in Puri.

19 For instance not in Thakuda and Bahali.

20 Raniganj. Sometimes the head of the animal is also given to a special group for their function in the ritual, for instance in Ganjuguda to the drummers.

THE RITUAL IN A HINDU LINEAGE CULT: THE DUMALS

A more elaborate version of the ritual of renewal is performed by the Dumals, a group prevalent in the Sonepur region. They are considered to be Hindus and sometimes call themselves *casā* (cultivators), but their status within the caste hierarchy varies very much. Majumdar already suggested that they might be of tribal origin, because they interdine with the *śuddhas*, a group which is clearly of tribal origin, and because they worship posts as the Khonds do.[21] As will be seen below, their worship shows indeed a close relation to the Khond cult in many details. Moreover, it is certainly significant that features of the Meriah sacrifice are also met with in the Dumal practice of buffalo sacrifice.[22] This and the fact that in some Khond villages Dumals may act as *bhejinī*,[23] seem to prove that they are indeed of tribal, and most probably Khond origin.

The cult of the Dumal is commonly called *bāḍi-pūjā* "worship of sticks". The division of the sacred compound is basically the same as in the Khond villages: a house and an open enclosure with one post. The house is usually a respectable brick building, often with beautifully carved doors, and faces east. It enshrines the *bāḍis*, long, slim, highly polished sticks of red *māhula* wood[24] which represent the goddess Paramaheśvarī (see fig. 61). In most of the temples there are two *bāḍis* of almost human height and in between them stands a shorter one, which is the handle of a sword used for the sacrifice. In some villages that sword is worshipped only.[25]

21 Mazumdar 1911, p. 121. Interesting in this connection is that the Gandas, one of the scheduled castes of the region worship a deity called *Thānapati*.

22 The most striking account of *meriah*-like practices was given in Ranisardha by the village chief Judhishthira Mahakura. Here the head of the buffalo is taken into a newly constructed shed at the north of the shrine and put on a *maṇḍala*. The Brahmin (!) worships it and gives a *jīvanyāsa-mantra*, so that "the eyes move again, the tongue is put out and life restored". The Brahmin feeds the head, and then the *dehurī* carries it away ' without looking to the left nor to the right" and buries it. The meat of the buffalo's body is given to the Harijans. In Harada Khala the head is burried under two pots, the body given to the Panas.

23 In Urumunda there used to be a Dumal *bhejinī*; in Raniganj, whose whole cult of all the Khond villages surveyed, seemed most close to the Dumal cults, always a Dumal acts as *bhejini*.

24 Nandi (1973, p. 122) thinks, that "The use of red *rohinī* wood, in place of black wood, also followed from a desire to shed most of the primitive features of the deity before she could be finally accepted as a goddess of the Brahmanical (!) pantheon". Majumdar (1911, p. 446) mentions that Paramaheśvarī is worshipped by Brahmins, whereas Khambheśvarī, represented in the Dumal cults by the outer, black post, is not. This has been taken up by Nandi (ibid.). In my own field work, I could so far not find any trace of this practice.

25 This may occur in relatively great temples of prosperous Dumal villages as for instance in Harada Khala, but also in dilapidated shrines of multi-caste villages, where the Dumals form only a neglected minority, for instance in Menda (see below) and Bambala, South-east of Baudh. All villages with Dumal cults are situated in the Sonepur-Baudh region.

In some villages, for instance in Ranisardha, the *bāḍis* stand in an inner room, and in another room three more *bāḍis* are separately leaning against the wall. They are meant to support the *chattra* at the time of festival and are also occasionally worshipped. A similar subdivision with an inner chamber is also often found in the Khond shrines.

The *bāḍis* are supported by a structure of *sāl* wood, they stand within an earthen pot, where also ankle rings are put, which the goddess likes to wear. As she is a lady and likes jewellery, a silver "girdle" is sometimes also put round the "waist" of the *bāḍis*.

The outer enclosure may be just a fence of *sāl* wood as well as an open pavillion. The post standing there represents Maheśvarī-Khambheśvarī. It is of *rohiṇī* wood, always rectangular and covered with elaborate decorative carvings (see fig. 69). The middle of the post—which might be of considerable height—is marked by a rectangular hole, which is referred to as its "navel".

The worship, including sacrifices, is carried out several times a year—and always at *dasaharā* (Vijayādaśamī)—, and in some temples the *bāḍis* and the outer *khambha* are worshipped daily by the *dehurī* who offers the five *upacāras*.[26] The *dehurī* who performs the worship is always a Dumal, the *bhejinī* and the person who kills the sacrificial animals not necessarily, they may belong to a lower group (Harijan). A Brahmin takes part in the worship only when the *bāḍis* or the *khambha* are renewed which, as in the Khond instances, is done according to the same process but not necessarily at the same time.

In general the ritual of renewal observed by the Dumals closely follows the Khond pattern, whose details—for instance the sacrifice at the foot of the spotted tree—seem to be more strictly observed or perhaps better remembered.[27] Wherever the Dumal ritual is significantly deviating from the Khond pattern, it is by addition or elaboration, not by omission. The most important additions concern three topics: the handling of the log, the disposal of the old and the consecration of the new post.

(*a*) *The Handling of the Log*

Though the whole process of spotting and fetching the tree follows very much the Khond model, there is in addition a marked emphasis on the special care which must be taken while handling the log. It has to be completely covered by a new white cloth as soon as it is cut, and in one village it was stressed that while it is brought to the village—suspended on *fresh* ropes—a person proceeds the procession sprinkling water on its way.[28] Once it is put down in the new shed near the temple, invariably the *dehurī* has to worship it and a sacrifice has to be performed. The carpenters—always Dumals—not only have to live on the spot and eat only once a day,

[26] For instance in Harada Khala, Baladi, Ranisardha every *Purṇimā* day.

[27] In the Dumal area I was happy enough to find an instance where the post was renewed in 1967 only The following description follows the account given by the *dehurī* Benu Dhara Karanni in that village (Harada Khala) which but for one house of Brahmins is exclusively inhabited by Dumals. The only major difference between the various accounts I could collect was found in Baladi, where only the renewal of the outer posts, not that of the *bāḍis* was remembered to be accompanied by sacrifices.

[28] Kokshakona, Ranisardha. In the later the log is carried through the whole village before being brought to the temple.

they also have to be in a state of ritual purity. That means that they are expected to take a bath and put on new clothes whenever they had to follow the call of nature or even when a drop of sweat has fallen from their foreheads.

(b) *Consecration and Installation*

This part of the ritual is considerably more complicated as in the Khond instances, and always requires the participation of a Brahmin. If the outer *khambha* is renewed, the *dehurī* cleans the hole and then places into it one plate made of as well as five separate pieces of the five metals. Thereafter, he inserts three golden nails in the *khambha* or in each of the *bāḍis*: at the top, at the middle (the "navel") and at the bottom.[29] In one village only, this was supposed to be done by the Brahmin.[30] Meanwhile the Brahmin has finished his *homa*. The *dehurī* now holds the post or sticks leaning on his right shoulder while the Brahmin sits opposite and imparts the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭha-mantra*, namely the Khambheśvarī *mantra* to the outer post, and the Kālī *mantra* to the *bāḍis*.[31] Thereafter the post is carried three times round the hole and then installed by the Dehurī, sometimes with the help of the Brahmin *purohita* and the village-chief.[32]

(c) *The Removal and Disposal of the Old Post*

The main factual difference as compared to the Khond ritual is that the old *bāḍis* or *khambhas* are not buried but thrown into the river, mostly the Tel, and that a Brahmin participates in this stage of the ritual as well. Before they are removed, it is the Brahmin who worships the old *bāḍis* or *khambha* for the last time by performing the ritual usually done by the *dehurī*. The old post is carried away by night, when the feast is over, by the *dehurī*, the man who removed the post, who is sometimes specially appointed,[33] and other Dumals. At the bank of the river a last sacrifice may be offered, then the post is immersed, the members of the party take a bath and return home.

In some villages[34] the Brahmin goes with the party and speaks the *visarjana mantra*. In these villages the old post is considered to be "dead" and therefore the persons connected with its removal and disposal have not only to take a bath, but

29 In Harada Khala it was stated that the gold to be inserted into the navel was not a nail but a greater piece. Here, as in one Khond village as well, sand from the river is brought to fill up the hole.

30 Ranisardha.

31 Fortunately I could interview the Brahmin Narayana Mishra who acted at the last renewal in Harada Khala. He lives in Dhungripali at a considerable distance. His manual is "*Ṭhakura Pūjā Paddhati*" by Shrī Dhara Rao published in Cuttack 1928.

32 Harada Khala.

33 In Baladi the Dumal appointed for this task is said to be given Rs. 100/-! The removal of the old post is considered to be a very dangerous action.

34 Baladi, Harada Khala.

to shave and to observe mourning riutals for one day. In one of these villages[35] a Brahmin has an additional function, namely to cook the Bhoga so that also non-Dumals may participate in the general feast.

The additions to the Khond pattern found in the Dumal ritual seem to be signs of a higher degree of Hinduization, they all point so to speak in a Hindu direction. The significant enlargement of the functions of the Brahmin mark a higher degree of general recognition of the cult. The posts and the *bāḍis* are definitely looked at as *mūrtis* of the goddesses. In this context it is interesting to note that there certainly is a certain degree of anthropomorphization in the Dumal concept. The *bāḍis* are adorned as human beings and spoken of as such, but no iconographic consequences are (yet) drawn. Last not the least the careful handling of the new log which must remain pure and even the unusual disposal of the old posts as something which has become impure agree very well with Hindu concepts of purity.

If the special features of the Dumal cult are signs of a higher degree of Hinduization it is only natural that they should find parallels in the Puri Navakalevara. The most important features to be found in both the rituals are the conception of the death of the old posts or figures, and the fact that to instal them properly something has to be inserted into them. As in the Dumal instances, the Daitas in Puri, after having disposed of the old figures have to take a bath and then to observe mourning, because of the death of Lord Jagannātha who was their "relative". The parallel between the insertion of the *Brahma padārtha* and the golden nails, both necessary to the installation but separated from the brahmanical consecration is also obvious. The insertion of the *Brahma-padārtha* is prerogative of the Daitas—only for the figure of Lord Jagannātha it is performed by the *Pati Mahāpātra*, who is a 'half' Daita, being a descendent of the Brahmin Vidyāpati with his *Śabara* wife Lalita. The insertion of golden nails in the wooden post reminds one of the insertion of a golden discus in the post of Sudarśana in the Jagannātha Temple, a cult image which seems to continue this tribal practice of consecration even to this day (cf. Tripathi, ch. 13).

The Dumal cult can be called a partially Hinduized cult in the sense of a "lineage cult".[36] With one exception other groups do not generally join into the cult. Accordingly the Maheśvarī temples are of some importance only in those places where the Dumals play an important role or have a large majority. In other villages of the area where that is not the case, the Maheśvarī temples are neglected, or lie even in ruins.

In one of those villages for instance, the temple enshrines only a sword, and in front of it there is a sort of platform, but without *khambha*. It broke down and could not be renewed because the insignificant Dumal community here is no more able to support such a complicated ritual. "We are fools" says the old Dumal who acts as a *dehurī*, and sadly adds that his son does not even know how to

[35] Baladi.

[36] Dumont (1970, p 23); see also above Eschmann, chapter 4, note 8.

perform the yearly sacrifice properly, so that the worship of the deity will die with him.[37]

The Hinduization of the post worship as found in the Dumals is clearly associated, and that means also limited, to the degree of Hinduization or assimilation the whole group enjoys. But this is not necessarily so. Whereas we could speak of a partial Hinduization in the case of the Dumals there are many instances of this cult being Hinduized in general, i.e. attended to by all castes and groups.

THE RITUAL IN HINDU VILLAGE CULTS

In many villages throughout Western Orissa posts are worshipped by the whole community of a village consisting of different castes. The worship of the post may either be connected with the cult of the village goddess or be carried out in a shrine of its own, where usually several goddesses are worshipped together, one of them being represented by a post.[38] The priests of these village shrines are almost invariably non-Brahmins, and sometimes belong to groups of clearly tribal origin. What is most remarkable in the present context, is the fact that though posts are frequently found in these village cults, yet the ritual of renewal is seldom performed. In one of those shrines, for instance, Khambheśvarī is represented by an almost entirely dilapidated post *and* a huge stone, and worshipped together with other goddesses by a *śuddha-dehurī*.[39] He is perfectly aware of the fact that this mere stump of a post will not last much longer, and also has a vague idea of how a renewal should be performed. But he and the villagers are equally positive on the fact that it is impossible for them to perform this complicated ritual, and that to remove the post without the proper knowledge would be moreover highly dangerous. So they calmly wait for the post to disappear, which does not mean that the worship of Khambheśvarī is going to be discontinued; she will be by then represented by the stone only.

The inability to perform the ritual of renewal might be reinforced in modern times but does not seem to be a modern feature altogether. As has been seen in the Dumal case, the performance of the ritual of renewal needs the support of a strong community. This necessary precondition is no more present on the level of village folk religion, where the worship of a post is not the dominating feature of the cult but just one element of it. Substitutions by stones are therefore common and sometimes still remembered.[40] Their occurrence explains a fact, which at first sight seems

37 Viśva Mahākula Dumal, the *dehurī* of the Maheśvarī temple in Menda, a great multi-caste place North West of Sonepur with several temples

38 For instance in the Khambheśvarī shrines in Baudhapatta and Gambaripada (both in the Sonepur region) where Khambheśvarī is worshipped amongst other goddesses, but is the only one to be represented by a post.

39 Upendra Dehuri, priest of the Khambheśvarī shrine in Bahira (North West of Sonepur).

40 Such a replacement is still remembered in the Samalāī temple of Baragarh, where there is a Khambheśvarī shrine. It is in front of Khambheśvarī "the sister of Samalāī" that the sacrifices

most disturbing: in most of the Khambheśvarī shrines listed by the Religious Endowments Office the "lady of the post" is represented not by a post but by a stone. This regression in the occurrence of the ritual of renewal is typical for that stage of general Hinduization which may be called an intermediate stage.

THE RITUAL ATTAINING THE LEVEL OF A TEMPLE CULT

The ritual is again found to be carried out quite frequently on what may be called a final stage of Hinduization, the temple level. On this level the necessary support for the performance of the ritual may again be found on a larger scale. Where the impact of the Khonds or Dumals is considerable, the worship of the post may be such a predominant feature of a particular cult only just having reached the temple level, that its renewal has to be performed and supported by the whole community, as for instance in the temple of Bāralā Devī in Balasgumpha which, as has been shown above, is on the verge to become a "full" temple, not yet being fully recognised by all castes. At this place the beginning differentiation amongst the priests can be well exemplified.

Though most probably originally all of tribal stock, the priests belong to different groups: the *dehurī* is a *śuddha*, the *kālisi* and the *bāhuka* only are Khonds. As a sort of compensation so to speak, some actions of the ritual of renewal, usually performed by the *dehurī*, are conferred on Khonds specially called in. The search party has to consist Khonds, they only can remove the old and instal the new post. And strictly speaking, Khonds should also carve the new post—but as, according to the villagers, they don't have the skill, that is now done by the *dehurī*.[41]

Often the worship of posts at temple level is also connected with a royal cult—probably as a guarantee for the allegiance between the king and his tribal subjects and it is therefore the king who sponsors the ritual of renewal (see also Kulke, chapter 7).

A good example of such a cult is found in Gopalprasad near Talcher, a shrine which may also be said to be, typologically, at the verge of the temple level. It fulfils only two of the three conditions mentioned above: it is accepted by all Hindus and of more than local importance, but there is no daily worship being performed. Accordingly the "tribal" elements of the cult, as possession and mass

are performed, because whereas Samalāī takes sacrifices only at Dasaharā, Khambheśvarī always accepts them Khambheśvarī is now represented by a stone in a small shrine. But people remember that formerly two posts were standing there. When decayed, these were thrown into the river, and the shrine was constructed over a stone which used to lie there.

41 A similar case is found in Uddayagiri, fifty miles north-east from Phulbani, in the temple of Bhāralarāuladevī. This is a closed temple of concrete, which is only opened four times a year. Such "closed temples" are sometimes found in places where castes and tribes live together, the rare opening corresponds to the tribal feature of worship in large intervals. Inside the temple a heap of mud painted as a face is said to be there. The *dehurī* in *casā*. But when the post has to be renewed, a "Khond guru" is called and Khonds have to perform the ritual under his supervision.

sacrifice are of considerable impact, whereas the Brahmanic influence is comparatively weak.

The yearly *Hiṅgulāyātrā* at Gopalprasad, where the goddess appears in a fire, attracts people from all over the region. During the four preceding Tuesdays the goddess is worshipped at her shrine, but without sacrifices. The Hiṅgulā of Gopalprasad is supposed to be the non-vegetarian sister of the Puri Hiṅgulā who is Lakṣmī. The possession of the *kālisi* during Hiṅgulayātrā and the beginning of the sacrifices take place between sunset and the rise of the moon, because at this hour the Puri temple of Hiṅgulā is supposed to be closed and so the Hiṅgulā from Puri can come to Gopalprasad. The legend says that Hiṅgulā, the family deity of the Nalas, advised the king Padmalābha Haricandana who, after having just founded Talcher, fought against them, how to win. He had to sacrifice the Kaibarta (sans. *Kaivarta*=fisher) who worshipped Tāleśvarī in Talcher, and to offer his head. This the rājā did and since then the Hiṅgulā cult of Gopalprasad is attached to the royal cult of Talcher.[42] There is a shrine built by the Rājās of Talcher where Hiṅgulā--represented by pebbles and three other goddesses--represented by small platforms only, are worshipped.[43] In a separate pavilion behind the shrine two rough pillars of *sāl* wood are said to represent Vana Durgā but are also called Buḍhī Ṭhākuraṇī or Khambheśvarī (see fig. 62). The *dehurī* and the *kālisī* claim to be Kṣatriyas, but are by others sometimes called *casā*, and wear a thread. They are even referred to as "*śuddha dehurī*" and are the descendants of the original inhabitants.[44]

The two posts are renewed once in a lifetime of a king, at the first occurrence of the Hiṅgulāyātrā after his accession when he has to offer his weapons—swords and guns--to the goddess. The pattern of the ritual is very similar to the Khond one, with a few exceptions. All but one—no sacrifices are given when fetching the tree, probably because it is brought from quite nearby—recall the Dumal pattern: the old post is drowned in a tank, the carpenter has to cover his mouth while working. No metals are given into the hole, but the new posts are "given a heart" by the *dehurī*, who inserts a golden nail into their middle portion. Thereafter the Brahmin, who comes from the palace at Talcher, gives the *pratiṣṭhā mantra*. The marginal function of the Brahmin, whose actions here are a mere addition, can be very well observed in Gopalprasad: while performing his *homa*, the Brahmin sits unnoted in a remote corner of the shrine, the main attention being focused on the actions of the *dehurī*. After the *dehurī* and the carpenter, who belongs to the same group as the former,

[42] Gadanayak, 1970, p. 17 ff. Similar legends about the foundations of a kingdom through a human sacrifice are very frequent in that region, for instance in Dhenkanal, see Kulke 1972.

[43] Namely : Pītabalī, Andhārī Ṭhākurāṇī, Katāsuṇī. In the village itself there is another shrine for Katāsuṇī, represented by one *sāl*-wood post.

[44] Gadanayak, 1970, p. 16. There are also other minor castes attached to the cult which have land allotments for their services : A *camār* holds the *chattra*, a *mālī* brings flowers, the drummers are *Hāḍi* (a low untouchable class), a *gauḍa* supplies curd and water, a *baudhāri* (barber) the *pūjā* articles, a *Kumbhāra* the pots, a *guḍiā* the sweets, *pāiks* are the messengers for instance between *dehurī* and *kālisī*.

have erected the posts the rājā has to worship them. Then the *kālisī*—as the medium is called here—gets in trance and utters prophecies on the coming year, and after this the yearly sacrificing of goats and buffaloes starts.[45]

As compared to the Khond and the Dumal pattern, there is only one new feature in the Gopalprasad ritual: the fetching of the new log and the disposal of the old post is escorted by royal soldiers who watch over the whole ceremony. This marks the special relationship to the rājā, and it seems almost natural that the same feature should also be present in Puri where the king also sends policemen along with the search party (Tripathi, chapter 13).

THE RITUAL IN A TEMPLE CULT: SONEPUR

The highest level of Hinduized post worship is found in Sonepur, where there are five instances interrelated, one separate,[46] one within the palace and three in connection with a temple. Rectangular posts with a sort of crest stand near the Khambheśvarī and the Sureśvarī temples. The Samaleśvarī temple is flanked by very high twin poles All these posts are of *rohiṇī* wood and only roughly carved. They are supposed to represent Khambheśvarī, who is thought of as a sister of the deity worshipped within the temple, or as her representative who in her stead accepts blood sacrifices. The daily *pūjā* which always includes offerings of water, flower, milk etc. to the posts, is carried out by *thānapatis* ("Lord of the place"). The *thānapati* acting in the Samaleśvarī and the Khambheśvari temples is one and the same person whereas the *thānapati* of the Sureśvarī temple is supposed to be of a slightly higher rank and wears a thread. Whereas the Khambheśvarī and the Sureśvarī temples contain only images of the main deity (in the case of Khambheśvarī actually a Durgā image), the Samaleśvarī temple enshrines also a movable post which is considered to represent Baunthī (see above). To Samalāī, or Samaleśvarī, once a day food (including fish curry) from the palace is offered where it has been cooked by a Brahmin woman. All three temples are connected with the shrine in the palace which is actually situated in the residential part of it. There Durgā, Kālī and Bhubaneśvarī are worshipped daily by one of the two main court Brahmins, the *śākta purohita*.[47] Outside the shrine,

[45] The heads are offered to the goddess, represented by one *aḷḷema* near the fire, the kidneys are stored and afterwards cooked by the *dehurī* to be offered to the goodess. No features recalling the Meriah sacrifice are found here.

[46] In Sonepur five instances of post worship are found which are themselves interrelated. Locally known as the oldest instance are two posts of *rohiṇī* wood which stand near the temple in the part of the town known as Gaḍahāṭpur. They are worshipped four times a year by their *pūjāri*, who is a *Telī* (oil presser), with sacrifices of goats and chickens. At Dasaharā the so-called *thānapati* the *dehurī* of the Samalāī and the Khambheśvarī temples, comes to worship, and when the posts have to be renewed, the Brahmin Purohita attached to the royal court comes to give the *pratiṣṭhā mantra*.

[47] The *Śākta purohita* is only concerned with the worship of these goddesses whereas the other royal Brahmin, the *rājā-purohita* is officiating in the king's family ceremonies. For all informations relating to Sonepur I am greatly indebted to Mr. Nagpadi Panda, the manager of the palace.

in front of its only window a round pillar of *rohiṇī* wood is supposed to represent Durgā and also included into the daily worship. In front of this pillar at the time of the *Durgā pūjā* a buffalo is sacrificed by a *mālī* ("gardener") with a special sword. The sword is kept within the palace and afterwards washed in the Mahānadī at a special spot called *Khāṇḍādhuāghāṭa*. At Dasaharā (Vijayādaśamī) also in the other three temples sacrifices are offered while the deities from the palace, represented by their *calantī pratimās*, visit them: Durgā goes to the Khambheśvarī temple, Kālī to Sureśvarī, and Bhuvaneśvarī to Samaleśvarī.

For the renewal of the posts attached to the three temples, Dumals are specially called in. The procedure follows the Dumal pattern with a few exceptions. The logs are covered with red cloth, no gold is inserted into the posts themselves, but brass and gold plates are put into the earth. The *dehurī* accompanies the search party which is duly escorted by royal *pāiks*, worships the spotted tree and performs the first stroke. The *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā-mantra* is given by the *śākta purohita*. It is that of Durgā in the Khambheśvarī temple, that of Dakṣiṇā Kālī in the Sureśvarī and that of Samaleśvarī in the Samaleśvarī temple. The post in the palace is also renewed according to the same pattern, only that the ritual is carried out, as was independently stated by two eyewitnesses, not by Dumals but by *thānapatis*.[48]

The temples of Sonepur are not very old.[49] But they offer a good example of how the originally tribal worship of posts can be incorporated into a royal cult of some complexity. The most prominent feature of this stage is the separation between the main cult and the sacrifice which is no longer offered to the main icon, but to the posts as representatives only and the further division of labour and differentiation in the ranking of the priests, which restricts those belonging to a group of tribal origin to special duties only.

Besides Puri, Sonepur is the only instance where the ritual of renewal is performed on the temple level. As in Puri, here the Hinduization of the ritual has become more intense insofar as some more important duties are performed, no longer by the specialist priests of the "tribal" group, but by the regular priest of non-tribal, or no more tribal affiliation. The worship of the spotted tree is conducted in Puri by the semi-Brahmin *Pati Mahapātra*, in the Sonepur temples by the *thānapati*. These priests also give the *very* first stroke, the second only is left to the chief Daita or Dumal.

Naturally, the Puri temple is by far more brahmanised. Accordingly, the Puri Navakalevara represents a further stage of intensified Hinduization, where the brahmanical side of the ritual, especially in the consecration, as well as the division of labour between the different priests is considerably more elaborate and a new part has been added: the painting of the figures.

48 This probably indicates a relation between the two groups which needs further study.

49 From their outer appearance the three temples look as if they were built in the nineteenth century only. According to the tradition given by Majumdar, the Khambheśvarī temple was built by Raj Sing Deo, a Chauhan king who according to Majumdar should have lived in the early eighteenth century (cf. Majumdar, 1911, p. 51 and p. 177 f).

PROTOTYPES OF NAVAKALEVARA AND THE ORIGIN OF JAGANNĀTHA

The fact, that rituals of renewal are not a common feature in tribal and folk religion, suggests that their similarity to the Puri ritual is more than typological. One is led to suppose that the original tribal deity which was Hinduized into Jagannātha, specifically belonged to such tribes which practised the ritual of renewal. This is supported by the fact that the Puri Navakalevara ritual considers the Jagannātha figure to be Narasiṃha (Tripathi, chapter 13). Narasiṃha is that iconological aspect of Jagannātha which recedes in the later theology, it can be easily associated with tribal cults and was probably instrumental for the development of the Jagannātha iconography (Eschmann, chapter 5). It has been shown that today the main realm, where rituals of renewal on tribal and village level are found, is western Orissa. These rituals are even today associated with the worship of the goddess Khambheśvarī who represents the same type of Hinduization as Subhadrā and has been worshipped in that region since 500 A.D. (Eschmann, chapter 4). It is also in this region, where today the associations of wooden posts with Narasiṃha still are to be found. (Eschmann, chapter 5).

This seems to support the legends which speak of Jagannātha having originally been worshipped in the West, along the Mahanadi coast. Moreover, the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* directly states a connection between the Puri Navakalevara ritual and practices of renewal in West Orissa. It is told that the images of Lord Jagannātha had to be recovered from the invasion of Raktabāhu and hidden, buried actually, in the region of Sonepur. The King, Yayāti Keśarī (Stietencron, chapter 1; Kulke, chapter 8), who built the first Jagannātha temple we know of, rediscovered them, but as the images were disfigured, new ones had to be made. Therefore the king looked for the Daitas and Patis who had settled down in that region and assembled them. It was these priests from the Sonepur region, who "cut the tree and reconstructed the wooden images of the great lord according to śāstric instructions".[50]

The question is, did Yayāti import the Navakalevara ritual and possibly also the Hinduized deity Jagannātha-Narasiṃha altogether, or did he, as the text says, renew a local cult in Puri which had been neglected? The question has thoroughly been discussed above (Eschmann, Kulke, Tripathi, chapter 10), here only these aspects connected with the Navakalevara ritual will be considered.

There is one important feature in the Puri Navakalevara which links the ritual to the coastal region. It is not, as one should expect, Lord Jagannātha who through a dream indicates the direction in which the tree is to be found, but the goddess Maṅgalā in Kakatpur on the bank of the river Praci (Tripathi, chapter 13). This goddess probably stands in place of an aboriginal deits.[51] It is remembered that originally not Maṅgalā, but the goddess of the place Kākaṭeī was worshipped there, who still owns a dilapidated shrine near the temple. It is said that the original place

[50] M P, p. 5f.

[51] Panda, 1969, p. 116 f.

of worship was at Deuli, near the river, where today the *matha* stands in which the Navakalevara party of Puri stays.[52]

The image worshipped today is evidently substituted. It is, as Tripathi could ascertain, a Buddhist statue of Tārā. The local legends in a way account for that, saying that the original statue of the goddess vanished, or hid from the invasion of Kālāpahār, to appear again in an image drowned in the river.[53] Up to a few years ago, when the pressure against such "improper" offering to a *parama vaiṣṇava devī* succeeded,[54] buffaloes were sacrificed to the goddess. The details of the sacrifice are similar to those met with in other Hinduized cults.[55]

The connection of the Puri Navakalevara ritual with an important śākta deity of the coastal region, suggests, that the ritual originated in that very area. This is very likely, as it has to be assumed, that the tribal substratum, which practised the ritual of renewal, did extend in former times up to the coast. Even today the limits of the area where post worship connected with renewal starts, begins at a distance of more or less 50 km to the coast. Traces of it are present for instance at Aska, Banpur, Nayagarh, the villages Sukhinda and Jenāpur on the bank of the Brahmani (Eschmann, chapter 5).

Considering the present distribution of rituals of renewal on different levels of Hinduization, as well as its presence in Puri, one cannot but suppose that the tribal substratum practising this ritual once extended up to the coast. Moreover, Hinduized cults in Orissa are usually local cults. They receive royal patronage because of their "territoriality" (Kulke, chapters 7, 8). It is therefore very probable that the Hinduization of a tribal deity connected with the ritual of renewal took place in Puri itself.

Thus it is likely, that Yayāti did exactly, what the text says : he patronised a local cult, which represented the same type of Hinduized cult prevalent in his homeland. If, as the text suggests, the Puri cult had been discontinued, or at least neglected, it might have been indeed necessary to reinstal priests which were attached to such cults, and specialist in the ritual of renewal. To introduce such priests from

52 Mohapatra, 1968, p. 17 and p. 79; For a different view, however, see above Tripathi, ch. 11, Footnote 37.

53 Mohapatra, 1968, p. 20f : Panda, 1969, p. 118ff.

54 Mohapatra (1968, p. 11) expresses himself very strongly on that point.

55 The details of the sacrifice as related by one of the priests, Narayana Dikshit, are similar to those met with in Hinduized cults. The sacrificial sword is kept in the house of the "Zamindar" and brought to the temple at the eve of Dasaharā. A sacrificial (forked) post of mango wood (to hold the head of the buffalo) is erected at the north of the temple, within the compound. The '*pūjā paṇḍā*' worships the sword, the sacrificial post and the buffalo with *paśu mantra*. A Bhoi (Harijan) kills the animal. The blood is offered to the four *caṇḍī cāmuṇḍās* in the four directions. Afterwards the Bhoi who has sacrificed throws the pillar over the northern wall of the compound. All this happens at the dead of the night, and while the doors of the main temples are closed.

Another feature of the Maṅgalā cult, which suggests aboriginal influence, is the practice of walking through the fire, which is practised there on *Caitra Saṅkrānti* (see *Bihar and Orissa Gazetteers*, PURI, 1929, p. 284).

his homeland, where such cults were prevalent, would have been natural for Yayāti and serve a political issue as well, namely to ensure the ties between his homeland and the newly conquered area (Kulke, chapter 8).

RĀMACANDRA'S PROBABLE IMPACT ON THE NAVAKALEVARA RITUAL

The *Mādalā Pāñjī* which relates the Yayāti legend was compiled at the end of the sixteenth century, at the times of Rāmacandra.[56] Rāmacandra, the founder of the Khurda dynasty, renewed the Jagannātha cult, and reinstalled the figures in the year 1590 which had been destroyed by the Muslim invasion in 1568.[57] The king was highly praised for this deed by the Puri priests and given the title of the "new Indradyumna", *abhinava Indradyumna avatāra*, (Kulke, chapter 17).

Seen against this background, one might of course doubt the historicity of the Yayāti tradition and its relation to the Navakalevara ritual altogether and suppose that the story of Yayāti was introduced as a model to Rāmacandra's deed of reinstallation. It has therefore even been supposed, that the Navakalevara altogether was introduced only by Rāmacandra. However, the ritual itself showed that this is impossible. Had it been introduced in the late sixteenth century, at a time when Jagannātha's identification with Kṛṣṇa was already prevalent, the ritual would certainly acknowledge this Kṛṣṇa character as well as the distinct character of Balabhadra as Saṃkarṣaṇa and Subhadrā as Ekanaṃśā instead of concentration on the Narasiṃha character.

The reinstallation of the figures through Rāmacandra, had certainly an impact on their iconography and on the ritual of Navakalevara. It has already been noted that the wrappings around the figures and their paintings are additional features found only in Puri. The angular form of the Jagannātha sculpture in Konarak (see fig. 38) also suggests, that the wrappings which are to some extent responsible for the rounded forms, were not at that times customary.[58]

Rāmacandra's reinstallation probably also marked another change in the ritual as to the nature of the *Brahma-padārtha*. The tribal prototypes of the ritual always have pieces of the five metals inserted beneath and gold within the posts.

One is therefore led to suppose, that the *Brahma-padārtha* of the Puri figures contains gold, or metal as well. But in all the prototypes of the Navakalevara ritual this piece of metal or gold is always newly installed, whereas in Puri it has to be the *old Brahma-padārtha* which is transferred. This could be an addition from the time of Rāmacandra. The legends in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* and *Cakoḍā Pothi* narrate how a part of the old Jagannātha figures, destroyed by Kālāpahār, namely the *Brahma Padārtha* was saved by Biśar Mahantī, and hidden in Kujang until it could be

56 cf. Kulke, 1975, p. 121 and Dash 1974.
57 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 130.
58 Cf. however, Tripathi, ch. 11, Footnote 112 for a different view.

reinstalled in the new figures set up by Rāmacandra.[59] Rāmacandra's reinstallation of Jagannātha figures followed a real, interruption of the cult or at least desacration which lasted some years. The old figures were no more present, at least not in a correct ritual condition. Accordingly, the Navakalevara ritual could probably not occur in its usual form, directly substituting the new figures to the old ones. To insert an element of the old figures together or in place of the metal, to "give life" to the figures, may therefore have been introduced at that moment as a means to secure the continuity of the cult which had been forcibly interrupted.

[59] The legend is discussed at length by Kulke, 1975, cnapter V, 5.

CHAPTER XV

THE DAILY PŪJĀ CEREMONY OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE AND ITS SPECIAL FEATURES[1]

G. C. Tripathi

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THE DEITIES

Lord Jagannātha is sometimes described as having a seven-fold form (*saptadhā mūrti*) due to the reason that on the 'Ratnavedī' (stone platform) in the sanctum there stand seven deities, all of whom are worshipped five times a day. Besides the three major wooden images of *Jagannātha* (Kṛṣṇa), *Balabhadra* and *Subhadrā*, the deities present there are: *Sudarśana* in the form of a wooden log standing to the left of Jaganātha, the small metallic images of *Lakṣmī* and *Viśvadhātrī* (Sarasvatī), the wives of Jagannātha, placed to his right and left respectively and a wooden replica of Jagannātha

[1] The following description of the Pūjā ceremony as taking place in the Jagannātha Temple of Puri is based on (a) a number of palmleaf manuscripts discovered and collected by the author in and around Puri, especially *Gopālārcanavidhi* ascribed to Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva (1466-1497 A.C.), *Nīlādrināthasya Pūjāvidhi* (a prose version of the former) and *Gopālārcanapaddhati* of Vāsudeva, all of which are standard works on Pūjā of Jagannātha and are followed by the Pūjāpaṇḍās in the Puri Temple; (b) the published works *Kramadīpikā*, *Śaradātilaka* and *Gautamīya Tantram* which are quoted profusely in the Pūjā manuscripts (especially the *Kramadīpikā*) and are held to be authoritative texts by the Pūjāpaṇḍās; (c) many a valuable information supplied by K.C. Rājaguru, the royal preceptor of the Puri Rājā and the 'Paricchā' (*parīkṣaka*, i.e. supervisor) of the Temple; (d) my own observation in Puri Temple, information gained in interviews with the priests in the Jagannātha Temple as well in many Vaiṣṇava temples in South India, to which I paid a visit in Nov.-Dec. 1973.

The eremony of Pūjā comprises an extensive and intricate ritual. It is not possible within the scope of the present work to deal with it in detail, nor to explain each and every technical term fully. Those specially interested in this subject are referred to my monograph *"The Ritual of daily Worship in the Jagannātha Temple of Puri"* which is going to be published shortly.

symbolising *Nīlamādhava*, the form of the Lord in which according to the legend he was worshipped by the Śabaras in the jungle before the construction of a suitable temple for him by Indradyumna.

Nīlamādhavá is not worshipped separately. Since he is identical with Jagannātha, his worship is, so to say, included in the worship of Jagannātha. Though there are separate Mantras, Dhyānas and Nyāsas for the Pūjā of Sudarśana, Viśvadhātri and Lakṣmī, yet their Pūjā is conducted by the *Pūjā Paṇḍā* (or *Arcaka*) of Jagannātha, in a very abridged manner, concurrently with the Pūjā of the main deity. Two more Pūjā Paṇḍās are required to perform the Pūjā of Balabhadra and Subhadrā Thus, in all, three Pūjā Paṇḍās sit at a time on the Ratnavedī to the right of the images facing North (the deities face the East) and conduct their worship. In the winter months, however, beginning from *Prāvaraṇa-ṣaṣṭhī* (the sixth day of the bright half of Mārgaśirṣa) when the deities are clad with woolen mantles, there is hardly any space on the Ratnavedī for the Arcakas to sit. During this period, therefore, they take place on the ground below the Ratnavedī.

A fourth Pūjā Paṇḍā or *Arcaka* is required every day in the morning to perform the Pūjā of the Sungod in his temple which is situated in the South-East corner of the inner compound of the temple complex and the Pūjā of the 'Door-Attendants' (*dvārapālas*, this term also includes the deities like Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Navagrahas, Prajāpati, etc., carved on the outer walls at the entrance of the temple) as well as to perform a fire-sacrifice (*homa*) in the temple kitchen, only after which the cooking of the *prasāda* or the *naivedya* for the deities could start.

The Worshippers

A rigorous programme of personal purification is prescribed for the Arcakas of the temple right from the time they leave the bed. They are supposed to utter various prayers and chant hymns in the glory of the Lord when they get up in the early morning and to perform every item of the morning purification in a prescribed manner uttering mantras since all that is considered to be a part of the great ritual which they carry out in the temple. To illustrate this : An Arcaka is required to have a bath only in a lake, a river or the sea. At the spot where he takes a dip into the water, he draws a Yantra consisting of an eight petalled lotus, writes the eight letters of a Kṛṣṇa-Mantra on its petals and *glauṃ* in the middle, invokes holy waters (*tīrthas*) from the orbit of the sun by showing *Aṅkuśa* Mudrā and uttering the verse "*gaṅge ca yamune caiva. . .*" and after meditating upon the Ṛṣi and the metre (*chandas*) etc., of the Mūlamantra (=basic mantra, i.e., the Mantra with which the worship of the deity is to be performed) he takes a dip into the water. He then holds his hands in the form of Kumbha-Mudrā over his head, sprinkles water uttering the Mūlamantra thrice upon himself and standing still for a while, mutters the mantra for ten times and so on. When the bath is over, he puts on fresh garments, draws *tilakas* as well as the marks of conch and discus on his body with appropriate mantras, puts on a rosary of Tulasī wood and lotus seeds, etc., performs thereafter

the Vedic as well as the Tantric *Sandhyās*, *Vaiṣṇava-Ācamana* (oblution), *Prāṇāyāma* (controlling of breaths) and the muttering of the Gāyatrī-Mantra (RV III.62.10) etc.,

Rites Preceding the Puja

When the three Arcakas reach the temple at about 9 o'clock or so, the deities have already been given a 'bath' (in fact, the bath is performed not on the deities but on their reflections in bronze mirrors placed in front of them on the ground), the public has had a close *darśana* (the socalled *sāhāṇā meta,* i.e. 'general gathering', 'sāhāṇa-Sans. *sādhāraṇa*) and they have been dressed in the appropriate *veśa* (robe) of the day, smeared with sandal paste and decorated with flowers by the temple sevakas (servitors) known as *paśupālakas*, the only sevakas who are allowed to touch the deities except the Arcakas.

The Bhoga

While the dressing of the deities is still in progress, the first *bhoga* (the later *prasāda*) is brought into the sanctum and placed on the ground in front of the deities within the three rectangles drawn with coloured powders. The Bhoga is an indispensable item of Pūjā since it is one of the sixteen *upacāras* (i.e., "*naivedya*") which constitute the central part of the ritual of Pūjā. The Pūjā, therefore, starts only when the entire Bhoga is brought and placed in the sanctum. A small portion of the Bhoga placed on the ground in earthen vessels is taken in a metallic plate and placed on the Ratnavedī along with the arrticles of other Upacāras (e.g., water jar, flowers, lamps) and, in fact, it is the only Bhoga which is actually offered to the deities as *Naivedya* whereas the rest is considered to be symbolically sanctified.

The Performance of Puja

When the Arcakas take seat on the Ratnavedī, the door of the sanctum is closed and nobody, not even a temple priest, is allowed to enter into the sanctum nor to watch the ceremony.

The Pūjā takes place five times a day. The common expression for Pūjā in the temple terminology is *dhūpa* meaning originally 'incense'. This transfer of meaning owes its origin to the daily observation of the common people that when the doors of the sanctum are opened after the Pūjā is [almost] over, the sanctum is full of incense vapours which thus seems to be the most characteristic feature of the Pūjā to the common people.

The Arcaka of Jagannātha, Sudarśana, Lakṣmī and Viśvadhātrī is obviously the main one. The two other Arcakas (of Balabhadra and Subhadrā) have to follow him and to coincide their activities with those of him so that at a given time the different rites of Pūjā are performed for all the deities simultaneously.

The Nature of the Deities and the Mantras for Their Worship

We have already mentioned that Jagannātha is identical with Kṛṣṇa. He is worshipped in his "*gopījanavallabha*" (the beloved of the cow-maids) aspect. He has two mantras: the ten-syllabic (*gopījanavallabhāya svāhā*) and the eighteen-syllabic (*klīm kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopījanavallabhāya svāhā*) ones. Balabhadra is worshipped as Vāsudeva ("the son of Vasudeva") with the twelve-syllabic Vāsudeva-mantra (*oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*). It may be noted here that the Vāsudeva-mantra is, in fact, meant for the worship of Bhagavat-Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva is a word which signifies the highest personal god of the Bhāgavatas. Already in very early times, however, the word was understood and interpreted as a patronym, i.e. in the sense "one who has Vasudeva for his father" and consequently a person named 'Vasudeva' was evolved in the Vaiṣṇava mythology to play the role of the father of Kṛṣṇa identified with Vāsudeva. But since Balabhadra is also considered as a son of Vasudeva (who was 'extracted' *samkṛṣṭa*—hence his name Saṃkarṣana—from Devakī's womb and placed in the womb of Rohiṇī, the second wife of Nanda who was to become the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra), he could also be designated as Vasudeva' and with this logic the original Bhagavat-Vāsudeva Mantra has come to be attached to him in the Jagannātha theology. There is no evidence to show that Balabhadra-Saṃkarṣana ever possessed any well defined system of Pūjā, or even an individual Mantra. The Pūjā rites of Balabhadra, as performed in the Jagannātha temple, contain in themselves some elements of the worship of Śiva also. These Śaivite elements in the worship of Balabhadra, though owing their origin to the religious circumstances of Orissa, have their justification in some texts of the Pāñcarātra Āgama which identify Saṃkarṣana with Śiva (for details see ch. 10).

Subhadrā also has no special Pūjā ritual for herself. She is worshipped as the goddess Bhuvaneśvari with her monosyllabic Mantra *Hrīṃ* The goddess Vimalā who plays an important role in the Jagannātha temple is, incidentally, also worshipped as Bhuvaneśvarī, and with the same Mantra. Sudarśana has a special Mantra for himself in which he is referred to as a "thousand spoked one" (*sahasrāra*). The Pūjā represents the violent aspect of the worship of Viṣṇu and contains many elements of the worship of Narasiṃha. Viśvadhātrī, "the supporter of all", is the appellation of the goddess *Dharā* or Earth as a wife of Viṣṇu. Some sections among the Vaiṣṇavas, however, take her to be Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, although her Mantra explicitly mentions her as *Vasudhā* or *Dharitrī* (i.e. the earth). It may be noted here that the concept of Viṣṇu having two wives is not at all prevalent in North India. It is a typical South India or Pāñcarātric concept. Lakṣmī is the only consort of Viṣṇu in the North Indian Vaiṣṇava theology who is worshipped in the Jagannātha temple with her monosyllabic Mantra *śrīṃ*. There are also two separate temples for 'Sarasvatī' and Lakṣmī behind the main temple of Jagannātha in the NW part of the inner compound, or to the left of Jagannātha in other words, and the two metallic images

of the consorts of Viṣṇu seem to be the representatives of these deities brought and placed with their Lord.

The Nature of Puja

The basic idea behind the Hinduistic Pūjā—which, in its substance, is the same for the worship of all the deities, also irrespective of the fact whether they are worshipped privately or in a temple—is subtle and yet simple. The worshipper, first of all, dissolves his mundane body in meditation in order to create a new, ritualistically pure, divine body which is endowed with the character and the nature of the deity herself. Thus assuming the nature of the deity, the worshipper meditates upon the Mantra of the deity with which he can realise the deity in his heart. He first offers a mental worship (*mānasī pūjā*) to the deity conceiving his body as a Yantra for her and thereafter takes her 'glow' (*tejas*) out of his heart through his *prāṇa* (=breath) and places it in the image after having abstractly drawn a Yantra in it. The sum and substance of this 'external' worship (*bahiryāga*) of the *saguṇa* (qualified) aspect of the deity is to treat her as an honourable guest who has just arrived at the place of the host, the worshipper. Beginning with the offering of a seat, he proceedes to offer her water for washing the feet and the face, gives her refreshment, a bath, clothes, flowers, incense, food etc. and finally entertainments. The abstract glow of the deity is then taken back from the image into the heart where it originated. The whole ceremony of Pūjā may thus be divided into the following eight main rites:

1. Ritual purification and the general 'deification' of the worshipper.
2. Assuming the character of the particular aspect or the form of the deity by means of the placement of letters of her Mantra in various orders, by meditating upon her and by charging the body with her *tejas*.
3. Worship of the deity in ones heart with mental offerings.
4. Purification of the utensils and other articles of Pūjā, of the self as the abode (*pīṭha*) of the deity, of the Mantra and the image of the deity etc., as the preparation for external worship.
5. The realisation of the deity in the heart by means of meditation and Mantra and shifting of the *tejas* to the image in the manner as one kindles a lamp with the help of other.
6. Treating the deity present in the image as a respectable guest and honouring her, as well as her associates, by means of 16 *upacāras*, *rajopacaras* etc., and begging excuse for shortcomings.
7. Taking back the deity into the heart and 'discharging' the body of the holy power of the Mantras etc. .
8. Accepting the flowers, sandal paste etc., used by the deity and partaking of the remnants of her food (*prasāda*, i.e. "favour").

In the following I shall discuss the details of these rites more extensively.

II. DETAILS OF THE PŪJĀ CEREMONY

The Ritual Purification

(a) *The Preliminaries*

The articles and the utensils used in Pūjā are first arranged and put at their proper places. The process of purification starts with the purification of the seat of the worshipper (*pīṭhaśuddhi*) and the part of the earth where he is sitting. He first bows to the Supporting Force (*ādhāraśakti*) of the universe and requests the Earth to grant him place to sit on, to support him and to purifiy his seat.

He then pays reverence to the five generations of his Preceptors to his left, Gaṇeśa to his right, Durgā in his front, Kṣetrapāla in his rear and seeks their help and protection.

He then drives away the 'evil spirits' and demonic beings which might be present in the sanctum and creates, thereafter, a protective cage around himself with fire and water so that he remains undisturbed while performing the Pūjā.

(b) *Bhūtaśuddhi* (the purificathion of the elements of the body)

The worshipper first meditates upon his heart in the form of an eight-petalled lotus which has Bliss for its roots (*ānandakandasambhavam*) and Knowledge for its stalk (*jñānanālam*) etc. He takes the [qualified] individual soul (*jīvātman*) resting on the pericarp of this lotus and shining like the flame of a lamp, through the Suṣumṇā channel to the thousand petalled lotus in the head and unites it with the Highest Soul (*paramātman*) or God present there uttering the Mantra "*haṃsaḥ*" (*=ahaṃ saḥ/ so'ham*).

While the Jīvātman thus rests with Paramātman, he dissolves the different elements of his body into their Causes and these auses Cinto their primordial Causes and so on in the following manner. He merges first the Earth into Water, the Water into the Fire, the Fire into the Wind, the Wind into the Space and the Space into the *tāmasika* form of Ahaṃkāra. The organs of sense as well of action together with their objects (*viṣaya*) are merged into the *rājasika* form of Ahaṃkāra and the *antaḥkaraṇa* or *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahamkāra* and *citta* together with their presiding deities (*Candra*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Rudra* and *Vāsudeva*) into the *sāttvika* form of Ahaṃkāra. The Ahaṃkāra in its entirety is then merged into Mahat and Mahat into Prakṛti—all following the Sāṃkhya system of creation in reverse manner. Finally the worshipper even merges Prakṛti into Paramātman who has His seat in the thousand petalled lotus of the head.

The body and the soul of the warshipper now rest with Paramātman in their substance. What remains is the Pāpapuruṣa—the accumulated sins conceived as a tiny, black human figure—which originally had its seat in the lower left part of the belly of the worshipper. With the *bījamantra* of Wind (*yam*) the worshipper dries him up and with that of Fire (*raṃ*) he burns him down to ashes. He then exhales his ashes through his nostrils.

The worshipper now meditates upon the bījamantra of Water (*vam*) resting in the middle of the crescent situated in the head and with the help of this Mantra as well as *praṇava* (oṃ) he lets a shower of ambrosia consisting of the sounds of speech or *Mātṛkās* (=mothers, so called because they are believed to generate the whole universe in the Śākta philosophy) fall down on the elements of his body which exist in the germinal state (*bījabhāvena*). With this rain all the elements are purified. He now meditates upon the Bījamantra of Earth (*laṃ*) and creates a Golden Egg (*hiraṇmayāṇḍm*). With the help of *praṇava* used as a 'sword', so to say, he splits this Egg horizontally into two pieces. The upper portion of this Egg is conceived as the sky and the lower-half the earth. On this 'earth' he now brings down all the elements of his body which have been resting with Paramatman and re-creates his body in the order in which the creation of the universe proceeds (according to the theory of Sāṃkhya), viz., Parmātman→Mūlaprakṛti→Mahat→Ahaṃkāra→Space and so forth. When the 24 elements (*tattvas*) have been restored to their proper places, he also brings down his Jīvātman with the help of Kuṇḍalinī and places it in the lotus of his heart and thereafter the Kuṇḍalinī in—its proper place (=*mūlādhāra cakra*).

He now meditates upon his Jīvātman as Viṣṇu Himself with his face like a full bloomed lotus, having a golden (not dark!) bodily hue, wearing bright yellow garments and crown and holding a conch and a discus etc. . He tries to realise a complete identity with this form of Viṣṇu in the "*so' ham asmi*" manner ('He I am').[2]

The next rite performed by the worshipper is that of *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* which aims at endowing this divine body of the worshipper with the vital breaths (*prāṇas*), the sense organs (*jñānendriyas*) and blood, flesh, strength etc. . The *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā* is performed with the help of a Mantra, the different letters of which are associated with the different substances in the body. Before uttering the Mantra, the worshipper mediates upon the Prāṇaśakti (the Vital Energy) who is conceived as a goddess of red complexion, three eyes and large breasts. She is sitting on a red lotus in the midst of an ocean of blood (or red waters; the reading is *raktāmbhodhistha*. .) holding a noose, a bow, a sugarcane, a goad, an arrow and a blood dripping skull.[3]

2 Cf. *Gopālārcanapaddhati* of Vāsudeva, Folio 25a:
phullāravindavadanaṃ pītanirmalvāsasam|
*paṅkajāsanamadhyasthaṃ śuddhajāmbūnadaprabham||*1
keyūrakaṭakopetaṃ hārakuṇḍalamaṇḍitam|
*śaṅkhacakradharam smeram mukuṭojjvalaśobhitam||*2
*so'ham asmīti bhāvena cintayet puruṣottamam|*3ab
The *Nīlācaleśārcanacandrikā* of Sadāśiva (second half of 18th c.) has the followlng reading for 3ab:
sañcintya jīvam ātmanom taṃ hṛdisthaṃ vicintayet|
so'ham asmīty abhedena cintayitvātmapūjanam||
—Folio 22b-23a

3 *raktāmbhodhisthapotollasad aruṇasarojādhirūḍhā karābjaiḥ*
pāśam kodaṇḍam ikṣūdbhavam atha guṇamapy aṅkuśam pañcabāṇān|
vibhrāṇāsṛkkapālam trinayanavilasatpīnavakṣoruhāḍhyā
devī bālārkavarṇā bhavatu sukhakarī prāṇaśaktiḥ parā naḥ||
—found in all MSS (e.g. *Gopālārcanapaddhati*, Folio 26 ab)

Taking Kuśa grass and some flowers in his hand and showing the *Lelihā* Mudrā he touches his head with the right hand and utters the Mantra for *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* which is followed by the prayer; "let my *prāṇas* (residing in the old body be now here (in this new body); all my *Indriyas* should now be here; let my Vāc, Manas, Śrotra etc. come and live here comfortably (*sukham*) and for long (*ciraṃ*).[4]

(c) *Prāṇāyama*

The worshipper then performs *prāṇayāma* (regulation of breaths) for the further purification of his body meditating upon Viṣṇu in his heart, Śiva in his forehead and Brahman in his navel region while doing *pūraka* (filling of breath), *kumbhaka* (holding af breath) and *recaka* (emitting of breath) respectively. It is believed that the holding of breath (=Wind) in the body gives rise to Fire which in turn generates Water and thus the body is purified with these three elements.

(d) *Mātṛkā-Nyāsa*

The fifty letters of the (Sanskrit-) alphabet endowed with *anusvāra* or *bindu* (*kaṃ*, *khaṃ* etc.) are known as Mātṛkās or Mothers in Tantrism since they as the Sound (*nāda*) or the Speech (*Vāc*) are believed to be the primeval source of the world. The placement of the Matṛkās on the different parts of the body form one of the most important rites of the Tantric form of Pūjā.

The placement of the Mātṛkās is twofold. Once they are placed *internally* on the six *cakras* of the body which are situated inside the human body along the *Suṣumṇā* (spinal cord) and once *externally* on the different parts of the body. The Cakras inside the body are conceived as lotuses with different number of petals (the *Mūlādhāra*, for example, consists of four, the *Svādhiṣṭhāna* the six, the *Maṇipūra* ten petals). The letters of the Matṛkā placed on these Cakras correspond to the number of the petals in these lotuses. The total number of the petals is, therefore, the same as that of the letters of the Mātṛkās (fifty). The placement of the letters ot the Mātṛikā externally starts with a *dhyāna* (meditational verse) of Bharātī, the goddess of Speech, and the Nyāsa is carried out on the different points of the body either with the fingers in various combinations or by touching these points with a flower held between the fingers.

(e) *Devatā-Nyāsa*

The devotee now places the various aspects or forms of his Deity together with the Śaktis of these aspects on the different parts of his body in order to achieve

[4] *oṃ āṃ hrīṃ krauṃ yaṃ raṃ laṃ vaṃ śaṃ ṣaṃ saṃ haṃ haṃsaḥ so'haṃ mama prāṇā iha prāṇāḥ/evaṃ (oṃ āṃ &c.) mama jīva iha sthitaḥ/mama sarvendriyāṇi/mama vāṅmanaśścakṣuśrotraghrāṇaprāṇā ihāgatya sukhaṃ ciraṃ tiṣṭhantu svāhā//*

—*Nilādrināthasya Pūjāvidhiḥ* (Kantilo version) Folio 24-25a

The *Gopālārcanapaddhati*; of Vāsudeva adds the letters *ḷaṃ* & *kṣam* also after *haṃ* and before *haṃsah* (Folio 26b),

a closer affinity with the Deity. Whereas the process of ritual purification upto Matṛkā-Nyāsa is common to all forms of worship, it is obvious that the Devatā-Nyāsas vary according to the deity worshipped. The worshipper of Jagannātha carries out the so-called *Keśavādi-Nyāsa* on his body whereas the worshippers of Balabhadra and Subhadrā carry out the *Śrikaṇṭhādi-Nyāsa* and the *Kalā-Nyāsa* respectively. Each Nyāsa contains fifty aspect of the deity which, associated with the letters of Matṛkā, are placed at those very points in the body where the Matṛkās have been placed. The Keśavādi-Nyāsa used in the worship of Jagannātha derives its name from the fact that it starts with the placement of the *Keśava* aspect of Viṣṇu together with his Śakti *Kīrti* on the head of the worshipper conjoined with the Matṛkā letter *aṃ*. *Nārāyaṇa* with his Śakti is then placed on the face to the accompaniment of the letter *āṃ* etc. and so on. It may be noted here that whereas the *Keśavādi*—and the *Śrikaṇṭhādi-Nyāsas* invariably mention one male and one female (*śakti*) aspect of the deity, the *Kalā-Nyāsa* (used in the worship of the goddesses) does not mention any male partner of the different aspects of the goddess. In other words, whereas the Śaktis exist independently and can do without their Śaktimats, the Śaktimats cannot do so.

The Nyāsas as *Keśavādi* etc. are general ones and are used in the worship of all the forms of Viṣṇu etc.. They are, however, preceded by the *dhyānas* of that specific form or aspect of the deity which the worshipper has in view to worship.

(f) *Tattva-Nyāsa*

The body of the devotee thus endowed with the different aspects of the deity is still considered to be an abstract and 'unqualified' (*nirguṇa*) one. In order to impart it a qualified character the twenty-four *tattvas* of the Sāṃkhya philosophy which go into the making of the mundane world, viz., the five basic elements (space etc.), the organs of sense, the organs of action, the objects of the organs of sense (*śabda* etc.) the mind (*manas*), ego (*ahaṃkāra*), intellect (*buddhi*), *prāṇa* (in place of Prakṛti !) and *jīva* (=Puruṣa) combined with the four Pāñcarātric emanations of the 'Highest Puruṣa' (Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha) as well as a few others (Nṛsiṃha !) are placed on the different parts of the body. The rite is known as Tattva-Nyāsa.

Assuming the Specific Character of the Deity by Means of Meditation on Her Mantra and Her Form.

(a) *Bhāvanā-catuṣṭaya*

Having thus received the character of Viṣṇu etc., in general, the worshipper proceeds to meditate upon the deity as he is going to worship her, i.e. upon his *Iṣṭadevatā* who, in this case, is Kṛṣṇa as the beloved of the cow-maids.

Since the deity is to emerge in the heart of the worshipper, he considers his body as a *pīṭha* (seat) or a Yantra for the deity and contemplates upon the different limbs of his body as the different parts of this Yantra. In the centre of this Yantra, identical with the heart of the worshipper, he meditates upon *praṇava* (oṃ), the source of all Mantras, as a point of light. Out of *praṇava* emanates a glow (*tejas*) identical with the Mūlamantra of the deity concerned. Through his *prāṇa* the worshipper takes out this glow on his finger tips, places it on the different parts of his hands and with the help of *Vyāpinī Mudrā* symbolically expressing the application of something on the body from outside, he distributes this Mantra-tejas on his body three times.

(b) *Mantra-Nyāsa* and *Vibhūtipañjara-Nyāsa*

Having thus realised the basic Mantra the worshipper visualises the sense of the Mantra in his heart and meditates upon his Iṣṭadevatā (Kṛṣṇa, Saṃkarṣaṇa-Śiva, Bhuvaneśvarī etc.) with the help of Dhyāna Mantras. He then charges the whole of his body with the energy of the Mantra by placing the syllables of the Mantra conjoined with *praṇava* and *mātṛkā* on the different parts of his body.

This process of placing the letters of the Mantra is then repeated with some additions on the worshipable image of the deity. The image of the deity is considered simply to be a skeleton which is to be purified with the help of the Mantra and turned into a worthy seat for the deity before she could be invoked into it.

The image is subsequently made to assume the character of Viṣṇu by the worshipper who brings its different parts into association with the twelve Mūrtis (=aspects, manifestations) of Viṣṇu (e.g. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama). The names of these Mūrtis are preceded by the names of the twelve Ādityas who are associated with them.[5]

This marks the end of the ritual sanctification of the devotee as well as the image. The sanctification is necessary because both, the body of the devotee as well as the worshipable image, serve as the abode of the deity. The deity emerges in the heart of the devotee, is first worshipped there and later, in addition to her presence in the heart of the devotee, is transferred to the image as well.

To invoke the deity the worshipper first meditates upon her. For Jagannātha-

[5] The twelve Mūrtis of Viṣṇu are as follows. The names of the Ādityas with which these Mūrtis are connected, are given in brackets:

1. Keśava (Dhātṛ)
2. Nārāyaṇa (Aryaman)
3. Mādhava (Mitra)
4. Govinda (Varuṇa)
5. Viṣṇu (Aṃśa)
6. Madhusūdana (Bhaga)
7. Trivikrama (Vivasvat)
8. Vāmana (Indra)
9. Śrīdhara (Pūṣan)
10. Hṛṣīkeśa (Parjanya)
11. Padmanābha (Tvaṣṭṛ)
12. Dāmodara (Viṣṇu)

The names of these twelve Mūrtis of Viṣṇu are also used as the designations of the twelve months of the year (beginning with *Mārgaśīrṣa* or November, approximately) by the Vaiṣṇavas, especially those of the Gauḍīya Sect.

Kṛṣṇa there are four different *dhyānas* depending upon the time of worship. In the morning he is meditated upon as a child playing in the courtyard of Nanda with a lump of butter in his hand; in the afternoon as sitting on a lotus with white petals under the Kalpavṛkṣa in his divine Vṛndāvana and surrounded with cowherds and cowmaids etc.; in the evening as sitting on a dear skin placed on a *pīṭha* in a garden of Dvārakā city and teaching the mysteries of philosophy to Nārada and others and, finally, in the night as dancing and sporting with the cowmaids in the gardens on the bank of the Yamunā.

The Mental Worship of the Deity

After thus producing the image of Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha in his heart the worshipper offers him 'internal' or mental worship. He then conducts a 'fire sacrifice' (*homa*) in his heart. The Cakra in the *mūlādhara* is considered as a Vedī and the deity as the fire burning in it. With the help of the laddles etc. in form of *manas* and *suṣumṇā* he pours down in this 'fire' and burns his pride, untruth, wickedness, passions and desires, anger, delusion and jealousy etc.

Preparation for the External Worship of the Deity

(a) *Arghya-Saṃskāra*

The devotee now proceeds to worship the deity externally (*bahiryāga*) which starts with the preparation of the holy *arghya* water which is used in a number of rites in the Pūjā. The process is briefly as follows: The worshipper draws a certain *maṇḍala* on the ground, invokes the orbit of Fire (*vahnimaṇḍala*) in it, places a conch on the Maṇḍala, invokes the orbit of the Sun in the conch and pours ordinary water into it uttering the letters of Matṛkā in reverse order and drops some fragrance (i.e. sandal paste) and flowers in it. He invokes first the orbit of the Moon with its sixteen phases (*kalā*) and all the holy *tīrthas* as well as rivers into the water showing the Aṅkuśa Mudrā. He then purifies and sanctifies the water with the help of several Mudrās and turns it into Amṛta for the deity. When the Arghya is ready the worshipper sprinkles a few drops of it on all the articles being used in Pūjā and upon himself.

(b) *Upacāra-Saṃskāra*

He then ritually purifies the articles of Upacāra (flowers, lamps etc.) placed to his right on a piece of white cloth by means of seven different acts accompanied with appropriate Mudrās and turns the Upacāras into Amṛta for the deity.

(c) *Pīṭhabhāvanā*

We have already mentioned that since the deity rests within the heart of the

worshipper the rest of his body is considered as a *pīṭha* (seat) or a Yantra for the deity. He imagines his shoulders and the thighs as the four corners of this Pīṭha and his mouth, the two flanks and the waist as the four cardinal points in the Pīṭha and his heart as an eight-petalled lotus in the centre of which (i.e., in the 'cave' of the heart, *hṛdayaguhā*) the deity is present. He pays reverence to the nine Śaktis of Viṣṇu on the eight petals as well as on the pericarp of this lotus and then bows to Viṣṇu, the Bhagavat, the Vāsudeva, one who is identical with all beings in the world etc. (*oṃ namo bhagavate viṣṇave sarvabhūtātmane vāsudevāya sarvātmasaṃyoga-padmapīṭhātmane namaḥ*). Thereupon, since he is identical with the deity herself, the devotee worships the 'flute' (of Kṛṣṇa) between his lips, garland of wild flowers on his heart and *śrīvatsa* on his chest etc.

(d) *Ātmapīṭhapūjā*

Considering his body to be an image of the deity with in which she resides, the devotee now applies twelve *tilakas* on those spots of his body on which he has placed the twelve aspects of Viṣṇu on the worshipable image in course of *Mūrtipañjaranyāsa* (p. 294, above) and uses thereby the same Mantras. He then offers to himself five handfuls of flowers as he would do it to the image of the deity. He again worships the deity with mental Upacāras, performs Prāṇāyāma and mutters the Viṣṇugāyatrī[6] ten times. The process is known as *ātmaśuddhi* or the purification of self. Similarly he purifies the basic Mantra ("*mantraśuddhi*") and the image of the deity ("*devatāśuddhi*") with the help of some Mudrās and Mantras.

(e) *Devatāpīṭhapūjā*

He now seeks permission from the deity by taking some flowers in his hand to perform her external worship. Since the deity is to be invoked into the image shortly, he first draws the Yantra of the deity in the heart of the image either with the help of sandal paste or abstractly with a flower in his hand. The Yantra of Jagannātha consists of (from the centre to the outside) a point (*bindu*), a sexagon, a circle, an eight-petalled lotus, a square and four 'gateways'. All the divinities connected with the Yantra beginning with the *gurus* and *ādhāraśakti* (outside the Yantra) upto Vāsudeva (in the centre of the Yantra) are worshipped with simple *Namaskāra-Mantras* (e.g. *śrīgurubhyo namaḥ*) and the letters of the Mantras "*śrīkṛṣṇāya namaḥ*" as well as "*klīṃ śrīkṛṣṇāya svāhā*" are placed on the six corners of the sexagon and the eight petals respectively.

[6] The Viṣṇugāyatrī is as follows:
nārāyaṇāya vidmahe/vāsudevāya dhīmahi//
tan no viṣṇuḥ pracodayat//
—cf. Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad III.16

The Realisation of the Deity and Her Invocation Into the Image

The worshipper now visualises the basic Mantra and its meaning in his heart and meditates upon the deity sitting on a lotus flower of eight petals under the Kalpavṛkṣa. When the image of the deity becomes steady in his heart, he takes the *tejas* (glow) of the deity through Suṣumṇā channel to his forehead. Taking a hand-full of flowers in his hand and holding it upright he lets the *tejas* of the deity descend on these flowers with the help of the *prāṇas* through his right nostril. He then gently places these flowers on the head of the image. The deity descend into the image through the *brahmarandhra* of the image and takes seat in its heart on the Yantra recently drawn by the worshipper.

It may be noted here that the process of invocation of the *tejas* of the deity into the image does not mean a complete transfer of the deity from the heart of the worshipper to the image. The simile which is often used to illustrate this process is that of a lamp being kindled with the flame of another lamp (*dīpād dīpāntaraṃ yathā*). Thus the *tejas* of the deity is present at both the places during the performance of Pūjā. It is in the heart of the devotee, but at the same time in the image as well.

After calling the *tejas* of the deity into the image, the worshipper shows the deity eight different Mudras mostly to the accompaniment of the appropriate Mantras which signify her 1. invocation (*āvāhana*), 2. placement (*sthāpana*), 3. making her approachable (*sannidhāna*) 4. making her stay there till the end of Pūjā (*sanniro-dhana*), 5. making her agreeable (*sammukhīkaraṇa*), 6. veiling her (from others ? *avaguṇṭhana*), 7. turning her into an imperishable substance for the devotee (*amṛtīkaraṇa*) and 8. making her the highest or the most perfect (*paramīkaraṇa*). With all this the deity is believed to be firmly established in the image in a favourable mood.

With the help of *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā-Mantra* repeated four times the devotee endows the abstract *tejas* of Kṛṣṇa with *prāṇa, jīva,* the sense organs and the organs of action etc. with the result that the deity assumes a qualified state (*saguṇa rūpa*) with which she can accept the worship of the devotee.

The Actual Worship of the Deity by Means of Sixteen Upacaras

(a) *Upacāradāna*

Now follows the most important rite of the Pūjā ceremony, namely the offering of the 16 Upacāras to the deity. The deity is considered to be and treated as an honoured guest by the devotee who is her host. The articles and the services that he offers to her are known as Upacāras and they are presented to the deity in the

following order : 1. *āsana* (seat), 2. *svāgata* (words of welcome), 3. *pādya* (water for washing the feet), 4. *arghya* (water for washing the face etc.), 5. *ācamanīya* (ablutionary water), 6. *madhuparka* (a kind of sweet refreshment), 7. *ācamanīya* (cf.5), 8. *snāna* (bath), 9. *vastra* (clothes), 10. *ābharaṇa* (ornaments), 11. *gandha* (perfume, i.e. sandal paste), 12. *puṣpa* (flowers), 13. *dhūpa* (incense), 14. *dīpa* (lamp, light), 15. *naivedya* (food) and finally 16. *vandana* (obeisance and pleasing words).

The offering of all Upacāras have their particular Mantras, Mudrās and verses which usually lay stress on the abstract character of the deity and say that though the devotee is perfectly conscious of the futility of offering the said article to the deity, he is still doing it for the sake of his own satisfaction and observing a worldly convention (*lokapravṛttimātreṇa*).[7]

The Upacāra *āsana* is performed with the help of five flowers offered to the deity and by showing her the Mudrā of lotus, the seat of the deity. *Svāgata* is also performed with flowers, ten in number and by showing a Mudrā with both the hands which expresses the gesture of welcome to the guest. *Pādya* is kept in a metallic bowl out of which some drops are sprinkled at the feet of the image. *Arghya* is sprinkled on the head as well as face. We have already dealt with the elaborate process of the preparation of Arghya water. *Ācamanīya* too is offered in a metallic bowl and after offering it the worshipper presents a towel to the deity to dry her mouth with. *Madhuparka* is a mixture of honey, curd and milk etc. and it was invariably offered to the guests in ancient times when they came to the house of their hosts after a tiresome journey. It is offered to the deity in a small bowl with appropriate Mantras. After taking *madhuparka* the deity again requires *ācamanīya* to clean her mouth and to sip a few drops from it. The devotee now invites the deity to the *snānamaṇḍapa* for taking bath. She is given bath in a mirror fixed in a bowl in which the image of the deity is reflected. He then offers her two garments (upper and lower) of yellow colour; the lower one is placed on the waist of the image and the upper one is put on its shoulders. A *yajñopavīta* (sacred cord) also forms part of the offering of *vastra*. *Ābharaṇa* are mostly one or two golden ornaments which are usually stuck on the garment of the deity. Sandal paste is then applied on the forehead, chest, arms etc. of the deity which constitutes the Upacāra *gandha* and finally a handful of flowers mixed with *tulasī* leaves are offered to the deity and are placed on her head, heart and at the feet etc.

(*b*) *Āvaraṇapūjā*

The rite of offering the Upacaras is interrupted at this point for the worship

7 The following verse uttered while offering a piece of cloth to the Deity may be taken as representative illustration to this effect. It says that the devotee is offering the piece of cloth, in fact, to the *one who is devoid of all coverings*, being the Absolute Consciousness Itself and besides [if at all one were to speak of a covering for Him] His mysterious *tejas* (faculties etc.) is [already] covered with the colourful garment woven by [His Śakti] Māyā around Him:

māyācitrapaṭacchannanijaguhyorutejase|
nirāvaraṇavijñāna vastraṃ te kalpayāmy aham||

See also Note 11.

of the retinue or the associates of the deity who surround her in form of circles, seven in number. These circles are known as *āvaraṇas* and each one of them contains a certain number of divinities connected with Kṛṣṇa.

The *first* Āvaraṇa consists of the four close friends or playmates of Kṛṣṇa (Dāma, Sudāma, Vasudāma and Kiṅkiṇī). In the *second* the Deity is surrounded with the Hṛdaya, Śiras, Śikhā, Kavaca as well as the Astra portions of her Basic Mantra.[8] The *third* consists of the eight wives of Kṛṣṇa (Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Jāmbavatī, Nagnajitā, Sunandā, Mitravindā, Sulakṣaṇā and Suśīlā); the *fourth* of the real and the foster parents of Kṛṣṇa (Vasudeva-Devakī and Nanda-Yaśodā), his brother Balabhadra, sister Subhadrā as well as cowherds and cowmaids; the *fifth* of the five Kalpavṛkṣas in the Goloka (celestial Vṛndāvana); the *sixth* of the eight exclusive Bhaktas and attendants of Kṛṣṇa such as Nārada, Akrūra and Dāruka and the *seventh* or the outermost circle, of all the Dikpālas together with their weapons, *vāhanas* and the family members. There are separate Namaskāra-Mantras for all the Dikpālas which include a few details about their appearance and main attributes etc. (e.g. *oṃ indrāya surādhipataye gajārūḍhāya kanakavarṇāya vajrahastāya saparivārāya namaḥ*).

The end of the Āvaraṇa-Pūjā is marked by the ringing of a small bell which the worshipper holds in his left hand and which he purifies ("*ghaṇṭāsaṃskāra*") before he uses it.

(c) Continuation of the Upacāradāna

The offering of the Upacāras is now continued with the Upacāra *dhūpa* or incense which often consists of specially prepared mixture of many fragrant ingredients. The utensil in which the incense is burning is held in front of the face (to be more precise: under the nose) of the deity with an appropriate Mantra.

The lamp (i.e. the Upacāra *dīpa*) offered to the deity normally contains seven cotton wicks soaked in melted butter. It is moved slowly in a circle for the prescribed

[8] Before a Mantra is uttered (*jap*) its different parts (or, various forms of its Bījamantra, if the Mantra is too short) are placed on the 'heart', 'head', 'summit' or hair-tuft (śikhā), 'armour' (i.e. chest and upper arms), 'the pair or the triad (depending upon the deity) of the eyes' and the 'weapon' (ie. the hands) of the worshipper with the following formulae respectively: *hṛdayāya namaḥ, śirase svāhā, śikhāyai vaṣaṭ, kavacāya huṃ, netradvayāya*: or *netratrayāya vauṣaṭ* & *astrāya phaṭ*. The process is known as *Ṣaḍaṅga-Nyāsa*. Sometimes the organ 'netra' is dropped and sometimes 'netra' and 'astra' both. The Nyāsa in such cases is only '*pañcāṅga*' or '*caturaṅga*' respectively. The *parts* of the Mantra which are placed on the *aṅgas* 'heart' (hṛdaya) etc. are also designated as 'hṛdayas' 'śiras' etc. The eighteen-syllabic Mantra is a pañcāṅga Mantra which means that the part 'netra' is omitted in this. Other five parts of the Mantra are as follows: *klīṃ kṛṣṇāya* (hṛdaya), *govindāya* (śiras), *gopījana* (śikhā), *vallabhāya* (kavaca) and *svāhā* (astra). Of these the *hṛdaya, śikhā, śiras* and *kavaca* portions are placed in the four intermediate directions (SE, SW, NW and NE respectively) whereas the *astra* portion combined with the formulae '*ācakrāya*' '*vicakrāya*' '*sucakrāya*' and '*trailokyarakṣaṇacakrāya* (e.g. *ācakrāya svāhā*) is placed in the four main directions (beginning with the East and moving clockwise) in the second Āvaraṇa.

number of times in front of the different parts of the image and seven times of the image as a whole. The offering is accompanied with its Mantra and Mudrā.

Now comes the most important of all Upacāras, the *Naivedya.* The Naivedya or Bhoga offered to Jagannātha consists of a huge amount of rice, pulses, currys and other savoury dishes cooked in the temple kitchen. The only exception is the early morning Bhoga which consists of only uncooked things like puffed rice, fruits, curd and butter etc.

The Naivedya has to undergo a long process of ritual purification before it could be offered to the deity. The worshipper 'looks' at it with a particular Mudrā, sprinkles and 'guards' it with the Astra-Mantra (=*svāhā*), 'dries' it up with the Bījamantra of Wind (*yam*), places his right hand over it uttering the Bījamantra of Fire (*ram*) in order to 'burn' it out, 're-creates' the same Bhoga—which is now devoid of its impurities—with the help of the Bījamantra of Water/Amṛta (*vām*) and turns this Bhoga into Amṛta (nectar or ambrosia)—the only food that the gods take—with the help of the Dhenu-Mudrā. After offering *pādya* and *ācamanīya* anew to the deity to wash her feet and cleanse her mouth, the worshipper sets off to offer this Amṛta to "Kṛṣṇa, the Bhagavat, the one who consists of all what is there in the universe." By uttering the basic Mantra and the Mantra of the Upacāra Naivedya the worshipper presents the Naivedya to the deity with the words "*śrīkṛṣṇāya sāṅgopāṅgaya sarvātmane bhagavate idam naivedyam svāhā*". Thereupon he brings down the *tejas* of the mouth of the deity to the Naivedya, touches the Naivedya with his hand and utters the basic Mantra for eight times. Taking a handful of flowers he requests Kṛṣṇa to relish this *havis* (. . . *juṣāṇedam havir hare*). Then he offers the deity a few drops of water with the words "*amṛtopastaraṇam asi*" (="you are a layer of Amṛta", a sentence uttered while sipping a little water before taking the food) and by joining the fingers of his right hand in different combinations he offers the first five morsels for the sake of strengthening the five *prāṇas* uttering thereby five Mantras. He then shows the Naivedya Mudrā and requests the deity to proceed with the food.

While the deity is believed to take the food, the worshipper performs the *japa* of the basic Mantra for fiftyfour times and offers this *japa* to the deity. At the end of the Naivedya he offers the deity water to drink (*apośāna*) followed by a few drops of another water which are offered with the words "*amṛtāpidhānam asi*" (you are a covering of Amṛta"). Other formalities like the offering of the water for cleaning the mouth, towel and, finally, a betal-leaf (*tāmbūla*) are carried out in the prescribed manner.

After Naivedya is over, the doors of the sanctum are opened and the *ārātrika* (lights) is offered to the deity to the loud accompaniment of the music which is played in the dancing hall of the temple. For Ārātrika camphor is burnt in a special metallic plate generating seven flames. A heap of flowers are offered to the deity ("*puṣpāñjali*") and the worshipper bows to the deity (*vandanam*, the last Upacāra!) which marks the end of Pūjā.

(*d*) *Rājōpacārani*

The Pūjā of Jagannātha, however, contains an additional element, namely the offering of the 'royal' Upacāras, i.e. articles which signify the royal authority. Jagannātha is considered not only the "Lord of the Universe" in the religious sense, but as have been shown above (chapter 8) also the paramount ruler of Orissa in the political sense since at least the time of Anaṅgabhīma Deva III (1211-1239 A.C.). The royal insignia offered to Jagannātha include a *chatra* (umbrella), *cāmara* (chowrie), *vyajana* (fan), *dārpaṇa* (mirror), *pādukā* (sandals), *gīta* (songs, music) and *nṛtya* (dance), all of which are offered with corresponding Mudrās and the recitation of the prescribed verses.

The worshipper then utters the *hīnapūraṇa* Mantra which aims at making up for any deficiency in the ceremony of Pūjā.

(*e*) *Brahmārpaṇa*

Finally he utters the *brahmārpaṇa* Mantra with which he dedicates the ceremony of pūjā, the merit accruing from it, as well as all his other deeds and mis-seeds to Hari.

Taking Back the 'Tejas' of the Deity Into the Heart Etc.

The *tejas* of the deity which the devotee has been worshipping in the image is now taken back to the heart of the devotee. For this he meditates upon the deity consisting of consciousness, takes *nirmālya* flowers (i.e. those which have already been offered to the deity) in his hands, lets the *tejas* of the deity descend on them through the right nostril of the image and placing those flowers under his left nostril, imagines the deity to have gone back to his heart. The rite is known as *udvāsana*.

After uttering the basic Mantra realising its meaning as well as reciting some hymns in the praise of the deity, he shows the *samāpanī* ("concluding") Mudrā with which the Pūjā ultimately comes to an end.

The Rites After the Puja; Taking of the Prasada of the Deity Etc.

The Naivedya of Lord Jagannātha, after it has been offered to Him, is sent to the temple of Vimalā where it is once more offered to this Śākta goddess. Only after it has been relished by the goddess it assumes the designation *Mahāprasāda* in the terminology of the Jagannātha temple. The Pūjā of Vimalā is a very short one and the Mahāprasāda comes back to the Jagannātha temple before the final part of the Pūjā is over.

The worshipper then places the flowers (*nirmālya*) etc. used by the deity on his body and takes some portion of the Mahāprasāda, the remnant of the deity considered as her 'great favour'. Most of the Mahāprasāda is then distributed among the people present in the temple and the Sevakas of Jagannātha.

III. THE WORSHIP OF THE DEITY AS CONDUCTED BY THE PILGRIMS

Till now we have been dealing with the procedure of Pūjā as it is conducted by an Arcaka of the temple, a Brahmin priest. It is obvious that from his point of view the images of the deities are nothing but the '*pīṭhas*' or the seats of the deities in which they come and reside for a short while in order to accept the veneration of the worshipper. A pilgrim, however, approaches the image with a different awe and reverence. For him the images are '*vibhūtis*', the objects and forms in which God especially manifests Himself though He is present everywhere. They are for him the *arcā-avatāras*, the incarnations which Viṣṇu and others have assumed to receive worship from the mortal beings. A *darśana* of these *arcāvataras* provides him not only an opportunity to appreciate and understand the Divine but also to communicate and establish contact with It through Its worldly representation.

The simplest and the most common way of showing reverence to the deity is obviously bowing before her image and to speak prayers. But if the visitor to the temple wants to *worship* the deity, he uses principally the same mode of Pūjā as the priest with the only difference that in case of a visitor it is highly simplified. The Pūjā of a visitor consists of, at the most, *five* Upacaras namely *gandha*, *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa* and *naivedya* which are the most important ones of the sixteen. In most cases, however, the visitors are content with offering only three (*puṣpa*, *dīpa*, *naivedya*), two (*puṣpa*, *dīpa*) or even only one (either *puṣpa* or *dīpa*). No services of any temple priest are required for offering the *dīpa* to the deities. They are kindled and placed near the Garuḍa pillar in the Nāṭa Mandira (dancing hall). However, if a devotee wants to offer *puṣpa* or *naivedya* to the deity, he has to ask a priest to do it on his behalf since only he (the priest) is allowed to go into the sanctum and touch the deity. Some *dakṣiṇā* (fees) in required to be paid to the priest for his services and the '*yajamāna*' receives a portion of his offerings as *prasāda*. The *naivedya* thus offered to the deity is to be purchased from the storehouse of the temple since no food brought from outside may be taken into the sanctum.

IV. SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE PŪJĀ OF JAGANNĀTHA

If one compares the mode of Pūjā employed in the worship of the deities in the Jagannātha temple with that of other important Viṣṇu temples, especially in the South (e.g. of the temple of *Śeṣaśāyin* in Śrīraṅgam) the following features become conspicuous:

1. Of the many Nyāsas in the very extensive process of *bhūtaśuddhi*, only the Keśavādi-Māṭrka is usually performed by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the worshippers in the South Indian temples. We have noted above that the Keśavādi-Nyāsa, by itself, is combined with the letters of Matṛkā; this alone, therefore, is regarded sufficient to serve the purpose of Keśavādi-Nyāsa and Māṭṛka-Nyāsa both.

2. There also does not exist anything like "Antar-Mātṛkā" in the other Vaiṣṇava systems of worship which involves the placement of the 50 letters of the Sanskrit alphabet on the 6 Cakras inside the body. The belief in the existence of the six Cakras (and Kuṇḍalinī) and their Yogic importance is a concept which was evolved and widely propagated by the Nāthas or Siddha-Yogins. The concept of the Śaivite Nāthas who were especially active in the eastern parts of India was readily accepted in the Śākta philosophy in which the Kuṇḍalinī is depicted as the microcosmic representation of Prakṛti or Mūlaśakti craving to meet Śiva in the 'Sahasrāra-Cakra' in the skull. Consequently in the worship of the goddess, especially as prevalent in the east India, the Cakras and Kuṇḍalinī play a very important role whereas this element is conspicuously absent in other orthodox systems of worship. There cannot be any doubt as to the fact that the important part played by the concept of the Ṣaṭcakras and the Kuṇḍalinī in the rite of the Bhūtaśuddhi etc. in the worship of Jagannātha owes its origin directly to the influence of the Śākta practices in Orissa and indirectly to the philosophy of the Nāthas who have left an indelible impression on the religion, culture and literature of Orissa.[9]
3. According to the famous *piṇḍa-brahmāṇḍa* (=microcosmos-macrocosmos, "*yathā piṇḍe tathā brahmāṇḍe*") theory of the Nāthas, the cosmic consciousness is present in the body of the human beings in the lotus of the one-thousand petals (or, the wheel with one-thousand spokes, *sahasrāra-cakra*) as the Highest Soul (*paramātmān*). This is the source of permanent bliss for a Yogin who 'wakes up' his Kuṇḍalinī and 'piercing' the six Cakras unites her with Him. The theistic systems, however, speak of a *Jīvātman* which resides in the 'cave of the heart' of every individual as the individual soul. It is highly interesting that in the philosophical framework of the Pūjā of Jagannātha (as well as in some Śaiva systems) we find the existence of the both types of Consciousness, individual and cosmic or Jīvātman and Paramātman, side by side in the human body—one residing in the heart and the other in the head!
4. It would capture the attention of even a cursory reader that the Pūjā of Jagannātha is characterised by an excessive use of the Mudrās. Speaking generally, Mudrās are the gestures formed with any part of the body which are capable of expressing an incident, an action or an object in a symbolic but precise and effective manner. The use of Mudrās in the dance-dramas of ancient India—which originally must have had a religious character—is well known and the fact that some of the Mudrās used in Pūjā are identical with the Mudrās used in the classical dance system (e.g. *padma*, *gadā*, *cakra*, the Murdā for *svāgatam* and many more) leaves no doubt about their source. But

[9] For details cf. Bansidhara Mahanti, *Oḍiśāra Nāthasampradāya o Nāthasāhitya*, Cuttack 1968, 110 ff.

the Mudrās used in the ceremony of Pūjā exhibit an extra-ordinary perfection in the art of symbolic representation and they are formed almost exclusively with the different positions of fingers and hands. The number of the Mudrās used in the Pūjā of Jagannātha lies well beyond sixty, a number which is far higher than any number in a Viṣṇuite form of worship. The excessive use of the Mudrās in the Pūjā of Jagannātha is due to the strong influence of the Śāktas in the religious life of Orissa who, especially the soc. Vāmācārins among them, consider Mudrās as one of the five most important elements (the '*pañca ma-kāras*') in their cult.

5. That the process of dissolutions of the different elements and their re-creation in the rite of Bhūtaśuddhi is completely based on the theory of creation of the Sāṃkhya philosophy needs no elucidation. But whereas the Sāṃkhya propagates a dualistic system in which Prakṛti and Puruṣa are two independent and separate entities, the theistic Śākta-Vaiṣṇava system of the Jagannātha cult turns Mūlaprakṛti into an element which is subordinate to Paramātman; which emerges out of Paramātman and is dissolved into Him at the time of dissolution of the universe. The worshipper consequently, has to dissolve 'his' Mūlaprakṛti into the Paramātman present in the Sahasrāra Cakra.

6. The Mātṛkās—the letters of Sanskrit alphabet as they are used in the rites of Pūjā and the Tantric philosophical speculations—are exactly 50 in number. The number finds mention often in the texts and is expressly stated in the *dhyāna* of Bhārati, the goddess of the Mātṛkās (cf. *pañcāśadvarṇabhedair vihitavadanadoḥ. . ..Gopālārcanapaddhati* of Vāsudeva, Folio 29a). The Devatā-Nyāsas following the Mātṛkā-Nyāsa take also the letters of Mātṛkā as their basis and the various aspects or forms of the deity mentioned in a Devatā-Nyāsa, therefore, are also fifty (cf. the Keśavādi-Nyāsa in the *Kramadīpikā* I. 14-23). A closer examination of the Mātṛkā and the Devatā-Nyāsas in the Tantric-Śāktistic texts, however, reveals that the letter of Mātṛkā here are in fact 51 and not just 50[10]. This increase is due to the incorporation of the cerebral ḷa which is introduced after *ha* and before *kṣa*. Due to this extra letter one more pair of divinities, namely *Sāttvata* and *Umā*, has been introduced in the Keśavādi-Nyāsa as described in the Tantric texts (cf. *Śāradātilaka* II. 45-56; similar is the case with the *Śrīkaṇṭhādi-Nyāsa*, cf. 29-43). The introduction of the letter ḷa in the group of the Mātṛkā seems to be motivated by the desire to do justice to the sounds of the spoken language of the region in which the Tantric texts were first written (probably Kashmir or Orissa; Bengali, Assami and Hindi do not have the sound of ḷa). It is interesting that the Mātṛkā and the Keśavādi-Nyāsa etc. as used in the Pūjā of Jagannātha have 51 letters and not 50, though otherwise the Pūjāpaddhatis

[10] Cf. also Fausta Nowotny, *Das Pūjāvidhinirūpaṇa des Trimalla*, Indo Iranian J., Vol. I (1957), pp. 125 & 143 (note 172).

of Jagannātha closely follow the text of Kramadīpika which propagates the system of 50 letters. In other words the Mtāṛkā system of Jagannātha Pūjā follows the Tantric practices and not the generally accepted system of the Āgamas. Interesting is that the Pūjā manuals of Jagannātha always speak of the number *fifty* in connection with the Mātṛkās (. . . *pañcāśadvarṇa-ghaṭitam śarīram utpādya. . .*) though in reality *fiftyone* varṇas are used in Mātṛkā- and Keśavādi-Nyāsa etc.

7. Meditating upon the deity in the *heart* and then bringing her *tejas* to the worshipable image is also, in all probability, a Tantric practice. It is observed everywhere in Orissa, Bengal and other parts of North India but never in the ritual of the South Indian Viṣṇu temples, neither of Pāñcarātra (e.g. Śrī-raṅgam) nor of Vaikhānasa (e.g. Tirupati) school. The main image of the deity (*mūlaberam, mūlavigraha*) in these temples is considered to be permanently endowed with the *tejas* of the deity which is 'infused' into it at the time of the consecration ceremony. The ceremony of Pūjā is, however, never carried out on the main image. For this purpose a separate, smaller, metallic image called *karmaberam* (or *kautukaberam*) is kept in the sanctum and at the beginning of the Pūjā, a *part* of the *tejas* of the deity (usually one-sixth) is taken over from her main image to *karmaberam* and the whole ceremony carried out on this image only. Similar is the case with the bathing ceremony of the deity. In the South Indian temples special images of the deity known as *tīrthaberam* (or *snapanaberam*) are kept ready for this purpose and bathed. That the existence of the deity is considered in the Mūlaberam and not in the heart of the worshipper is also evident from the fact that at the time of performing the mental worship of the deity, a part of the *tejas* of the deity is 'drawn out' from her main image in the heart of the worshipper and the same tejas is transferred later to the *karmaberam* at the time of performing the actual (i.e. external) Pūjā.

It seems that the small image of Nīlamādhava in the sanctum, which is only Jagannātha in a miniature form, was introduced some time under the South Indian influence to fecilitate not only the rites of Pūjā, but also of some periodical festivals which call for the presence of the deity outside the sanctum. After the 'Kṛṣṇaization' of Jagannātha, however, this representative of the deity was substituted by a metallic image of 'Madanamohana'. The miniature statue remained in the sanctum and was later popularly identified with 'Nīlamādhava', despite the fact that according to the testimony of the *Puruṣottama-māhātmyas* the Nīlamādhava was of stone and had a completely different iconography than the present Jagannātha!

8. There is also some difference in the nature of the Upacāras as they are offered in the Jagannātha temple and in the South Indian temples. The most striking feature of the Upacāra offerings of South India is that here the *Madhuparka* (light refreshment) which is offered to the deity in the Jagannātha temple before she proceeds to take a bath, is not at all offered. When Madhuparka

is absent, the following Upacāra consisting of water for cleaning the mouth (*ācamanīya*) naturally also becomes redundant. Two more Upacāras, namely *Svāgatam* and *Ābharaṇam* are also missing in the South Indian temple worship making the total number four. But since the traditional number of the Upacāras is sixteen, the loss of these four Upacāras is made up by (a) adding *Pradakṣiṇā* (circumambalation) to the list, (b) by recognising *Upavīta* as an independent Upacāra (which is a part of the Upacāra *Vastram* in the Jagannātha temple) and (c) by raising *Āvāhana* and *Udvāsana* (invoking of and bidding farewell to the deity) to the status of Upacāras.

9. A very important feature of the daily ritual of the Jagannātha temple is the fact that here the rite of the bathing and the dressing of the deity is not only a part of the ceremony of Pūjā, but is also performed as a separate rite every morning—as a part of the daily '*nīti*' (routine) of the deities—by the temple servants known as Paśupālakas. In the ritual of the South Indian Vaiṣṇava temples (e.g. Śrīraṅgam) the bathing etc. of the deity is only a part of the Pūjā; it is not performed additionally. In Bengal, on the other hand, the deity is invariably given a bath in the early morning as well as properly dressed and decorated. These rites are then *not* repeated at the time of Pūjā which is mostly performed with five Upacāras only (*gandha*, *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*), (*dīpa* and *naivedya*). If at all an extensive Pūjā consisting of 16 Upacāras is performed, the Upacāras *snāna* (bath), *vastra* (garments) etc. are skipped over and only their Mantras are spoken.

Only Orissa lying half way between the South India and Bengal has both and this nicely demonstrates its often noted inclusiveness. Yet, it may be remarked that there is a great deal of difference in the spirit of the bathing and the dressing ceremony as it is carried out by the Paśupālakas on the one hand and the Arcakas on the other. The former takes place in reality. After the teeth of the deities have been cleaned, they are given an actual bath in a mirror and their clothes are changed. The same ceremony as an Upacāra takes place more or less symbolically. The worshipper places a small bowl of water before the deities and says : "You yourself are water, you the earth, you the light (fire) and the wind. Still, observing merelly a wordly convention I am bathing you with the water here."[11]

The difference in the spirit of observing the same rite once at the time of the personal purification of the deity in the morning and once at the time of Pūjā represents two different religious traditions in Hinduism : the first is an expression of popular devotion; of the desire to 'serve' the deity as a humble servant and the second

[11] *tvam āpaḥ pṛthivī caiva tvaṃ jyotir vāyur eva ca/*
lokapravṛttimātreṇa vāriṇā snapayāmy aham//
—Gopālārcanapaddhati, Folio 53a

cf. G.C. Tripathi, *The Influence of some Philosophical Systems on the Worship of Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha*, Zeitschrift für Religions-und Geistesgeschichte, Vol. XXVII (1975). 3. pp. 218 f.

a part of the Brahmanic philosophy which, though, makes compromise and adores an image as a deity, but never forgets that she is the abstract principle underlying the whole universe.

And Jagannātha is the element in which these two traditions meet and achieve, both, their highest fulfilment.

CHAPTER XVI

CAITANYA IN ORISSA

P. Mukherjee

INTRODUCTION

Almost all the studies which have so far been devoted to Caitanya, have mainly relied on Bengali and Sanskrit sources. The important period which Caitanya spent in Puri has hardly been analysed, though being of great relevance for both the understanding of Caitanya and his movement as well as the religious history of Orissa. The subject can only be studied by analysing and comparing the Bengali as well as the Oriya sources. This has been done at length in a comprehensive study prepared under the auspices of the Orissa Research Project,[1] where detailed references may be found. The present paper takes up only three main points which seem to be of particular importance in the context of this volume: Caitanya's relation towards Jagannātha, the Oriya followers of Caitanya, and his influence on the history of Orissa.

CAITANYA'S RELATION TOWARDS JAGANNĀTHA

In 1509 a great change occurred in the life of Viśvambhara in Navadvipa: he experienced a spiritual ecstasy and decided to surrender himself fully to the service of Kṛṣṇa. In January 1510 he took initiation from Keśava, a monk of the Bhāratī order of Śaṅkara and was renamed Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.[2] According to the *Caitanya-Candrodaya*, it was Caitanya's mother, who advised him to go to Puri, so that she might get information about him from the pilgrims.[3] His followers tried to dissuade Caitanya from

[1] *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa* (in press).

[2] A *brahmacārī* ("novice") of the *Bhāratī* order was called by the Śaṅkarite title Caitanya. It was by this title that the new monk became famous.

[3] *Caitanya Candrodaya*, VI.5, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta*. III.3. 182. According to Murāri, Caitanya himself decided to go to Puri (*Caitanya-Caritāmṛta-Kāvya*, III.4).

journey because of the skirmishes which were taking place at the border between Bengal and Orissa. But they were unsuccessful. Caitanya set out with four companions and, after having reached Orissa, he expressed his eagerness to see the "Lord of Nīlācala" (Puri).[4]

The spire of the Puri temple is visible about seven miles before Puri at a place called *tulasī caurā*. When Caitanya reached there and had this first *darśana* ("sight") of the Jagannātha temple, he was overwhelmed with emotion and shouted and danced with joy. In his ecstasy he rushed ahead of his companions and entered the temple by himself. When he beheld Jagannātha, seated on his dais, he lost control of his senses:

> I rushed to embrace Jagannātha. What happened afterwards, I do not remember . . . . In future, I shall behold Jagannātha from outside. I shall not enter the *sanctum* but stand near the Garuḍa column.[5]

Caitanya's frenzy knew no bound: he rushed to embrace Jagannātha and was forcibly prevented by the attendants. Stricken down by the force of his emotion, he fell down senseless on the floor. The door-keepers thought him to be mentally sick and were going to throw him out. Luckily, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, a great Vedāntic scholar, was present in the temple. With the help of the attendants, he carried the unconscious monk into his house where Caitanya regained consciousness after some hours. This trance had a lasting effect on Caitanya. He discovered his true self for the first time. He realised his inseparable bond with Jagannātha.

In his work *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta-Kāvya*, Murāri writes that Caitanya thus immediately after his arrival visited Jagannātha.[6] But in the next canto of the same work one reads that Caitanya and his followers went first to the house of Sārvabhauma.[7] Kavikarṇapūra's drama *Caitanya-Candrodaya* explains that the companions of Caitanya, being foreigners (*paradeśī*), were afraid of not being allowed to enter the temple without the assistance of royal officers.[8] However, even before Caitanya's visit, pilgrims like Mādhavendra Purī and Nityānanda had entered the temple of Jagannātha without the assistance of royal officers. Moreover, Sārvabhauma and his son who, according to the drama, took Caitanya and his companions to the Jagannātha temple, were no royal officers.

Interestingly enough, Kavikarṇapūra in his *kāvya* does not make any reference to the fainting of Caitanya during his first *darśana* of Jagannātha. This work was written in 1576. By that time, the tradition that Caitanya disappeared within the image of Jagannātha was taking root in Orissa. According to it, Caitanya twice

[4] Vṛndāvana Dāsa, *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, III.2.8.

[5] Ibid., III.2. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, the author, might have heard the story from Nityānanda at whose command he wrote the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*.

[6] *Caitanya-Caritamṛta-Kāvya*, III.10.17.

[7] Ibid., III.11.4.

[8] *Caitanya-Candrodaya*; VI.29.

tried to embrace the image of Jagannātha and merged himself into the image on the second occasion. The Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvīpa who considered Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa incarnate, did not like this tradition and this accounts for the reticence of Kavikarṇapūra, while describing Caitanya's first visit to the Jagannātha temple.

When Caitanya visited the Jagannātha temple the next time, he was received with the utmost respect by the priests. They had heared that Caitanya had defeated Sārvabhauma in a theological disputation which changed the life-long conviction of that veteran philosopher.

Before proceeding on his pilgrimage to the South, Caitanya went to the temple for a *darśana* of Jagannātha. The priests offered him the garland of the deity as a token of godspeed. After a year Caitanya returned to Puri, just before the date of the bath festival (*snāna-pūrṇima*). After this festival, the temple was closed as usual, and Caitanya went to Āiālanātha (18 miles from Puri) out of grief, where he derived consolation by worshipping the image of Nārāyaṇa. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has vividly described the chariot festival in 1512 which Caitanya attended.[9] He and his followers cleaned the Guṇḍīcā temple, the destination of chariots, by pouring out hundreds of buckets of water. He saw, with ecstatic joy, the journey of the deities from the temple to their respective chariots. After circambulating the chariots, Caitanya prostrated himself before the vehicles and paid reverence to the deities. His devotional fervour manifested itself through various physiological symptoms. His whole body seemed to be joyous and the hairs on his head stood on their ends. There was copious flow of water from his eyes which was followed by the foaming of his mouth and a running nose. He shouted *Maṇimā* ('O Lord') with hands raised above his head. He danced and roared in a paroxysm of delight while constantly gazing at the face of Jagannātha.[10]

But for his first and probably his last *darśana*, Caitanya always saw Jagannātha from a distance. He used to stand near the Garuḍa column in front of the main shrine, "while his tall and lustrous body was trenched with the tears of his eyes, dripping due to increasing devotion, having had a sight of the Lord of Nīlācala in front of him".[11]

Caitanya considered Jagannātha to be Kṛṣṇa himself. Whenever he saw the image of Jagannātha, he imagined the deity to be Kṛṣṇa in his majestic splendour at

9 Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta*, II.6. Rūpa Gosvāmin once witnessed the Chariot festival at Puri which was attended by Caitanya. In the '*Caitanyāṣṭaka*' poem in his *Stavamālā* he describes Caitanya's dance in front of the chariot of Jagannātha: "Will ever Caitanya favour me with a sight of his person rendered senseless in exuberance of dancing, inspired by his boundless waves of emotion, in front of the chariot ridden by the Lord of Nīlācala and encircled by the Vaiṣṇavas singing in delight"? (I.7).

10 "In Caitanya, religious devotion saw its extreme limits of rapturous expression, both physically and psychologically, which is perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world" (A.K. Majumdar, 1969, p. 268).

11 Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin was a close companion of Caitanya. In the sixth stanza of the poem *Caitanyāṣṭaka* in his *Stavāvalī*, he describes Caitanya's *darśana* of Jagannātha from the Garuḍa column.

Kurukṣetra. Even when he saw Jagannātha for the first time on the chariot, he recited a verse expressing the feelings of Rādhā and the Gopīs (milkmaids of Vṛndāvana) when they met Kṛṣṇa at Kurukṣetra. This feeling of Caitanya at the sight of Jagannātha is similar to that of Rādhā when she met Kṛṣṇa at Kurukṣetra. There Kṛṣṇa wore royal dress and was surrounded by a large retinue. But Rādhā longed for Kṛṣṇa dressed as a cowherd in the secluded groves of Vṛndāvana. In the sixteenth century, Kavikarṇapūra and Vṛndāvana Dāsa described Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa incarnating himself at Navadvīpa. Rūpa and Sanātana, the two great Gosvāmins, could not accept this theory at Vṛndāvana, the seat of exploits of Kṛṣṇa. They held Caitanya to be a combined incarntion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in which Kṛṣṇa took the golden hue and the spirit of Rādhā. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja was commissioned to give publicity to this new interpretation of the divinity of Caitanya. In his *Caitanya Caritāmṛita*, Caitanya is therefore depicted as imbued with the feeling (*bhāva*) of Rādhā, pining for Kṛṣṇa.

The passing away of Caitanya is shrowded in mystery. The orthodox writers are mostly silent about the date and the manner of his passing away. According to the Gauḍiya canons, Caitanya is an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, and thus any question of his death must be absurd. However, the orthodox writers had to modify their position from the 18th century onwards to counteract the notion that Caitanya had been absorbed into Jagannātha.[12]

According to the Oriya writers, Acyutānanda Dāsa, Divākara Dāsa and Īśvara Dāsa, Caitanya passed away before the Jagannātha image, and merged into it. Īśvara Dāsa also refers to his burial. In the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, the king of Sampūrṇanagara asks:

> "You say that Caitanya while besmearing (it with) sandal paste, vanished into the sacred image . . . . But what happened to the body of Caitanya?"[13]

The answer is:

> "Caitanya got absorbed into the god of the Blue Mountain. The form and spirit of Jagannātha and Caitanya are of identical nature. It was witnessed by all, but nobody noticed what befell to the *illusory body*[14].. . . .At Jagannātha's bidding, Kṣetrapāla carried away the dead body (*śava*) through the air and immersed it in the water of the Gaṅgā".[15]

Ivśara Dāsa's description of the disposal of the body is believable. It seems probable, that the body of Caitanya was secretly carried out of the temple and immersed at a lonely place like for instance Gomati Tīrtha, where the Gaṅgā is believed to appear once a year.

12 Mukherjee, Ms, p. 69 ff.

13 Īśvara Dāṣa: *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, 64. cf. also *Śūnya Saṃhitā* I and *Jagannātha-Caritāmṛta* VII.

14 Īśvara Dāṣa: *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, 64.

15 Ibid. 65.

We can conclude that Caitanya passed away before the image of Jagannātha, on a Sunday during the bright fortnight, either on the third *tithi* of *Vaiśākha* (27th April) or on the seventh *tithi* of *āshāḍha* (29th June) in the year 1533.

THE ORIYA FOLLOWERS OF CAITANYA

A large number of Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa professed to be followers of Caitanya. But many of them did not aceept the tenets of his faith. Medieval Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa *centred* round the worship of Jagannātha which had in itself combined so many different tendencies. Orissan Vaiṣṇavism was therefore eclectic in spirit and had absorbed many heterogeneous elements such as the worship of the Void (*śūnya*) (see below Eschmann, chapter 20).

The Vaiṣṇavas of the Orissan school believed in the concept of personified *śūnya* which they identified with Kṛṣṇa. The famous "five comrades" (*pañcasakhā*) belonged to that school and yet were followers of Caitanya. In his poem *Virāṭa Gīṭā*, Balarāma Dāsa, one of them, describes the formless (*nirākāra*) Kṛṣṇa:

"Thou hast no figure nor form. Thou art but the Void personified".[16]

And Acyutānanda, also one of the "five comrades" and a follower of Caitanya, further elaborates the theory of the formless Kṛṣṇa[17]. According to him, the formless Kṛṣṇa dwells in the eternal Goloka, his celestial abode, and is superior to the Kṛṣṇa of *Dvārakā*. In his *Śūnya Samhitā*, Acyutānanda demonstrates the worship of the Void with the *mantra* of the formless (*nirākāra śūnya bhajana mantra*)[18].

That the Oriya followers of Caitanya, or at least a substantial part of them, retained and even intensified the worship of the formless Kṛṣṇa, is very noteworthy, because the concept of Void is abhorrent to the Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇavas. Caitanya himself condemned it.[19]

In Orissa, before the advent of Caitanya, Kṛṣṇa did not receive any exclusive devotion. He was an epic god with his failings and virtues.[20] But according to the Caitanya faith, Kṛṣṇa or Bhagavat constitutes the complete manifestation of personal godhead in his perfect form. Of all the Vaiṣṇava *sampradāyas*, the Caitanya faith gave the highest place to Rādhā, next only to Kṛṣṇa. Though the *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva made the story of the erotic sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa popular in Orissa, Rādhā did not eclipse the other consorts of Kṛṣṇa in popular imagination.[21]

[16] *Virāṭa Gītā*, 1

[17] "*Kṛṣṇa* is the Void personified" (*Śūnya Saṃhitā*: IX).

[18] *Śūnya Saṃhitā*: XX; VII.

[19] *Caitanya Caritāmrta*: II, 16.

[20] cf. Mukherjee, 1940, p. 64 and p. 75.

[21] The poem *Kapaṭa Pāśa* of Bhīma Dhīvara, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century, for instance, refers to Kṛṣṇa as consort of Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā. Jagannātha Dāsa in his Oriya translation of a passage of the Bhāgavata (X.29.43) refers to Vṛndāvati, as the favourite *Gopī* of Kṛṣṇa.

Moreover the Vaiṣṇavas of the Orissan school also accepted the *mantra* of the Viṣṇusvāmin sect in which Rāma or Balarāma, being the elder brother, is given precedence over Kṛṣṇa. This is another major difference towards the Caitanya faith, where Kṛṣṇa, or Bhagavat, is considered superior to his brother, although he is younger.

Acyutānanda describes in his *Śūnya Saṃhitā*[22], that he and his four associates Jagannātha, Balarāma, Yaśovanta and Ananta took part in the *kīrtana* processions of Gaurāṅga (Caitanya). These prominent five Vaiṣṇavas became followers of Caitanya, though they did not give up their original religious beliefs. This was possible because of the following reasons:

1. Caitanya was not the founder of a *sampradāya* (sect). He explained the basic doctrines of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, as professed by him, only to Rūpa Gosvāmin and Sanātana Gosvāmin. He just asked his followers to chant the name of Kṛṣṇa.
2. Caitanya's extraordinary religious personality impressed all Vaiṣṇavas irrespective of sectarian distinctions.
3. His devotional fervour at the sight of Jagannātha impressed the Oriya Vaiṣṇavas, who took him to be the living embodiment of Jagannātha. Acyutānanda writes that "Caitanya is the Lord Himself".[23] The Oriya Vaiṣṇavas believed that Caitanya, a partial manifestation of Jagannātha, after fulfilling his mission merged into Jagannātha.
4. The congregation of Caitanya's followers consisted of Vaiṣṇavas without any discrimination. They all participated in the *kīrtana* or group singing in front of the temple of Jagannātha. As Acyutānanda says:

"*Gaurāṅgacandra*, the ocean of mercy, was present on the *Baḍa Daṇḍa* ("the great road" in front of the temple). Words fail to describe the grace of the group of Vaiṣṇavas, who thronged round him".[24]

Acyutānanda, Yaśovanta, Balarāma and Ananta were all non-Brahmins. They resented the domination of the Brahmins. Balarāma in his *Vedāntasāra Gupta Gītā* and Acyutānanda, in his Śūnya Saṃhitā[25] recount how they were ill-treated by the Brahmins for their spiritual knowledge. They therefore must have felt attracted towards a movement which treated Brahmins and Non-Brahmins as equals.

Besides these followers who combined a particular form of Oriya Viṣṇuism with Caitanyaism, there were other more orthodox Oriya followers of Caitanya as well. In the first half of the 15th century, Vidyāpati of Mithilā (North Bihar)

[22] *Śūnya Saṃhitā*: I.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] *Vedāntasāra Gupta Gītā*, XXIX, *Śūnya Saṃhitā*, IX.

composed songs in the Maithili dialect on the love affairs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The pilgrims who came from Mithilā to Orissa spread those songs. Some Oriya Vaiṣṇavas like Rāi Rāmānanda and his relative Mādhavī Dāsī composed poems in Brajaboli (the dialect of *Vraja*—or Mathura region). Towards the end of the 15th century, Mādhavendra Purī, a devotee of Gopāla Kṛṣṇa, visited Orissa. According to tradition, his disciple Rāghava Purī was the preceptor of Rāmānanda and Mādhavī Dāsī. Rāi Rāmānanda and many other Oriya Vaiṣṇavas like Mādhavī Dāsī, Kāśīśvara Miśra, Sikhi Mohanti, Kānāi Khunṭia, willingly accepted the Caitanya faith and believed Caitanya to be the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa.

Rāmānanda was a non-Brahmin and not only a devotee but also a scholar. During his discourses with Caitanya at Rājamahendrī, he highly praised the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Rāmānanda gave shape to some of the fundamental tenets of the Caitanya faith. He told Caitanya that the devotees should mentally adopt the attitude of the Gopīs who found pleasure in arranging the union of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa. In his poem, *Mahābhāva Prakāśa*, Kānāi describes Rādhā as *Mahābhāva* or embodiment of supreme bliss.

Amongst all the followers of Caitanya cordial relations prevailed, whatever their theological persuasions were. In the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, written by Īśvara Dāsa probably in the first half of the seventeenth century, the participation of Nityānanda, Rāmānanda, Balarāma, and Acyutānanda in the *kīrtana* procession led by Caitanya is clearly mentioned. Amongst the large number of Caitanya's Oriya followers some believed him to be Kṛṣṇa incarnate, whereas others thought him to be an embodiment of Jagannātha.

CAITANYA'S INFLUENCE IN ORISSA

Some scholars have created the erroneous impression that Caitanya was responsible for the fall of Orissa. R.D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa* refers to the "great hold" which Caitanya came to possess over king Pratāpa Rudra.[26] It has been argued that Pratāpa Rudra lost his military vigour due to his contact with Caitanya which led to his defeat at the hands of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, the king of Vijayanagar. But Pratāpa Rudra's defeat was partly due to the almost simultaneous attacks from two frontiers, and partly to the military abilities of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya.[27]

R.D. Banerji points out, that according to Jayānanda's *Caitanya Maṅgala*,

26 R.D. Banerji, 1930/31, vol I, p. 331.

27 In 1509 Pratāpa Rudra Deva had gone to the south in view of the hostile preparations of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. The invasion of Sultan Husain Shāh of Bengal in 1511 compelled him to march upto the river Hooghly. He again went back as far as the banks of the river Nellore to guard his southern frontier. In 1512, he returned to Cuttack, his capital. These journeys exhausted his army. Thus Husain Shāh's raid into Northern Orissa indirectly helped Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya to gain a decisive victory over Pratāpa Rudra. At the same time it must be admitted that the king of Vijayanagar was an able commander and his well-planned Orissa compaigns give an indication of his forceful personality.

Caitanya dissuaded Pratāpa Rudra from invading Bengal, which would have had a disastrous effect on his country, and advised him to conquer *Kāñcīdeśa*. "The advice of Caitanya was sufficient to cause this cowardly and religiously minded king to desist from a proper defence of his own territories" (by retaliating Husain Shāh's invasion).[28] Even assuming that these lines in the *Caitanya Maṅgala* are genuine,[29] they seem hollow if compared with other evidences. According to Kavikarṇapūra, when Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma told Caitanya that the king was eager to meet him, he clapped his hands to his ears, murmured an appeal to God and replied:

> "Why such an improper speech, Sārvabhauma? For me to meet a king or a woman is fatal like a draught of poison.[30]

It is hardly believable that in spite of his categorical refusal to meet Pratāpa Rudra *as a king*, Caitanya should have given him advice on war and external policy.[31]

Caitanya was not interested in politics. He spent his time in adoration of Kṛṣṇa. Pratāpa Rudra Deva as a religious individual was attracted towards Caitanya's divine personality. But, at the same time, the king did not give up his eclectic outlook. Though a Vaiṣṇava, he made a land grant for the worship of Durgā[32] and we learn from Balarāma Dāsa and Acyutānanda Dāsa that the king took also active interest in the esoteric philosophy of the Orissan school of Vaiṣṇavism.[33]

Besides his supposed influence on the politics, some scholars have also criticised Caitanya's impact on the socio religious life of Orissa. One of them, Mayadhar Mansinha. writes:

> "The Brahmins are as a class intensely hostile to Caitanyaism and some of its ceremonies even today . . . ."

In the writings of some of them,

> "we find a bitter diatribe against the Caitanyaian Bhakti cult and its evil effects on Orissa's social life".[34]

28 R.D. Banerji, 1930/31, vol. I, p. 331.

29 B.B. Majumdar has shown, that this passage in the *Vijaya Khaṇḍa* of Jayānanda's *Caitanya Maṅgala* is spurious (B.B. Majumdar, 1959, p. 248).

30 *Caitanya Candrodaya*, VIII.

31 The inscriptional evidence also negatives the assumption that Caitanya was a political adviser to the king. In 1512, Pratāpa Rudra met Caitanya. In 1513 and in 1516, the king marched to the south, not to conquer the province of Candragiri in which Kāñchī was situated, but to defend his own territory which was attacked by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya.

32 The Velicherla inscription: Archaeological Report No. 12 of 1920-21. (See also G.N. Dash, above chapter 12 on Pratāparudra's religious policy).

33 *Vedāntasāra Gupta Gītā, XXIX. Śūnya Saṃhitā*, IX.

34 Mansinha, 1971, p. 89.

Vague criticism utilises emotion and not facts. Mansinha has not specified the ceremonies of the Caitanya sect which are disliked by the Brahmins nor the names of those writers, who should have condemned Caitanyaism.

There certainly was a certain antagonism between Brahmins and Caitanyaites. In Orissa not only four of the five comrades but also the great orthodox exponents of the Caitanya faith, Rāmānanda, Śyāmānanda and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa were non-Brahmins. The Brahmins did not like the Caitanya movement which was dominated by *Śūdras*. However, the Brahmins could not, on the long run, resist the overwhelming popularity of the Caitanya faith and many of them took the Vaiṣṇava surname "Dāsa" when they settled in the vicinity of Puri.

Mansinha next attacks Caitanya for universalising the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult:

> "As against the Krishna-Radha cult, which Caitanya universalised in Orissa thus doing eternal harm to the nation's character-training and social morals, the book of Jagannātha has laid what foundation there is in the Oriyas of healthy piety and morality".[35]

But the Kṛṣṇa cult had prevailed in Orissa even before Caitanya. Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa wrote the *Keśava Koili* in the 15th century; Jagannātha Dāsa translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Oriya before he met Caitanya. As is well known, it is the tenth book of this very work which in his Oriya version may be called "the book of Jagannātha", that describes the erotic sports of Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs*. Acyutānanda translated the *Harivamśa* which narrates the life story of Kṛṣṇa and Puruṣottama Gajapati, the father of Pratāpa Rudra, wrote the *Abhinava Gīta Govinda* in imitation of Jayadeva's work (see above G.N. Dash, chapter 12). Rāmānanda in his *Jagannātha Vallabha* drama describes the dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

However, in Orissa the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult certainly received new impetus during the Caitanya period. But it was universally accepted by the masses only when Śyāmānanda and other Vaiṣṇava teachers spread the Caitanya faith in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The deepest and most important influence Caitanya had in Orissa was in the field of religion. He introduced the practice of *Nagara kīrtana*, the street singing of holy names, in which persons of different beliefs can participate. The mediums of *kīrtana* called '*Nādiā kīrtana*' are Oriya and Bengali. Some years ago, the writer spent a night in a village, the inhabitants of which had no knowledge of the Bengali language. But early in the morning, some of them sang in Bengali that Gaur (Gaurāṅga) had come to the street to spread devotional love. Ignorance of language was no bar to the sincerity of their devotion.

But Caitanya's greatest contribution was his imagery (*bhāvamūrti*). His teaching brought a radical change in popular imagination. Under his influence the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult was exalted by the contemporary writers. Acyutānanda and his

[35] Ibid, p. 99,

associates wrote poems on '*Rāsa*' or the sport of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and the Gopīs. The *Rāsa-krīḍā* of Jagannātha Dāsa, the *Nitya Rāsa* of Acyutānanda, the *Tūla Śūnya Rāsa* of Ananta may by cited in this connection. In the *Śūnya Saṃhitā*, Kṛṣṇa of Dvārakā and his consorts unsuccessfully tried to reach the eternal abode of '*Rāsa*'. Yaśovanta Dāsa in his *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā*, praises the mode of devotion by imitating the Gopīs[36].

Caitanya made popular the conception of Jagannātha's identity with Kṛṣṇa[37]. During the *Herā Pañcamī* festival it is believed that Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa longs for Vṛndāvana. It has even been supposed that "If the rites of Jagannātha are analysed, it will be seen that he has become to a great extent Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava".[38]

The Caitanya faith gradually became popular. Even Mansinha admits:

> "To the masses of Orissa, he proved to be a veritable fountainhead of unprecedented spiritual enthusiasm. Even today, to the millions of Orissa, Caitanya is the only God".[39]

M.T. Kennedy expresses a similar opinion. He writes:

> "Orissa became such a stronghold of the Caitanya faith that today the name of Gauranga is more commonly reverenced and worshipped among the masses of Orissa than in Bengal itself".[40]

While referring to Caitanya's influence upon the masses of Orissa, we should not ignore the fact that the Caitanya faith did not spread throughout Orissa. It is popular only in the coastal districts and in the adjoining districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Koraput. West Orissa was separated by dense forests from coastal Orissa till the Maratha rule in Orissa. The chiefs of West Orissa continued their allegiance to their tutelary goddesses, whereas the zamindars of Ganjam and Jeypur accepted the Caitanya faith and their subjects followed their examples.
More than a century ago, Hunter wrote:

> "The adoration of Caitanya has become a sort of family worship throughout Orissa.—The worship of Caitanya extends throughout Orissa and I have a long list of landed families who worship him with daily rituals in the household chapels, dedicated to his name. At this moment, Caitanya is the apostle of the common people in Orissa. The Brahmins, unless they happen to

[36] *Śūnya Saṃhitā*, X.
Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā, III.
[37] Jagannātha is worshipped by the Mantra *Klīṃ Kṛṣṇāya Govindāya Gopījanavallabhāya Svāhā*. cf. K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 144, and above Tripathi, chapters 15.
[38] Samantraya, 1959, p. 3.
[39] Mansinha, 1971, p. 9.
[40] Kennedy, 1925, p. 75.

> enjoy grants of lands in his name ignore his work. In almost every Brahmin village, the communal shrine is dedicated to Śiva, but in the villages of oridnary husbandmen, it is Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa), who is worshipped and Caitanya is remembered as the great teacher of the proletarian faith".[41]

This statement is still true to a considerable extent. The followers of Śyāmānanda in the Mayurbhanj district worship Madana Mohana or Rasik Rāya (names of Kṛṣṇa), Rādhā and Caitanya. In the Balasore district, Caitanya is the tutelary deity of the cultivator caste. He is worshipped along with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa Each village has its "Adhikāri" or non-Brahmin priest who conducts the worship. There is an "*Adhikāri*" to worship Caitanya, even among the Kaṇḍrās, a low caste. In the Cuttack district, many of the Pānos, a low caste, worship Caitanya.

It was only when the teachings of Caitanya had become wide-spread in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, that Viṣṇuism became the dominant religion in Orissa. According to Īśvara Dāsa, Jagannātha swallowed Caitanya. But one could as well say that Caitanyaism swallowed Jagannāthism, at least the Oriya Vaiṣṇavism. It was probably the blending of the typical Oriya school of Viṣṇuism and the Jagannātha cult with the Caitanya faith which led the way for the spectacular success of Viṣṇuism in Orissa.

[41] Hunter, 1872, Vol. I, p. 109.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE RĀJĀS OF KHURDA AND THE MUSLIM SŪBAHDĀRS OF CUTTACK FOR DOMINANCE OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE

H. Kulke

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JAGANNĀTHA CULT AND THE GAJAPATI KINGSHIP BY THE AFGHANS IN A.D. 1568

After the Orissan empire had achieved its greatest and most powerful expansion in the 15th century under the Gajapati kings Kapilendra and Puruṣottama, the prospects of the future darkened in the early 16th century when Orissa was suddenly encircled by three hostile and powerful states. In the north, Hussain Shāh (1493-1519) had established a new and more powerful dynasty than its predecessors in Bengal. In the south, the great rival empire of Vijayanagar started under its most powerful king Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya (1509-1529) an aggressive warfare against the southernmost region of the Orissan empire and in 1512 the Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh of Golkonda near Hyderabad declared his independence of the Bahmanī Sultanat of Central India and began systematic raids against the Godavari region and Kaliṅga. In less than two decades, after a series of decisive defeats by these enemies, the territorial limits of Orissa sank back to those which had existed before Kapilendra, about one century ago, when the had started his imperialistic policy.[1]

P. Mukherjee[2] had rightly refuted the theory that the decline of the Orissan empire was caused by the influence of Caitanya's preaching upon the king Pratāparudra (1497-1540) and his soldiers. After the loss of the whole Godavari-Krishna region, king Pratāparudra Deva was able to restore the peace for about twenty years. It was only after the death of this last great Gajapati king that the power of the empire rapidly declined due to a series of intrigues and treacherous revolts at the court

[1] N.K. Sahu, 1956, vol. II, p. 386.
[2] P. Mukherjee, 1940, p. 143 and 1947, p. 329.

of the weak successors to the imperial throne. During these years, the feudatory chiefs of the hilly Gaḍajāṭa (Garhjat) states for the first time entered the struggle for the imperial power.[3]

Under the Gajapati Mukunda Deva (1557-1568), Orissa temporarily recovered its imperial strength. This induced the Moghul emperor Akbar in 1565 to enter into a treaty with Mukunda Deva[4] against their common enemy, the Sultān Sulaimān of Bengal. Mukunda Deva, who had already offered shelter to a defeated rival of Sulaimān, thus fell into a deadly enmity with the new Muslim dynasty in Bengal. When Akbar was engaged in his war with the far-off Chittor, Sultān Sulaimān planned a decisive battle against Mukunda, Akbar's most powerful ally in Eastern India.[5] During the decisive battle in the year A.D. 1568, Orissa fell into an agony of revolts and betrayal amongst its leaders to which finally the last independent king of Orissa, Mukunda Deva, fell victim. Thus, the erstwhile most powerful Hindu empire of Eastern India fell an easy prey to the armies of the Sultān of Bengal—only three years after the last south Indian Hindu empire of Vijayanagara had been crushingly defeated in 1565 by the united Sultanats of the Deccan. These two battles finally ended the period of the late medieval Hindu regional empires. During the next two centuries, the Muslim rule in India reached its zenith under the great Moghuls. In Orissa, however, during the following years "there was complete anarchy (*arājaka*) and nobody was there to take care of the gods and Brahmins".[6]

After the conquest of Cuttack in 1568, Kālāpahār, one of the Afghan generals with a small unit captured Puri which had been left undefended to the "infidels" (*kāphira*), plundered the legendary temple treasure of Jagannātha,[7] and desecrated and damaged the temple. Most probably with the help of an Oriya,[8] Kālāpahār discovered the hidden image of Jagannātha and burnt it and afterwards cast it into the sea,[9] or—according to the Oriya chronicles—took it on an elephant to the Ganges and had it burnt there.[10] After its desecration, Puri "the stronghold of Jagannātha [was made] into the home of Islām" and became the seat of a Muslim governor.[11]

During the following 180 years, more than a dozen times the priests of Puri had to hide the renewed image of Jagannātha in the inaccessible mountains of South

[3] Especially the Bhañja dynasties of Northern Orissa took an active part in the struggle (N.K. Sahu, 1956, vol. II, p. 388).

[4] AN, vol. II, p. 381ff.

[5] AN, vol. II, p. 478.

[6] CP, p. 5.

[7] According to Ni'mat Allāh's *Makhzān-i-Afghāna* of the year 1612 A.D. "every Afghān, who took part in the campaign, obtained as booty one or two gold images. Kālā Pahār destroyed the temple of Jagannāth in Puri which contained 700 idols made of gold, the biggest of which weighed 30 māns" (M.A. Rahim, *History of the Afghans in India*, A.D. 1545-1631. Karachi 1961, p. 177f.) The temple chronicle of Puri speaks of a booty worth of 52 crores (520 million) rupies! MP, I, p. 61.

[8] CP, p. 5.

[9] AA, vol. II, p. 140.

[10] CP, p. 5 and MP, I, p. 61.

[11] *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 166 and 177.

Orissa or on some islands in the Chilka Lake. For more than thirty years the "Lord of the World" was thus either absent from his *ratnasiṃhāsana* ("jewel lion throne") in Puri or—during the reign of Aurangzeb—was forcibly put under lock and key in his temple (see below). It is only too understandable that Kālāpahār ("the black mountain") in Orissa became the embodiment of a furious iconoclast[12] and the successive treatment of the Jagannātha cult under the Moghuls is taken as an example of the religious intolerance of Muslim rulers of India against Hinduism. However, an analysis of all available evidence provides a more differentiated picture of the events. It reveals to what an extent the initial fight of the Afghans *against* the Jagannātha cult turned under the Moghuls into a struggle *for* the domination over the cult. This struggle was fought between the Rājās of Khurda, the priests of Puri, and the Muslim governors (*sūbahdārs*) at Cuttack. It culminated in the events during the year 1735 when a new Muslim Sūbahdār, against the embittered resistance of the Khurda Rājā, but with the obvious support of the priests of Puri, forcibly brought back the image of Jagannātha from its hiding-place in South Orissa and reestablished the cult at Puri.

The date of the renewal of the cult after Kālāpahār and the circumstances under which it took place is still a matter of controversy. The historians of Orissa generally accept the results of K.N. Mahapatra's research according to which the images were consecrated again in Puri on 17.7.1575 by Rāmacandra of Khurda who had taken advantage of two severe defeats of the Afghans by the Moghul army earlier that year.[13] Recently, however, P. Mukherjee has pointed out that "Orissa was ruled by the Afghans for all practical purposes from 1568 to 1589" (sic!)[14] and that a renewal of the Jagannātha cult most probably was impossible during this period.

A thorough study of the available evidence from the Oriya and the Persian chronicles fully confirms this estimation of the historical development of Orissa after 1568.[15] The several defeats of Afghans by the Moghul army did not mean any relaxation of their power in, and hold over, Central Orissa. On the contrary, Orissa became increasingly the refuge of the defeated Afghans. According to Persian chronicles only once, in A.D. 1580, when the Afghans during the great Bengal revolt had withdrawn most of their troops to Bengal, had their grip on Orissa been loosened.[16] But we have no evidence at all that during these years they might have changed their hostile attitude towards the Jagannātha cult to such an extent that they might have tolerated its renewal at a time when its destruction was still remembered as a great triumph.

12 In his "*History of Bengal*" Ghulam Ḥusain Salīm wrote 1788: "Of the miracles of Kālāpahār, one was this, that wherever in that country, the sound of his drum reached, the hands and the feet, the ears and the noses of the idols, worshipped by the Hindus, fel off their stone figures, so that even now stone-idols, with hands and feet broken, and noses and ears cut off, are lying at several places in that country." (*Riyāz-us-Salātīn*, p. 18).

13 K.N. Mahapatra 1958 and 1969, p. 14. This date is accepted by K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 71.

14 P. Mukherjee, 1977, p. 4f.

15 For a detailed study of this problem see Kulke 1975, chapter V.

16 AN, vol. III, p. 469.

THE RENEWAL OF THE JAGANNĀTHA CULT UNDER RĀMACANDRA OF KHURDA IN 1590/90

This situation changed only after Mānsingh(=Mānasiṃha), the famous Moghul general, had defeated the Afghans again in 1590. A new conclusion of peace treaty confirmed anew the investiture of the Afghans in Orissa. But "an agreement was made . . . *that Jagannātha, which is a famous temple*, and its environs *should be made crown-land*".[17] The purpose of this rather unusual treaty which declared Puri, lying on the other side of Afghan territory, as a Moghul crownland was certainly "to win the goodwill of the Hindus and alienate the Afghans from Hindu sympathy".[18] But it had an even more direct relation with the political development in South Orissa.

Shortly after the destruction of the Vijayanagara empire in 1565 Sultān Ibrahim of Golkonda had started his conquest of the Godavari delta region which he occupied around 1571/72.[19] But the armies of Golkonda needed nearly two decades more to subdue the powerful Hindu chiefs of Kaliṅga and South Orissa.[20] In 1589/90 a general of Golkonda conquered the whole of South Orissa and advanced with an army till Athagarh in the Ganjam District where he had excavated a tank on 5. 3. 1590.[21] It is astonishing that the coincidence of this event and the transformation of Puri into a Moghul crown-land seems to have escaped the attention of the scholars. But it is unthinkable that Mānsingh was not well informed about these dangerous events at the southern border of Orissa when he signed the contract with the defeated Afghans on 15.8.1590. He must have been clearly aware of the strategical importance of Puri. This town would have certainly become the next target of the expanding rival power of Golkonda, an event which consequently would have meant the loss of the whole of Central Orissa to this southern Sultanate. The dispossession of the unreliable Afghans in Puri was obviously intended to prevent this danger from the expanding Moghul empire in Eastern India. With the liberation of Puri from the yoke of the Afghans Mānsingh certainly—as already mentioned—also intended to win the Hindus of Orissa for the cause of his Moghul emperor. And, as the future development will show, he even might have planned to reestablish the Jagannātha cult himself after the final annexation of Orissa to the Moghul empire.

But if Mānsingh ever had intended to renew the cult at Puri, his plans were thwarted by several local pretenders to the Gajapati throne who rushed forward immediately after Puri was freed from the Afghans. Only two months after he had signed the treaty, the Eastern Cāḷukya king Nṛsiṃha, a cousin or brother of the last Gajapati Mukunda Deva,[22] advanced from his southern homeland in Rajmundry (Rājamahendra, at the eastern bank of the Godāvarī) up to Athagarh in the Ganjam

[17] AN, vol. III, p. 934.
[18] B.C. Ray, 1952.
[19] S.N. Rajaguru, 1957, p. 31 and R. Sewell, 1932, p. 260.
[20] *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta*, vol. III, p. 425ff.
[21] S.N. Rajaguru, 1957, p. 23ff.
[22] S.N. Rajaguru, 1957, p. 15 and K.N. Mahapatra, 1969, p. 21.

district. He reached there around the 20th October 1590 and fought some skirmishes which brought him right up to the Chilka lake where he occupied some important strategic places. In the same inscription which praises the above-mentioned previous deeds of the Golkonda general in the Ganjam District he proudly presented himself as the "*Gajapati* Nṛsiṃha Deva [and] divine incarnation" (*divya avatāra*). He introduced his own reckoning of regnal *aṅka* years, the royal prerogative of the imperial Gajapatis. And at the sight of the still unconquered centre of his ancestral empire further in the north and in order to justify his claim for the throne he announced confidently: "As king of the Utkal empire he protects the Gajapati throne!"[23]

However, Nṛsiṃha seems to have never reached the Promised Land Utkal, because another pretender to the Gajapati throne at that time had already firmly established himself near Puri, i. e. Rāmacandra Deva of Khurda. The origin and the early history of Rāmacandra is very uncertain, but he was probably the son of Danāi Vidyādhara, a powerful minister of the last Gajapatis.[24] According to some chronicles Rāmacandra was imprisoned by king Mukunda Deva in Rajmundry.[25] In 1568, during the confusion after Mukunda's death, Rāmacandra escaped and took shelter in a fort near Vizagapatnam,[26] but he had to flee again after three years when Muslims tried to capture him—most probably in connection with Golkonda's above-mentioned conquest of South Orissa up to Chicacola in 1571/72. With a few followers he settled down in Khurda after he had ritually killed the owner of this place, a Saora chief. Within the next years Rāmacandra seems to have succeeded in establishing himself as an able leader (*nāyaka*) in the noman's-land between the spheres of influence of Golkonda and the Afghans.

Nothing is known about the early history of Rāmacandra in Khurda. But it must have taken several years for him to establish himself firmly and to gain the confidence and support of leading officers and priests of the former Gajapatis. We have, therefore, no reason to distrust the tradition of the Oriya annals that the anarchy (*arājaka*) in Orissa lasted till the *Śaka* year 1502=1580/81 A.D.[27] and that Rāmacandra was elected as king of Orissa by the ministers and grandees of Orissa that year. This tradition is corroborated by the above-mentioned account of Akbar-nāma that during 1580 A.D. the zamindārs of Orissa had got the upper hand.[28]

The temple chronicle reports that Rāmacandra renewed the Jagannātha cult

23 *sāmrājyōtkala-bhubhujo gajapateḥ siṃhāsanaṃ palitaś cakre*...(line 11), S.N. Rajaguru 1957.

24 MP, I, p. 62; CP, p. 6 and *Nagasagotra-nṛpavaṃśānucaritam* (see Sudhakara Patnaik, *Khorodha Bhoivaṃśara utpatti*, in: *Jhaṅkāra*, IV, 2, 1952, p. 99-114. According to the JK, p. 340, Account, p. 46 and MP, III, p. 64 Rāmacandra's father was Vīra Behera. I am indebted to Dr. G.N. Dash and Shri K.N. Mahapatra with whom I discussed several times thoroughly the question of Rāmacandra's origin and early history.

25 CP, p. 5.

26 CP, p. 5f.

27 MP, III, p. 62, JK, p. 339f.

28 AN, vol. III, p. 469.

during his 11th *aṅka*,[29] i.e. during his 9th regnal year 1588/89 A.D. This version of the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* includes also the interesting supplementary account that Rāmacandra had the images first renewed in his own capital Khurda during his 9th aṅka = 1586/87 A.D. According to this account he transferred them only two years later to Puri and he reestablished them in a grand ceremony on their "lion throne" in the Great Temple. During this ceremony he was honoured as the "Second Indradyumna", named after the legendary founder of the cult.[30]

As according to our analysis of the Persian chronicles, no renewal of the Jagannātha cult in Puri itself was possible as long as it was occupied by the Afghans, we have good reasons to accept the account of the annals of Puri that the images were first renewed by Rāmacandra in Khurda about 1587 and only two years later solemnly consecrated on their "lion throne" in Puri. This dating leads us directly to the historically better documented events of the year 1590 when Mānsingh in his contract on 15th August had freed Puri from the yoke of the Afghans and declared it as crown land of the Moghul empire.

Rāmacandra of Khurda certainly knew about his southern rival for the Gajapati throne and, as just mentioned, brought "his" Jagannātha image from Khurda to Puri in order to establish his own claim for the Gajapati throne of Orissa. Nṛsiṃha, the relative of the last Gajapati Mukunda Deva, quickly left his ancestral capital in the south and reached the Ganjam district in October 1590. But obviously he was either too late or not able to "protect the Gajapati throne" against his rival as he claimed in his inscription. But his family did not yet resign from their claims to the Gajapati throne. According to the annals of Puri in the same year a son of Mukunda Deva went to Delhi to fight for his ancestral throne.[31]

We have no means to ascertain the exact date of the renewal of the cult at Puri. But it must have been completed before the summer 1591 when the grand old man of the Afghans, Khwāja Īsā, died. "As long as [he] lived, the thread of treaty was not let slip. When he died, the wicked Afghans laid hold of the temple of the worship of Jagannātha".[32] The renewal of the hated Jagannātha cult by Rāmacandra must have enraged them deeply. This behaviour of the Afghans in the year 1591 confirms our assumption that the renewal of the cult in Puri would have been impossible before Mānsingh's treaty in 1590.

Mānsingh "who repented on the peace he had made, resolved to conquer the country".[33] In a large-scale and well organized campaign he invaded Orissa in 1592

[29] MP, I, p. 62.

[30] MP, p. 63. This title is known from various contemporary literary sources, e.g., *abhinava Indradyumna avatāra*, in the work of Chand Kavi in the late 16th century (K.N. Mahapatra, 1958, p. 239); "*abhinava-Indradyumna Gajapati Rāmacandra Deva*", in: "*Śrīkṛṣnabhaktavātsalya Nāṭikā*" of Rāmacandra Deva. (*Descr. Cat. of Skt. Mss in the Orissa State Mus.*, vol. II, p. CXXVI and p. 125; or *Nabīna Indradyumna* in CP, p. 7.

[31] MP, III, p. 64.

[32] AN, vol. III, p. 934.

[33] Ibid.

and defeated the Afghans in several battles till they took shelter in the fort Sāraṅgarh near Cuttack, which "belonged to Rājah Rām Cand who was a great landholder in that country".[34] After the fall of Sāraṅgarh and the defeat of the Afghans, Mānsingh surprisingly decided to make a pilgrimage to Jagannātha in Puri hoping "that he would be nearer to Rājah Rām Cand, and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him".[35] But Rāmacandra obviously saw through Mānsingh's intention and entrenched himself in his fort at Khurda. After he refused to pay his respect to Mānsingh a strong Moghul army besieged Khurda. "On hearing of this His Majesty [Akbar]—who appreciates dignities—became angry, and issued censures. The Rājah [Mānsingh] recalled his troops, and apologised. Rām Cand, on seeing the graciousness of His Majesty, took the thought of paying his respect . . . He visited the Rājah and was treated with much respect."[36]

What might have been the reasons of Akbar's rather strange behaviour to censure his favourite Hindu general for the sake of a local Hindu Rājā in Orissa? As we have seen, at the latest since 1565, when Akbar had sent an embassy to Orissa in order to win Mukunda Deva as an ally against the Afghans in Bengal—a member of the embassy was an Oriya with the name Mahāpātra[36]—Akbar knew about the Gajapatis and their strong relation with the Jagannātha cult. In 1592/93 Akbar "who appreciates dignities" obviously recognized Rāmacandra, who had meanwhile renewed the Jagannātha cult and established himself as the Hindu Rājā of Central Orissa, as the legitimate successor of his former ally Mukunda Deva. Rāmacandra was certainly the best choice of Akbar[38] for a strong ally against the Afghans in Orissa and the Sultanat of Golkonda Because it was Rāmacandra who had proved himself as an able military leader, and who was highly respected by the Oriyas for his daring and quick renewal of their national cult. Akbar therefore acknowledged him as the Gajapati[39] and, in order to strengthen Rāmacandra's position and to bind him to the imperial court, he appointed him as a grandee with the rank "Commander of 500".[40]

Mānsingh, on the other hand, himself being an ambitious Hindu Rājā initially must have had regarded Rāmacandra as a rival for his own position in Orissa, especially because he had renewed the most famous cult of Eastern India, an act which Mānsingh might have planned to perform himself.[41] But after Mānsingh had learnt the intention of his imperial master he executed loyally his plans. In an overall

[34] AN, vol. III, p. 941.
[35] Ibid.
[36] AN, vol. III, p. 967f
[37] *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, in: E & D, vol. V, p. 299 and *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 77.
[38] The recognition of a member of Mukunda Deva's family, which had already been recognizing the overlordship of the Sultāns of Golkonda since about two decades, would have endangered Akbar's own supremacy over Orissa.
[39] AA, vol. II, p. 138.
[40] AA, vol. I, p. 548.
[41] The dynastic chronicle of Mānsingh even reports that Mānsingh had erected a temple for Jagannātha in Puri (R.N. Prasad, Raja Man Singh of Ambar, Calcutta 1966, p. 87) and the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* (III, p. 63) credits the construction of the Muktimaṇḍapa to Mansingh's wife.

political reorganisation of Orissa he divided it into a coastal area which, as the *Moghulbandi*, came under direct Moghul rule and a hilly tract in which the chiefs were acknowledged as semi-autonomous rājās, the most powerful of them being the Rājās of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. Rāmacandra was confirmed in his own Zamindārī, lying west of the Cuttack-Puri road and north of the Chilka lake. Furthermore, thirty-one Zamindārīs were assigned to Khurda as hereditary fief covering all the Feudatory States of Central Orissa between the Brahmani and the Rushikulya rivers (see map No. 6). Rāmacandra was thus not only acknowledged as a Zamindār in his own territory of about 1300 sq. miles. Through the extensive portions of the country which were assigned to him, he also became the rājā of a strong buffer state of about 13000 sq miles between the Moghulbandi and the territory of the Golkonda Sultanat.

Rāmacandra sticked loyally to the settlement with Mānsingh and abstained from any further expansion of his territory. He concentrated all his energy on the consolidation of his newly gained territory. One of his outstanding deeds was the foundation of altogether five Brahmin *śāsana* villages.[42] Usually these śāsana villages were established by order (*śāsana*) of the kings near to their capitals. It is, therefore, quite remarkable that Rāmacandra founded all these villages—the greatest number which had ever been established by a Khurda Rājā—near Puri and at the road which connected Puri and Khurda. The intention of this systematic foundation of Brahmin villages is clear: To consolidate the position of the Khurda Rājās in the hinterland of Puri and to protect the backbone of the Khurda kingdom, i.e. the main road between its political and religious centers Khurda and Puri.

The legitimation of Rāmacandra and his successors was mainly based on Rāmacandra's fame as the renewer of the national cult of the Oriyas which found its expression in the honourable title "Second" or "New Indradyumna". It was further strengthened by the legend about the marvellous rediscovery of the *brahma*, the most sacred portion of the Jaganntāha image (see Tripathi, chapter 13). According to this tradition an Oriya named Bisar Mohanti had been able to secure the *brahma* from the half-burnt image of Jagannātha which Kālāpahār had thrown into the Gaṅga. He kept it for several years in Kujang (a place in the Mahānadi delta) till Rāmacandra in a dream was ordered by Lord Jagannātha himself to get the *brahma* from Kujang, to set up new images of the Jagannātha trinity and to insert the *brahma* into the new image of the Lord. This legend established Rāmacandra's claim to act—like the former imperial Gajapatis—under the direct order of Jagannātha. The legend also proved the unbroken continuity of the cult which he had re-established as the "Second Indradyumna". It explained to Jagannātha's devotees that even Kālāpahār had actually not been able to destroy more of Jagannātha's image than during the Navakalevara rituals is replaced regularly every ten to twenty years. The image which was restored by the "Second Indradyumna" was therefore essentially the same as the one which Viṣṇu himself had once set up for the mythical "First Indradyumna" in

42 See G. Pfeffer 1975 and below chapter 19 and MP, I and III, p. 64.

the hoary past. Due to his historical and legendary achievements Rāmacandra and his successors were acknowleged throughout Orissa as the new Gajapatis. This fact found its expression in the reckoning of the regnal *aṅka* years of the Khurda Rājās in Orissa, even outside the territorry of Khurda proper. (see below Dash, Ch. 20).

The literary medium of the legends with their obvious legitimatory function both for brahmins and rājās were the typical temple annals and chronicles of this period. In contrast to the earlier collections of unhistorical temple legends (*māhātmyas* or *sthala purāṇas*)[43] these annals of the late medieval period contain often valuable historical informations, although they are too often inextricably mixed with legendary accounts. The characteristic of the late legendary accounts is the more obvious and more direct function for the legitimation within a society in which—mostly under the direct impact of the Muslim conquest—the idea of Hindu kingship had lost much of its traditional and unquestioned legitimation. In this situation—during the consolidation of the renewed Gajapati kingship and Jagannātha cult—the temple chronicle of Puri, the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*, was compiled by the priests of Puri. This famous *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* which is known in several sometimes quite different versions,[44] consequently became one of the main sources of the legitimation of the Khurda dynasty.

The foundation of the kingdom of Khurda under Rāmacandra provides an outstanding example of the legitimation and consolidation of political power through the possession of a sacred temple-city. It also illustrates a phenomenon which we find throughout the history of India: that of a *local* dynasty deriving its legitimacy from an older, *imperial* tradition.[45]

THE CRISIS AND CONSOLIDATION OF KHURDA UNDER AKBAR'S SUCCESSORS

Akbar's tolerant policy against Hinduism and Hindu rājās had thus contributed a lot to the renewal and the consolidation of the Jagannātha cult and a successor-kingship of the Gajapatis. In chapter 20, G.N. Dash illustrates to what an extent Rāmacandra's policy under Akbar's reign helped to preserve the identity of the future Oriyanation.

The presuppositions of the rise of Khurda under Akbar, however, changed rapidly in Orissa under Akbar's first and third successors, Jahāngīr and Aurangzeb. Most notorious for the whole empire, of course, was the alteration of the religious policy of the Moghul emperors since Akbar's death. In the case of Orissa and specifically Khurda, however, two other points are even of greater importance. In 1607 A.D. Orissa became a separate *sūbahdārī* province with Cuttack as its capital. Since then, it was only a question of time till a Muslim governor (*sūbahdār*) at Cuttack would try to mediatise the neighbouring Khurda territory whose Rājās claimed to be subject

[43] For a historical analysis of a temple *Māhātmya* see Kulke, 1969.
[44] See bibliography.
[45] Kulke, 1974, p. 61.

to the emperor only and to be both the sacred and secret rulers of Orissa. Another reason for the change of the policy towards Khurda was the plan of the Emperor Jahāngīr (16 5-1627) to expand the imperial territory beyond Khurda and to annex the southern kingdom of Rajamundry which was under the sovereignty of Golkonda.[46] Due to this plan Khurda automatically lost its important strategic function as a buffer state between the Moghul empire and the Golkonda Sultanat.

Only few years after Akbar's death Khurda and Puri drastically experienced the consequences of this change of the imperial policy. Under Hāshim Khān, the first Moghul governor of Orissa, a Hindu Jagīrdār in Orissa, the Rājput Keśo Dāś Mārū, took full advantage of the new policy. With a few followers he attacked Puri by surprise during the car festival, burnt the cars, plundered the temple treasure, and entrenched himself in the Jagannātha temple when Puruṣottama Deva, the new Rājā of Khurda, advanced with his army.[47] But when reinforcement was sent by the Muslim Governor from Cuttack, Puruṣottama had to give up the siege of the temple and was forced to consent into an expensive and humiliating treaty. This attack on Puri demonstrated for the first time the disadvantage of the strong link of the Khurda Rājās with Puri. As successors to the Gajapatis they had to protect the temple city of their imperial predecessors, although they commanded only a fractional economic and military power of the latter. In the future the Rājās of Khurda could easily be blackmailed by new attacks on the Jagannātha temple, the most vulnerable point of Khurda's defence.

Only two years later it was the turn of priests of the Puri to suffer from their dependence on the weak Khurda dynasty in their very exposed position. When Rājā Kalyāṇa Singh (1611-1617), the new Governor of Orissa, attacked Khurda in 1611, the priests of Puri had to secure the images on an island in the Chilka lake where they remained for several years.[48] This meant a tremendous loss for the priests of Puri who depended on the gifts from the pilgrims, most of which stayed away from Puri during the absence of Jagannātha.

These two attacks on Puri and Khurda had not yet set up completely the power structure in Central Orissa. This happened only under Makaram Khān (1617-1620), the third Governor, who dealt the decisive stroke against the semi-autonomous status of the Khurda Rājās. He not only attacked, but also occupied Khurda for the first time. Jahāngīr proudly noted his autobiography: "Between the province Orissa and Golconda there were two Zamindars, one the Raja of Khurda and the second the Raja of Rajmahendra. *The province of Khurda has come into the possession of the servants of the court*. After this it is the turn of the country of Rajmahendra."[49] Rājā Puruṣottama of Khurda fled into the fortress Mānatri in the inaccessible mountainous

[46] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, vol. I, p. 433 (E & D, vol. VI, p. 355).

[47] *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybi*, vol. I, p. 35-38 contains a detailed but rather fantastic account. See also MP, I, p. 65.

[48] MP, I, p. 66.

[49] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, vol. I, p. 433.

south of his kingdom. Jagannātha had to follow his earthly deputy and was taken to a village at the border of Banpur.[50]

Within less than three decades after the great deed of Rāmacandra, both the "Lord of the World" and the "Lord of the Elephants" had thus to succumb before the superior power of the Muslim Sūbahdārs in Cuttack. But the trauma experienced by the Oriya people, when both Jagannātha and the Gajapatis had to flee to remote areas of South Orissa, seems to have strongly influenced the relationship between Jagannātha and the *rājās* and their mutual *prajās* (people).

These repeated raids against Puri and Khurda under Jahāngīr have been compared with the destruction of the cult by the Afghans in 1568 A.D. But the analysis of the available sources proves that the targets of these attacks under Jahāngīr—carried out by two *Hindu* Rājputs and only one *Muslim* officer—were the famous temple treasure of Jagannātha and specifically the semi-autonomous status of Khurda. Apparently it was never the aim to destroy the Jagannātha cult itself. However, whenever the Rājā of Khurda was attacked, he ordered the removal of the images from Puri which were his most valuable possession and the source of the legitimacy of his kingship.

After the three devastating attacks a more pacific time began. In 1623 A.D. during his revolt against his imperial father, prince Shāhjahān passed through Orissa. The temple chronicle of Puri relates that Narasiṃha, the new Rājā of Khurda, paid homage to him whereupon a Rājput officer of Shāhjahān's troop together with Narasiṃha reinstalled the images of Jagannātha on his *ratnasiṃhāsana* in Puri.[51]

The following 30 years under Emperor Shāhjahān (1628-1657) were the most peaceful of the whole Khurda period. Obviously all those who had vested interest in the cult of Jagannātha had realized that the long absence of Jagannātha's image from Puri and the non-arrival of the pilgrims ultimately hurt everybody economically, i.e. the priests, the pilgrim guides, and the Rājā of Khurda who, furthermore, lost the control over Puri while he was just managing to live in a mountain fortress far-off from Puri. Although we have no evidence that the pilgrim tax which had been abolished under Akbar was reintroduced in Orissa already by Shāhjahān, it is nevertheless very likely that the lack of pilgrims had caused also a great financial loss for the Sūbahdār at Cuttack. It seems, therefore, that during this period a tacit agreement was reached between the Rājā of Khurda and the Moghul Sūbahdār in Cuttack. Bruton, one of the early British travellers in India, reported in 1633 A.D. that during the car festival "one of the moguls sitting . . . in the chariot, upon a convenient place, with a canopy to keep the sun from injuring him"[52]—obviously in order to control this most important yearly gathering of pilgrims in Puri. Bruton's detailed description of the Jagannātha cult gives a vivid picture of an undisturbed cult at Puri.

[50] MP, I, p. 66.
[51] MP, I, p. 67.
[52] Quoted by P. Acharya, 1961, p. 46.

During these years Rājā Narasiṃha, through a number of decisive measures and reforms, tried to compensate the loss of the political power of the semi-autonomous status of his dynasty through a strong reinforcement of his influence in Puri.[53] Most probably under the influence of the Vaiṣṇava reformer Rasikānanda he introduced several new Kṛṣṇaite rituals in the Jagannātha cult, prohibited animal sacrifices for the goddess Vimalā and strengthened Jagannātha's influence in the Vimalā cult through the order that she has to accept Jagannātha's *prasāda* offerings before they are distributed to the priests and pilgrims as *mahā-prasāda*.[54]

Most important for the future relationship between the Rājās of Khurda and the Jagannātha cult was the building of an own palace of the Khurda Rājās in the Bālī Sāhī of Puri to the south of the Jagannātha temple.[55] This was the first step of a development, during which the Rājās of Khurda became the "Rājās of Puri". Connected with the construction of the palace in Puri was an increasing influence of the Rājās in the temple and its cult. The *rājaguru*, the personal priest of the rājā, became the temple administrator and its "great examiner" (*baḍa parīkṣā*). Temple servants had to serve in the palace and food offerings for Jagannātha had regularly to be brought several times a day to the palace (*rājabhoga*). From the time of Narasiṃha a most complicated system of ritual and socio-economic temple-palace relations emerged in Puri, through which the palace and the temple rituals became more and more synchronized. In order to canonize his reforms and to write down the "rights and dues" (*adhikāra o prāpya*)[56] of the Rājās of Khurda in the Jagannātha cult he ordered in about 1642 A.D. the compilation of the *nīti* (book of the rituals) of Lord Jagannātha. This text mentions explicitly the share of the offerings which were due to the Rājās (*rāja-prasāda*) after each ritual. Till today the *rāja-mahāprasāda* which is sold to the pilgrims is one of the main sources of income of the Rājā of Puri.

Other incisive measures of Narasiṃha were aimed at consolidation of his influence in the hinterland of Puri. Through a new rigorous hierarchic differentiation of the Brahmins in the *śāsana* villages he created Brahmin castes of the Sāmantas, the Bhaṭṭamiśras, and the Vaidikas, who became the elite of central Orissa.[57] The assignment of this status remained in the hand of the Khurda Rājās, a fact which considerably strengthened their position in the hinterland of Puri. At the same time, Narasiṃha introduced a light rent (*taṅki*) for all the *śāsana* villages, a more symbolical measure through which Narasiṃha clearly intended to place the *śāsana* Brahmins around Puri under the control of his dynasty.[58] Nevertheless, the new high

[53] For a detailed study of Narasiṃha's reforms see Kulke, 1975, chapter VI, 2. It is based mainly on the JK, p. 345 and the *Account*, p. 51f.

[54] The offering of Jagannātha's *prasāda* to Vimalā today is usually interpreted as an indication for Vimalā's cult influence on Jagannātha's cult.

[55] JK, p. 345 and MP, I, p. 67.

[56] RR, III, 1 of the Rājās of Puri.

[57] See G. Pfeffer below, chapter 22, K.N. Mahapatra, 1969, p. 78 and H.K. Mahtab, 1960, vol. II, p. 463f.

[58] G. Pfeffer 1974, p. 122f and Kulke 1975, chapter V, 5.

status of these Brahmins and the new functions which were assigned to court Brahmins in the Temple, might have annoyed the long-established temple Brahmins of Puri.

Narasiṃha's ritual and social reforms increasingly caused a strong opposition. Several annals report that the priests of Puri, as usually during a struggle with the political power, called upon their Lord Jagannātha as their last resort who, thereupon, ordered Narasiṃha to abstain from several of his reforms.[60] But his opponents were not appeased and in an open revolt in 1647 in which his grandfather, a priest and a Moghul officer were involved, he was killed in his palace.[61] The Moghul troops took advantages of the following disorder and looted the palace and the temple treasures. But the Moghuls did not disturb the Jagannātha cult and it is not known that the priests had again to take shelter with their Lord in the South of Orissa. This remarkable fact makes it highly probably that Narasiṃha was murdered by a conspiracy of the priests of Puri and the Moghul Sūbahdār at Cuttack[62] who out of vested interests were both mistrusting the growing influence of the Khurda king in the temple-city of Puri and its hinterland.

Despite this temporary set back for the Khurda dynasty the position of its ruling Rājā among the Hindu society of Orissa was well established by the middle of the 17th century. The devotion of the Oriyas for their Gajapatis is known from the report of Khān-i-Dauran who reconquered Orissa for Aurangzeb in 1661, after the Rājās and zamindārs of Orissa had regained their independence for about three years during the war of succession at the Moghul court. During his campaign against Khurda, Khān-i-Dauran called the young Rājā Mukunda Deva "the leading Zamindar of this country, whose orders are obeyed by the other Zamindars" and added that "all the other zamindars of the country *worship him like a god* and disobedience of whose orders they regarded as a great sin."[63] This report is most interesting, because it was written by a *Muslim* officer during his campaign *against* Khurda. Furthermore, it is again noteworthy that, despite the conquest of Khurda, no disturbance of the Jagannātha cult is known nor do we hear anything about the flight of priests from Puri.

Even Aurangzeb's hostile policy against Hindu institutions was not able to destroy completely this tacit collaboration between the Rājā of Khurda, the Sūbahdārs in Cuttack and the priests of Puri. After the notorious imperial decree of the year 1669 which ordered the destruction of all recently built Hindu temples and the prevention of new temple buildings, several important old Hindu temples were destroyed in Orissa.[64] But nothing is known about any destruction in Puri, on

[59] See G.N. Dash below, chapter 20.

[60] *Account*, p. 51 and *Kaṭakarājavaṃśāvalī*, folio 48.

[61] MP, III, p. 68 and in a chronicle published by Stirling in 1837 in: JASB, p. 756ff.

[62] The chronicle published by Stirling (see f.n. 61) relates that a priest who had been hurt by Nārasiṃha got military support by the Sūbahdār.

[63] *Muruqat-i-Hassan*, quoted by J.N. Sarkar, 1916, p. 340.

[64] e.g. In 1686: Śāraḷā Temple in Jhāṅkaḍa and in 1687: several temples in Jaipur (K.N. Mahapatra, 1969, p. 104f).

the contrary, the annals of Puri report about several new minor temple constructions in Puri.[65] Although during these years a Sūbahdār is said to have set out for Puri in order to desecrate the Jagannātha temple, according to the Mādaḷā Pāñjī he was forced back by a lightning flash near Pipli. His alleged campaign against Puri, however, was most likely a successful extortion of money from the Rājā and the priests of Puri for his toleration of the cult at Puri.

This "economical toleration"[66] must have been the reason why Aurangzeb by a new decree in 1692 ordered explicitly the destruction of the Jagannātha temple. But Divyasiṃha Deva, the then Rājā of Khurda, met the Sūbahdār and agreed with him to arrange a pretended destruction under his own supervision. After some minor demolitions—most likely—a faked image of Jagannātha was sent to Aurangzeb and the main gate of the temple was closed.[67] But the daily rituals of the cult were continued by some priests who entered the temple through a secret side door in the southern temple wall.[68] Aurangzeb was again informed about this situation in Puri. He recalled the Sūbahdār and sent a high officer as an examiner to Puri. But according to an Oriya chronicle, the Rājā of Khurda accomplished the masterpiece to bribe even him—or as the chronicle paraphrazed it "he won him as a friend"—with a gift of 30,000 rupies. Till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., the temple of Jagannātha was officially closed, but the cult continued to such an extent that even several rājās visited the temple and performed their traditional royal rituals.[70] Only few months after Aurangzeb's death in 1707 A.D. the doors of the temple were forcibly opened by a minister of Khurda and the chiefs of the 18 Gaḍajāta states[71] and the cult was renewed in its previous greatness. It is obvious that all this could happen only with the toleration of the Muslim Sūbahdār in Cuttack.

KHURDA'S STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE UNDER THE NAWĀBS OF BENGAL

After the death of Aurangzeb, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa gradually (1713/1719/1733) became a quasi-independent successor state under the powerful Nawābs of Bengal. Under the long reign of Murshid Qulī Khān as Nawāb and under his son-in-law Shujā-ud-din, who was the Sūbahdār in Orissa, Khurda and Puri enjoyed a peaceful

65 MP, III, p. 69f.

66 Other cases are known that "the safety of idols was purchased on payment of cash to Qadis or Muhtasibs" (M.L. Roy Choudhury, *The State and Religion in Moghul India*, Calcutta 1951, p. 261).

67 *Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin* quoted in R.L. Mitra, 1875, vol. II, p. 112; MP, I, p. 70; JK, p. 346; CP, p. 20; *Account*, p. 50; K N. Mahapatra 1969, p. 131.

68 The most detailed account about the continuation of the cult exists in CP, p. 20.

69 CP, p. 20.

70 In the year 1696 and 1701 the Rājās of Ranpur and Paṭia respectively had an "official" *darśana* of Jagannātha during which they received the customary honours (JSV, p. 142 and 146).

71 MP, I, p. 71.

time. But this situation changed rapidly when Shujā-ud-din, after the death of Murshid in 1727, became himself the Dewān of Bengal and when his son Taqi Khān was appointed as Sūbahdār at Cuttack.

In Orissa Taqi Khān is still remembered as one of the most cruel and avaricious Sūbahdārs. Indeed, during his reign the conflict assumed again the proportions of the struggle for power as in the early 16th century. Several times, both the "Lord of the World" and the "Lord of the Elephants" had to take shelter in the inaccessible mountains in the south and the Rājā of Khurda, Rāmacandra II, the "deputy" of Jagannātha and the "Moving Viṣṇu" (*calantī Viṣṇu*) is supposed to have even been forcibly converted to Islam.

In the discussions of this critical period of the Orissan history it has apparently not sufficiently been noticed that these events were only *one* aspect of an overall power struggle between the Sūbahdār and the Rājā of Khurda for the domination of Central Orissa, during which the Jagannātha temple played an eminent role. In about 1729 A.D., three years after Rāmacandra had entered the throne,[72] his general (*bakhśī*) undertook, for the first time since the settlement under Akbar, a military campaign in order to expand the territory of Khurda into the Moghulbandi and at the cost of the neighbouring Gaḍajāta states.[73] It is most likely that this campaign was indirectly caused by the conquest of the whole area south of the Chilka lake through the troops of Hyderabad, which itself had become independent in 1724 A.D. Apparently in order to compensate this territorial loss in the South, Rāmacandra tried to extend his territory in central Orissa.

After an initial success the soldiers (*pāiks*) of Khurda mutinied at the end of 1730 A.D. In this situation Taqi Khān interfered into the conflict and captured Rāmacandra II by a device. He imprisoned him at Cuttack and "after some days have passed, this king was defeated by the daughter of the Nawab and was driven out of the caste".[74] After his alleged love affair, conversion, and the exclusion from his caste, Rāmacandra's sons—who had first fled to Aṭhagarh in South Orissa—rebelled against their father and freed Khurda from the Muslim troops. But Taqi Khān drove them out and reinstalled Rāmacandra II in Khurda whom he wished to use as a tool in his hands in order to annex fully Khurda to his *sūbahdārī*. Taqi Khān posted his own police in the Khurda territory[75] and he even seems to have sent a high officer to Puri to control this temple city.[76]

After Rāmacandra had realized the deadly danger for his dynasty he went to

[72] His date of accession is controversial. Dāśarathi Dāsa dates his own poem "*Brajabihāra*" in ś. 1653 (=1731/2 A.D.), Rāmacandra's II 8 *aṅka*. His rule, therefore, began in 1726/27 A.D. (see K.N. Mahapatra, 1969, p. 191). But the very detailed and reliable account of the MP, I, p. 76f about Rāmacandra, dates the Navakalevara of the year 1733 in the 10th *aṅka*, Rāmacandra's reign accordingly began in 1725/26 A.D.

[73] JK, p. 351 and *Account*, p. 58.

[74] MP, III, p. 77f.

[75] JK, p. 352; K.N. Mahapatra 1969, p. 186.

[76] MP, III, p. 76.

Puri during summer 1732 for several months where he was able to regain the confidence of the priests. This can be assumed from the fact that the priests, after the car-festival, followed him with the image of Jagannātha when he fled surprisingly to the hilly south of his territory. As there were no disturbances of the cult, neither in 1731, when the car-festival had been for the first time conducted under the control of the Sūbahdār, nor in 1732, it is obvious that Rāmacandra withdrew the image of Jagannātha in order to secure his palladium and to prevent Taqi Khān from controlling the cult through his officers. Taqi Khān now played off the prince Vīrakeśarī against his father Rāmacandra and declared him as the new Rājā of Khurda.

In 1733, however, the 13th lunar month *āṣādha* occurred again during which the Navakalevara ritual, the periodical renewal of the images of the Puri Triad had to take place.[77] Although Vīrakeśarī with the support of Taqi Khān had started already the preparations for the new images,[78] they could not prevent Rāmacandra from returning from South Orissa with the Jagannātha image, without whose *brahma* the Navakalevara ritual could not have been completed. As Taqi Khān's main interest at this moment seemed to have been the collection of the pilgrim tax (see below) he did not dare to interfere. Rāmacandra was, therefore, able to consolidate again his position amongst rājās and chiefs of Orissa through a sound ritual policy, which will be dealt with later. Although, Taqi Khān had come again to terms with Rāmacandra during the car-festival, he attacked him in Khurda after Rāmacandra surprisingly had again sent the Jagannātha images to South Orissa, where they were kept in Maradā near Aṭhagarh for the next two and half years.

After Taqi Khān's death in 1734/35 Rāmacandra returned to his capital Khurda, but was driven out again after few months by the Governor Murshid Quli Khān II. As this Governor obviously was not willing to continue the game, he sent his deputy Mīr Habīb to Aṭhagarh from where he forcibly brought the images to Puri where the cult was revived. In order to prevent any further disturbances of the pilgrimage economy through the Khurda Rājās, he deposed Rāmacandra and appointed Rājā Padmanābha Deva of Paṭia near Cuttack as the new Gajapati.[79] The rather strange event that a *Hindu* cult of a great temple city was renewed by a *Muslim* officer has usually been explained as an act of tolerance. But this explanation is quite unsatisfactory because it is known that both Murshid and Mīr Habīb had destroyed Hindu temples in East Bengal before they came to Orissa.[80] Fortunately we possess the account of a Bengal chronicle of the year 1786/87, which, for the first time, clearly mentions the reasons of this economic tolerance: "During the commotion in Muhammad Taqi Khān's time, the Rājah of Parsutam [Puri] had removed Jagannāth, the God, from the limits of the Subah of Odisah, and had guarded it on the summit of a hill across the Chilka lake. In consequence of the removal of the idol, their was a

[77] see G.C. Tripathi above, chapter 13, and K.N. Mahapatra, 1969, p. 186.

[78] *kumāra rājā hoi, mahā aṇasara niminta dāru aṇāi Śrī Puruṣottama bije karāithile* (MP, I, 76).

[79] MP, I, p. 77; JK, p. 352; *Account*, p. 59.

[80] *Naubahār-i-Murshid Quli Khānī*, in: *Bengal Nawābs*, trsl. by J. Sarkar, Calcutta 1952, p. 7.

failing-off to the tune of nine laks of rupees in the Imperial revenue, accruing from the pilgrims."[81] It is obvious from this quotation that Murshid II ordered the renewal of the Jagannātha cult in order to stop the tremendous loss of pilgrim tax during the years of Jagannātha's absence from Puri. "The religious warfare was at last set at rest by the institution of the tax cn pilgrims", as Stirling had rightly remarked in 1822.[82]

Already three years later, in 1739, however, Vīrakeśarī, the son of the deposed Rāmacandra II, was reinstalled on his ancestral throne in Khurda. The reasons why Padmanābha of Paṭia had been deposed are unknown. But it is most likely that Padmanābha of Paṭia was not able or not willing to pay the agreed amount of pilgrim tax.[83] Vīrakeśarī was most probably reinstalled as Gajapati because he had promised not only to pay the pilgrim tax (*jātrī hāsilī*) regularly but agreed also to pay off the debt of Padmanābha.[84] It was this enormous financial burden which Vīrakeśarī had to impose on the already rather weakened Khurda, which ultimately caused its final collapse only two decades later under the rule of the Marāṭhās.

THE FALL OF KHURDA UNDER THE MARĀṬHĀS IN 1760/61

Already in 1742, only few years after Vīrakeśarī had regained the ancestral throne at Khurda, a sanguinary struggle for the supremacy in Eastern India began between the Marāṭhā king of Nagpur, Raghujī Bhonslā, and the Dewan of Bengal, Alīvardī Khān. Orissa was for several years the main theatre of operations and was finally ceded by Alīvardī to the Marāṭhās in 1751.

The first two Marāṭhā Governors in Orissa were Muslims who were appointed by a mutual agreement between the Marāṭhās and the Nawāb of Bengal. Both Governors did not interfer into the peculiar "dyarchical" power structure of Central Orissa which had been settled between the previous Sūbahdārs and the Gajapatis of Khurda "whom all the other Zamindārs of the country worship like a god."[85]

This situation changed suddenly when Śeo Bhaṭṭ Sāṭhè (Śiva Bhaṭṭa) in 1759 became the first *Hindu* governor of Orissa. One of his first acts in Orissa was to dismantle the Khurda territory. When Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa, the powerful Rājā of the South Orissan Gaḍajāta state Parlakhemundi, as an alleged descendant of the Imperial Gaṅgas and a pretender to the Gajapati throne,[86] attacked Khurda, the Marāṭhās first helped Vīrakeśarī of Khurda to drive him out. But under the pretext of collecting the debt of 100.000 rupies which Vīrakeśarī had promised to the Marāṭhās, Śeo Bhaṭṭ confiscated Lembai and Rahang, the two most fertile *parganā*-districts of Khurda, occupied Puri, and mediatised 14 Gaḍajāta States which were

[81] *Riyāz-us-Salātīn*, p. 302f.
[82] Stirling, quoted in N.K. Sahu 1956, vol. II, p. 257.
[83] Kulke, 1975, chapter VIII, 2.
[84] MP, I, p. 78.
[85] see above f.n. 63.
[86] Rajaguru, 1968/73, vol. II, p. 116ff.

under Khurda[87] since Akbar. It is explicable that Śeo Bhaṭṭ seized Lembai and Rahang as mortgage. The occupation of Puri and the mediatization of Khurda's Feudatory States, however, can only be explained as a wilful act to destroy the very foundations of Khurda's kingship. This is clearly revealed by the account of T. Motte who travelled through Orissa only few years later in 1776 A.D.: "When Ragoojee entered Orissa, at the instigation of Meer Hubbeeb, he found these parts divided into small Zemindaries dependant on the Rajah of Pooree at whose capital is the famous temple of Jaggernaut, near Chilka-lake. This prince was regarded by his subjects in a religious light also, and appeared formidable to the Maharattas, who, apprehensive lest he might seize a favourable opportunity to cut off the communication between Nagpur and Cuttack, resolved to reduce his power by dividing it. He made the petty Zamindars independent of him, and formed the chuklas [divisions] of Dinkanol [Dhenkanal], Bonkey [Banki], Ner·ingpoor [Narsingpur], Togorea [Tigiria], Tochair [Talcher], Chunda Para [Khandpara], Dispulla [Dapalla], Hindole [Hindol], Ungool, [Angul] and Boad [Baud]".[88]

As in the case of Mānsingh's relation with Rāmacandra I, it is quite understandable that the Hindu dynasty of the Marāṭhās, as the new masters of Orissa, were suspicious of the high position held by the Rājās of Khurda. Their important role in the Jagannātha cult and their close relationship with the feudatory rājās of Orissa made the Gajapatis appear the "secret" ruler of Orissa. Consequently the Marāṭhās took over the administration of the Jagannātha temple and "freed" the fourteen Gaḍajāta states. The Gajapati kingship of Khurda had thus survived about 170 years of Muslim rule,[89] but it was reduced to the status of a local zamindārī only few years after a rival Hindu dynasty had conquered Orissa. The Rājās of Khurda seem to have retained only a nominal position as Gajapatis in the Jagannātha cult. They had still their own regnal years (*aṅka*) and they were allowed to send "royal letters" (*chāmu ciṭhāu*) to the rājās and chiefs of Orissa—otherwise the control over the Jagannātha cult had passed completely into the hands of a group of temple administrators which were appointed by the Marāṭhās.

THE RITUAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE RĀJĀS OF KHURDA WITH THEIR FEUDATORY RĀJĀS

Finally I would like to stress a peculiar aspect of the relationship between the Gajapatis of Khurda and their feudatory rājās in Central Orissa. The powerful Gajapatis of the imperial Gaṅgas and Sūryavaṃśa had confined the Jagannātha cult more or less to the political and religious centers of their empire—Cuttack and Puri—

[87] MP, I, p. 79.

[88] T. Motte, *A Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines at Sumbhalpoor*, repr. in: OHRJ, 1/3, 1953, App. p 28.

[89] According to *Riyāz-us-Salātīn*, p. 19, the relations between Hindus and Muslim must have been very good in Puri during the 18th century: "At Parsūtam (=Puri). Hindus unlike their practice elsewhere, eat together with Musalmans and other races. And all sorts of cooked food sell in the bazar, and Hindus and Musalmans buy them and eat together and drink together."

and they used to threaten their political opponents with the wrath of their state deity. The Rājās of Khurda, however, having lost the actual power to "monopolize" the Jagannātha cult, during their struggle with the Sūbahdārs at Cuttack tried to gain and to assure the support of their feudatory rājās (*sāmanta rājās*) by "sharing" their own position in the state cult with them (See map 6). This interesting aspect of the Jagannātha cult is known from a number of royal letters (*chāmu ciṭhāu*) or grants (*sanads*) which, till recently, were either unknown or unnoticed.[90] In these royal letters which were usually addressed to the administrator (*parīkṣā*) of the Jagannātha temple, the Rājā of Khurda announced the visit of a feudatory rājā to Puri who had applied for special privileges during this visit. These letters, therefore, usually include a detailed list of the ritual privileges which were to be granted to the feudatory rājās and their families during their worship of Jagannātha. They also often prescribed the donations which the rājās should receive from the temple treasure, as well as those which the feudatory rājās had promised to present to Jagannātha.

It is extremely informative to trace the political background of these royal letters and grants. Out of the roughly 100 *chāmu ciṭhāus* which are known to have been issued by the Khurda Rājās, more than 80 per cent belong to the late 17th and to the first half of the 18th century. We have already seen that this was precisely the time when Khurda had to struggle for its political survival.

Most interesting in this respect are the royal letters of Rāmacandra II and his son Vīrakeśarī. Out of the 14 royal letters which we possess from Rāmacandra II altogether 11 are dated from the year 1733 and are connected with the great car festival. We have already seen that during the preparation for the Navakalevara ritual Rāmacandra had returned with the Jagannātha image from his exile in South Orissa in order to prevent his son and the Muslim governor from controlling this most important ritual of the Jagannātha cult. In his desperate war on two fronts which he fought nearly without any military power, he tried to win the support of his feudatories through ritual concessions in the Jagannātha cult. All his royal letters were intended for his adjoining feudatories of Baramba,[91] Tigeria,[92] Khandpara,[93] Ranpur[94] (see fig. 72), whose support was most essential for him. Another letter referred to the Rājā of Khallikota,[95] whose zamindārī had once been an important station on Jagannātha's flight beyond the borders of Orissa. All these rājas were allowed by Rāmacandra's royal orders to perform special rituals during their worship of

90 The following lines are based on the JSV, and on the *chāmu ciṭhāus* which belong to the palmleaf collection of the Deula Karaṇa (DK) of Puri and which were bought by the Orissa Research Project in 1971 and donated to the Orissa State Museum in Bhubaneswar in August 1974. See also Kulke 1974, p. 65-57 and 1975, chapter VIII, 2.

91 JSV, p. 149.

92 DK, 2-8-6V; 3-6-77R.

93 DK, 3-6-77R; JSV, p. 149.

94 DK, 2-8-6V; 3-6-10; 3-6-77V; JSV, p. 143.

95 DK, 3-6-77R.

Jagannātha and they received the sacred *śāṛhī* (turban) as a token of their acknowledgement.[96]

After Vīrakeśarī was able to regain his ancestral throne in 1739 under heavy financial concessions to the Sūbahdār, he assumed high sounding titles and followed the "*chāmu ciṭhāu*-policy" of his father in order to strengthen the already deadly weakended position of his dynasty. Altogether 34 royal letters are known from his reign, the highest number which we possess from a Rājā of Khurda. The function of these letters is obvious when we take into consideration that out of these 34 letters 24 are dated from the period between 1742 and 1751. This was exactly the time when due to the struggle between Raghujī Bhonslā and Alīvardī Khān a quasi-anarchical situation was prevalent in Orissa, during which both the feudatory rājas and Vīrakeśarī of Khurda tried to consolidate their power.

In this situation Vīrakeśarī granted special privileges to 15 *gaḍajāta rājās* of Orissa and to princely visitors from Delhi and Assam.[97] The 15 rājās, with the exception of those from Kujang and Sonpur (in the Mahānadī delta and West Orissa, respectively) were *all* feudatories of Khurda since Akbar's time (see map 6). This fact clearly reveals the direct relation between political dependence and ritual privileges in the Jagannātha cult and it illustrates to what an extent the Rājās of Khurda, in their desperate power struggle, were willing to use the Jagannātha cult for their political ends.

Most illustrative are in this respect Vīrakeśarī's royal letters to Rājā Jagannātha of Aṭhgarh in South Orissa. The Rājā of Aṭhgarh and his father had helped Vīrakeśarī and his father Rāmacandra II during their most difficult time. In 1731 Raghunātha had given shelter to the prince Vīrakeśarī after his father had been imprisoned by Taqi Khān. From 1733-1736 the Rājā Jagannātha had offered shelter to the Lord of Puri for which he constructed a small temple in a village near Aṭhgarh which he donated, together with three other villages, for the maintenance of the cult

[96] On the significance of *Sāḍhī* (*Sārhī*) see also above chapter 13, footnote 25.

[97] Kujang: DK, 2-11-77R.
Ranpur: DK, 2-1-2R; 2-8-15V; 2-8-25R; 5-11-9V; JSV, p. 144, 145.
Nayagarh: DK, 4-12-59R.
Barki: JSV, p. 136.
Tigeria: DK, 3-6-10R; 2-11-31V.
Angul: DK, 5-11-9V.
Dhenkanal: DK, 2-1-5R; 2-8-1R; 2-8-25R; 2-8-28R.
Talcher: DK, 2-1-5R; 2-8-25R; 2-8-28R.
Sonpur: DK, 5-1-4R.
Ghumsur: DK, 2-1-33V; 3-6-13R; 3-6-13V; 5-11-9V.
Banpur: DK, 2-1-33V; 2-3-2V; 5-1-18R; 5-1-10R.
Aṭhgarh: DK, 2-1-33V; 3-3-7V; JSV, p. 131, 132.
Khallikota: DK, 5-11-9V.
Tekkali: DK, 2-13-16R.
Assam: DK, 2-1-7R.
Delhi: DK, 2-8-13V; JSV, p. 135.

of Jagannātha and his priests.[98]

In the year 1746 Vīrakeśarī in appreciation of this help conferred the heritable title "Haricandana Jagaddeva" upon the Rājā of Aṭhgarh during his visit of Puri: "Being mercyful, we bestow on you the title of Haricandana Jagaddeva and sanction to use vehicles run by a pair of horses along with a turban in which an elephant emblem made of silver is enshrined. Thou shall remain forever loyal at our feet with care. We have given necessary order to Baliyarsiṃha, the manager of the temple of Śrī Jagannātha, to make adequate arrangements for your *darśana* in the temple. You may perform the offering to the deities as you might desire by presenting any property you may like."[99]

In the following year 1747 the Rājā of Aṭhgarh granted a village in his estate to Lord Jagannātha at Puri for the purpose of his *amṛtamaṇohi*-offerings.[100] Meanwhile Rājā Jagannātha of Aṭhgarh, "remaining loyal at Vīrakeśarīs feet", had helped again the Rājā of Khurda who sent a further loyal letter to him: "As you have been engaged in a very difficult task in our favour, Bakhsī Hamīr Khān[101] has been sent to Banpur. You should join him and help him to accomplish the work entrusted to him on our behalf. Showing favour to you, we have appointed you as the Parīkṣā (superintendent) of the temple of Śrī Jagannātha. You should maintain the services of the gods carefully and in a proper manner."[102]

We don't know the precise nature of the "very difficult task" in which the Rājā of Aṭhgarh had been engaged for Vīrakeśarī of Khurda, nor do we know the further "work entrusted to him" and to Khurda's general. But it is very likely that they were directly connected with the fights in South Orissa against the troops of Hyderabad under Asaf Jah who had become the military district officer (*faujdār*) at Ichāpuram in 1742.[103] In 1746/47 Aṭhgarh seems to have been already under the control of Hyderabad. Bānpur had thus become the border region of the Khurda territory. From the above letter it seems likely that Vīrakeśarī of Khurda demanded from the Rājā of Aṭhgarh military support for his general who had gone to Bānpur either in order to defend the border or to regain lost territory at the Chilka lake. In order to assure the support of the Rājā of Aṭhgarh, Vīrakeśarī appointed him as the

98 *Account of Ganjam*, in: LR, vol. IX, p. 370-458. (Translation of S.N. Rajaguru, p. 65). A *chāmu ciṭhāu* of the Deula Karaṇa collection refers to Parameśvara's (=Jagannātha's) stay in Marada in Rāmacandra's 11th *aṅka*=1734 A.D.

99 JSV, p. 131 (Translation S.N. Rajaguru).

100 In the 14th aṅka year, see: *Account of Ganjam* (translation, p. 65). It is interesting that a part of the same village was simultaneously also granted in favour of Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara in the great South Indian temple at Tirupati. Another village in Aṭhgarh was granted to Jagannātha in Puri.

101 It is interesting to note that Khurda had a Muslim *bakhśī*. Bakhśī Hamir Khān is unknown to me, but he may be identical with Mūrad Khān who was (according to *Riyāz-us-Salātīn*, p. 331f) in 1741 A.D. the general of Khurda and helped Murshīd Qulī Khān's family against Alīvardī Khān during his first conquest of Orissa.

102 JSV, p. 131.

103 *Lāṅgūleśvara Itihāsa*, in. LR, vol. 37, p. 409-408. (translation, p. 77f)

superintendent of the Jagannātha temple.[104]

Rājā Jagannātha of Aṭhgarh seems to have implemented the instructions to the satisfaction of Vīrakeśarī because he sent a further letter to him: "We learn from the letter which you have dispatched to us. . . .You have requested us to grant the privilege of beating a big drum (*nagārā*) on the back of an elephant. Your request has been granted by us". In a further royal letter of the same year, which has the character of an official grant (*sanad*), Vīrakeśarī confirmed the former rights and granted further privileges to the Rājā of Aṭhgarh. Furthermore, the Rājā of Aṭhgarh received land and a big house in Puri "for performing the service of a *parīkṣā* of the main temple".

These royal letters of Vīrakeśarī are an outstanding example for the late medieval ritual policy of Hindu rājās. In his desperately weakened position Vīrakeśarī tried to regain through ritual means the former power of his ancestors while at the same time—on the eve of the British conquest—the struggle for power in Orissa was revived between the successor states of the Moghuls, i.e. between the Dewāns of Bengal, the Marāṭhās of Nagpur and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Rājās of Khurda granted to their feudatories privileges in the Jagannātha cult at Puri and royal status symbols and reconfirmed them in their position as *sāmanta* rājās. But these privileges were connected with the order to "remain forever loyal at our feet" and to "maintain the services of the gods carefully." It has often rightly been argued that in India both the special feudal type of military obligation[105] and the personal bond derived from the commendation and the oath of allegiance were unknown to "Indian Feudalism". However, the case of Khurda shows to what an extent the ritual bond between the feudatories and the state deity (*rāṣṭra-devatā*) which was under the control of the central rājā, substituted the personal feudal bond which had characterized the western type of feudalism.

[104] JSV. p. 132f; the last letter is partly reprinted in Kulke 1974, p. 67.
[105] see e.g. D.C. Sircar 1966, p. 58.

PART III

Resurgence and Present Trends

Chapter XVIII

"JUGGERNAUT" UNDER BRITISH SUPREMACY AND THE RESURGENCE OF THE KHURDA RĀJĀS AS "RĀJĀS OF PURI"

H. Kulke

In 1765 the revenue Dewānī of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had been granted to the East India Company by the Moghul Emperor Shāh Ālam. From the very beginning of their rule over Bengal, the East India Company tried to regain Orissa which had belonged to the Dewānī of Bengal till it had been ceded *de facto* by Alīvardī to the Marāṭhās of Nagpur in 1751 A.D. Already in 1766 Lord Clive sent T. Motte to Sambalpur "to sound the officers of Jānujī's court whether he would cede the province of Orissa for an annual tribute".[1]

Two years later, the Marāṭhā king Jānujī Bhonslā submitted his detailed conditions for a cession of Orissa. As the first condition (of altogether 13 points), he explicitly mentioned the Jagannātha temple: "That the Jaggernaut Pagoda and all the duties collected from the pilgrims shall remain to the Marathas—that a Governor on their part shall be placed there, who shall have the supreme authority and the villages, lands, etc., which have been formerly allowed for the support of the Bramins and place shall be continued to them".[2] In its reply the East India Company conceded only "for the preservation of the religious ceremony annually performed by the pilgrims of Jaggernaut Pagoda, a person may be allowed to reside there on behalf of the Maharaja Janojee",[3] but without having any substantial power. After the negotiations had come nearly to a standstill for several years the Governor General Cornwallis in 1789 introduced another interesting aspect into the negotiations. In a letter to Malet, the British Resident at the Marāṭhā court at Poona Cornwallis wrote: "It may be wise in this British government *to devise means for encouraging a spirit of pilgrimage* among Hindus of Hindustan and the Deccan to the Company's dominions and for that reason, if you come to the discussion of conditions for cession of

[1] *Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories*, p. 1.
[2] Bengal Select Committee Consultations, 10.2.1768 (quoted by B.C. Ray, 1960, p. 92).
[3] Bengal Select Committee Consultations, 13.12.1768 (quoted by B.C. Ray. 1960, p. 95).

Cuttack, I should not have objection to grant particular privileges or exceptions from all government duties to Maratha subjects on religious visits and pilgrimage to Banaras, Gaya and to Jagannāth when surrendered to us".[4] But Cornwallis failed, like his predecessors, to acquire Orissa with diplomatical means.

In the preparations for the war against the Marathas in 1803, the East India Company was, therefore, very much aware of the importance of the Jagannātha temple, because "the possession of the god had always given the dominion of Orissa", as W.W. Hunter put it nearly seventy years later.[5] The Governor-General Wellesley personally took the greatest interest in the matter and sent at the very day of the declaration of war a strict order regarding the Jagannātha temple to Lt. Col. Campbell, the commanding officer of the British invading forces, in Orissa. In this famous despatch—an indispensable source material for the history of early British rule in Orissa—for the first time a Christian Governor-General dictated a policy to be persued regarding a particular Hindu temple[6]: "On your arrival at Juggernaut you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and Pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, Rites and Ceremonies, and to the sanctity of the Religious Edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your Command to observe your orders on this important subject with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance".[7]

After the troops had already crossed the borders of Orissa, the Secretary to the Governor-General forwarded to the officers leading the campaign a letter which was written by a famous Pandit of Bengal to the priests of Puri. In this letter the Pandit assured the priests of Puri about the religious tolerance of the British and their particular benevolence to their subjects.[8] Shortly before the British troops reached Puri, they were informed by priests of Puri that "the Brahmins at the holy temple had consulted and applied to Juggernaut to inform them what power was now to have his temple under its protection, and that he had given a decided answer that the English Government was in future to be his guardian".[9] After the priests of the "Lord of the World" had thus agreed to place their temple under the British administration, the British troops entered Puri on 18.9.1803 without facing any resistance.

4 Bengal Political Consultations, 25.2.1789 (quoted by B.C. Ray, 1960, p. 105).

5 Hunter, 1872, vol. II, p. 56.

6 P. Mukherjee, 1977, p. 32.

7 IOL: H.M. Series 59, fol. 423/4.

8 Government to Melville and Campbell, 3.9.1803. Bengal Secret Persian Correspondence, translation (1803, No. 180). According to the "*Notes Relative to the Late Transactions in the Maratha Empire*" of Fort William (London 1804, p. 81) it is very probably that the letter of Paṇḍit Jagannātha of Triveni in Bengal was dispatched to the principal priests of Puri on the 14.9.1803 after Manikapatnam in the southwest of Puri was taken into possession by the British troops. A favourable answer of the priests—obviously 'Jagannātha's decided answer"—reached the camp on 16.9.1803. On the 18th the British troops encamped at Puri which was immediately evacuated by the Maratha troops.

9 Melville to Gov. Gen., 11.9.1803 (Parliamentary Papers, 1845/664, p. 77).

Only one day later, Melville reported to the Governor-General that he used Jagannātha's "decided answer" as a strategem to win over the feudatory chiefs of Orissa: "I have sent by special messengers to some of the principal Rajahs letters as my judgment tells me were best adapted to the mentioned purpose *and the circumstances of Juggernaut's decision (which was a fact) was not omitted.*"[10] The Christian government was thus following the line of the Hindu Rājās, who had often used Jagannātha for political purpose.[11]

During the following peace negotiations the ambassador of the Marāṭhās tried hard to regain at least Puri because, "Jagannātha was his own Pagoda, he was desirous to retain it . . . his honour was involved in this point."[12] Obviously the Rājā of Nagpur had tried to negotiate with the East India Company according to Jānujī Bhonsla's first condition of the year 1768. The Company knew that "the loss of Juggernaut must deeply affect the considerations of the Raja of Berar [Nagpur] in the eyes of all native powers."[13] But it never hesitated to take full possession of the Jagannātha temple and its hinterland.[14]

The importance of Puri and its Jagannātha cult for the consolidation of the British rule in Orissa became most evident during the first car festival in Puri after the British conquest of Orissa. In July 1804 the Commissioner Harcourt visited the *ratha yātrā*. On his "arrival near the city . . . all the principal priests of the Pagoda met and attended [him]." During the car festival in Puri "the priests and pilgrims . . . received [him] with shouts and clapping hands" and he observed "that the general impression both among the priests and the pilgrims is highly favourable to the British Government". Harcourt then drew the conclusion from his observations: "On all occasions when the subject of that valuable acquisition the Province of Cuttack, is under considerations the important possession of the Temple of Juggernaut must stand in a prominent point of view; *in a political light its value is incalculable.*'[15] In the same month a presentation, containing a long slip of paper with verses, overlaid with gold leaf, and signed by the principal priests and religious functionaries of Puri, was sent to the Governor-General Lord Wellesley.[16] The significance of the reception which the priests had given to Harcourt and the petition they had sent to Wellesley is

10 Melville to the Governor General 19.9.1803, Secret and Political Consultations: 1.3.1804, No. 14. IOL (quoted by P. Mukherjee, 1977, p. 34).

11 The missionary James Peggs, in one of his attacks against the "British connections with Idolatory in India" blames the historian Hamilton for referring to this event: "Hamilton states: 'Possession was taken of the Town and Temple of Pooree by the British, Sept 18th, 1803—the sacred will of the Idol being first ascertained through the medium of the officiating priest!' Is the historian in earnest or in jest? What a farce! A British army at the gate of Juggernaut's city would soon settle the question of entrance." (J. Peggs, *A Letter . . . on the Present State of British Connections with Idolatory in India* . . . London 1841, p. 11).

12 Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 623, pp. 86-111 (quoted by B C. Ray, 1960, p. 126).

13 Selection from the Wellesley Despatches, p. 410 (quoted by P. Mukherjee, 1977, p. 39).

14 John Melville to Shawe (Priv. Secr. to Wellesley, 11.7.1805, Wellesley Papers, Add. Ms., 13611).

15 John Melville to Shawe, 11.7.1804 (Wellesley Papers, Add. Ms., 13611).

16 B.C. Ray, 1960, p. 97.

very clear. They meant the recognition of the British East India Company by the priests of Puri, the hierocratic power of Orissa.

It is reasonable that the East India Company, especially during the first years of its rule in Orissa, were highly interested in retaining and strengthening their influence in their "important possession of the temple of Juggernaut" with its hundred thousands of pilgrims as multiplier of their fame and legitimation of its rule. This policy, however, had not taken into account the Rājā of Khurda "the fallen, but still revered, descendant and representative of the ancient native sovereigns".[17] Their relationship with the Company had been determined from the very beginning by the earlier loss of Puri and the three most important *parganas* to the Marāṭhās. Rājā Mukunda Deva II of Khurda (1795-1817) had supported the British against the Marāṭhās after he had been offered one lakh (100.000) of rupies for military cooperation and for the transport of British baggage and artillery through his territory.[18] Mukunda Deva's agent (*vākil*) had agreed to this proposal under the condition that the British would restore to the Rājā the territory which his grandfather had lost about 40 years ago through the common enemy, the Marāṭhās.[19] When Mukunda Deva realized that the British Commissioner Harcourt was not willing to enter into any negotiations in this point, he sent, in March 1804, his Dewān, Jayi Rājaguru, to Cuttack with 2000 armed men in order to interview the Commissioner. But Harcourt made it clear that "not a span of land could be given up".[20] After further fruitless negotiations, Mukunda Deva and his Dewān Jayi Rājaguru became bitterly disappointed and took the matter into their own hands. They improved the internal defence of Khurda, entered into secret negotiations with the Marāṭhās and several tributary chiefs and tried to regain their influence in the Puri temple or, as the British officer and historian G. Toynbee put it, "he was detected in an intrigue relative to the affairs of the Pooree temple". In order to prevent Mukunda from regaining influence in Puri he was "forbidden to issue orders on any person whatever residing within the limits of Moghulbandi territory [including Puri] without the express sanction of the Commissioners".[21] Harcourt wrote to the Governor General that "I do think the Rājā of Khurda must be exterminated" because "everything tends, I think, to increase the necessity of making an example of that fellow".[22]

When the Marāṭhā war in West India, too, had come to an end, Harcourt made preparations for a campaign against Khurda. After the Khurda troops had made a few raids in the border region near Pipli, Harcourt stormed with a strong troop the fort of Khurda on 4.12.1804. The Rājā of Khurda was captured one month

[17] W. Ewer (repr.) 1965, p. 111.

[18] B.C. Ray, 1959, p. 24f.

[19] G. Toynbee (repr.) 1961, p. 7: "When we took the province in 1803, the Rajah passively esponsed our cause and tendered his allegiance to the British Government, doubtless in the hope that these parganas would be restored to him."

[20] Turner to Govt., 10.10.1804 (quoted by B.C. Ray, 1959, p. 50).

[21] G. Toynbee, 1961, p. 7.

[22] Harcourt to Shawe, 1.10 and 3.10.1804. Add. Ms., 13610, p. 66f. and p. 74 (quoted by B.C. Ray, 1959, p. 57f).

later and taken as a prisoner to Cuttack and later to Midnapur. Jayi Rājaguru was hanged for his part in the "revolt" and the whole of the Khurda territory was finally confiscated.

The British administrators, including even Stirling, justified this campaign as a retaliatory measure against "a most unprovoked rising against the newly established English Government".[23] The swiftness[24] and the rigour, however, with which these retaliations were carried out, from which the Feudatory Rājās of Kujang and Kanika were spared in spite of the hostilities against the Company, leave no doubt that the British Government wanted to end once for ever the theocratic suzerainty of the Gajapatis of Khurda and their influence upon the feudatory rājās of Orissa. After Khurda had already been deprived by the Marāṭhās about forty years ago of more than half of its territory, separated from its feudatory rājās, and driven out of the superintendence of the Jagannātha temple, the annexion of the rest of its territory in December 1804 seemed to end the great tradition of the Gajapatis of Orissa.

It was only the subsequent change of British policy regarding its own connections with the Jagannātha temple which resulted in the unexpected resurgence of the Khurda Rājās as the "Rājās of Puri". The East India Company initially had followed the administrative system of the Jagannātha temple as it existed under the Marāṭhās when they conquered Orissa in 1803.[25] The only major exception was the pilgrim tax which was abolished after the conquest. But it was reintroduced in 1806. During the early years, however, it became more and more evident to the British officers that this administrative system was responsible for the fact that "the discipline of the Temple has gradually relaxed".[26] After 1803, when the First Superintendent (*amil*) of the temple had fled with the Marāṭhās, and before any effective British control was established "all order and regulation was at a stop. Every servant of the temple does as he pleases and most of them amass wealth by the plunder of the pilgrims".[27] As it was the declared policy of the East India Company towards the various religious communities to guarantee "the undisturbed exercise of their religious rites and ceremonies, and to preserve their places of worship inviolate",[28] it became a political commitment to exercise a strong control in order to prevent any further deterioration of the Jagannātha cult. But the more the British officers interfered into the reorganization of the cult the more they realized that being forbidden entry into the temple as Non-Hindus they could not arbitrate fully in the temple administration. They had, therefore, to look for a proper person upon whom they could entrust the

[23] Stirling, 1840, p. 143.

[24] The "annexion of that country to the territories of the Honorable Company in the province of Cuttuck" was confirmed by a proclamation, issued under the authority of the Board, which had reached Cuttack already on 15 12.1804. (Fortescue to Grome, 15.12.1804, Board of Revenue, Cuttack, Princely States, Vol. XI, p. 19).

[25] B.C. Ray, 1959, p. 92-141, K.M. Patra, 1971, p. 222-275, and P. Mukherjee 1977,

[26] Grome Report, 10.6.1805, p. 6. (JTC., Vol. 11).

[27] Grome Report, 10.6.1805, p. 6.

[28] Govt. to Richardson, Bengal Revenue Consultation, 1.7.1814.

administration and the responsibility to put an end to the "relaxed discipline of the temple".

It is astonishing that in early 1807 the choice ultimately fell upon the Rājā of Khurda who, only few years ago, had been declared as an enemy of the Honorable Company and who had since been imprisoned in Midnapur. But the investigation of Charles Groeme, the Collector of the Southern Division at Puri, had also revealed in 1805 that "during the periods that the affairs of the Temple were under the immediate control and management of the Rajahs of Khoorda, any, even the slightest deviation from the prescribed duties were severely punished either by fine or corporal chastisement".[29] The Rājā of Khurda with his traditional authority over the priests of Puri thus still was the best suited person to reinforce the "order and regulation" in the temple and to fulfil thus the commitment of the Company "to preserve the places of worship inviolate". Because it seemed to be highly improbable that any further danger had to be apprehended from the Rājā of Khurda after the territorial basis of his former power had been destroyed, he was released from Midnapur. With the Regulation IV of 1809 the superintendence of the temple, its internal economy, the conduct and management of its affairs and the control over its priests and officers was vested in the Rājā of Khurda. But from being virtually "Kings without a kingdom" the Rājās of Puri succeeded in the following decades in compensating for the loss of their political power by building up a "religious state" through the superintendence of the hereditary temple of the Gajapati kings of Orissa.[30]

After most of the former feudatories of Khurda had been acknowledged by the British Government as subordinate allies, it was one of the first concerns of Mukunda Deva of Khurda to improve himself his own ritual and political position among these feudatory rājās of Orissa. Whereas before the British conquest of Orissa in 1803, the Rājās of Khurda had tried to strengthen their alliance with their feudatories by "sharing" their rights, Mukunda Deva tried to reverse this development. He interfered with the above-mentioned rights which the feudatory rājās claimed to have received from Mukunda's forefathers in the time of their greatest distress (chapter 17). The first victim of Mukunda Deva's "ritualistic war" was Rājā Padmanābha Nārāyaṇa Deva of Khimedi in South Orissa. He was a member of the dynasty which, only half a century ago, had attacked Khurda, a fact which had finally led to the downfall of Khurda under the Marāṭhās. When Padmanābha of Khimedi visited Puri together with his family in May 1810 to have a *darśana* of Lord Jagannātha, Mukunda would not permit him to enter the temple. The Settlement Officer at Puri forced Mukunda Deva to give the Rājā of Khimedi permission. But now Mukunda persuaded the cooks of the temple not to prepare any *mahāprasāda* food. "Upwards of four or five thousand souls are now starving for want of necessary

[29] Ibid.; Grome also emphasized the strict control of Khurda: "As a competent knowledge of the shastar was deemed indispensable for the proper performance of the duties entrusted to the principal shewaks. the Khoorda Rajah always paid great attention to the education in this particular of the heir to those offices" (p. 10).

[30] Kulke, 1974, p. 72.

mahapersad including Rajah Puddohlab Narrain Deo and his followers as it is not proper nor conformable in their religion, to cook victuals in their houses in Pooree, when they come on pilgrimage, but only to live on mahapersad".[31]

Mukunda Deva's behaviour might have been understandable in the case of a rival Gajapati King, but his treatment was not a particular case. In 1813 the Rājā of Khandpara in Central Orissa entered Puri with the "insignia of Rajahship". This was again too much for Mukunda Deva, who prevented the Rājā of Khandpara from entering the Temple. The Rājā of Khandpara complained to the Collector "stating that Rajah Muchoondeo prevented him making Durshan with himself and his family in the mode he has been accustomed and that he is agreeable to the customs and rules of the Temple".[32] A similar incident seems to have happened during the visit of the Rāṇi of Sambalpur. In a letter to the Governor-General, Mr. Richardson, Member of the Board of Revenue on deputation to Cuttack, mentioned "three instances of offensive and contemptuous and disrespectful treatment" by the Rājā of Puri against the feudatory Rājās of Khemundi, Khandpara and against the Rāṇi of Sambalpur.[33]

Through this "disrespectful treatment" Mukunda Deva apparently tried to restrict the rights of the feudatory rājās of Orissa in "his" Jagannātha temple which had now become the sole basis of his power and authority. This behaviour of the Rājā of Puri was observed with growing suspicion by the British officers in Orissa. They complained that Mukunda Deva "prevented the southern Rajahs and the Ghujats [Gaḍajāta] from visiting the temple for several years",[34] which caused a loss of pilgrim tax.

But the British officers also suspected Mukunda Deva of using his superintendence of the Jagannātha temple for his political ends. Already in 1814, Richardson warned the Government at Calcutta: "I am informed by creditable authority sufficient to obtain my entire belief that the Rajah entertains and incalculates the belief that he will one day, *through the power and influence of Juggernauth*, be restored to the supreme command and authority of the Province of Cuttack, which tradition and family (oral or written) history state to have been invested in his ancestors previous to the establishment of the Musalman authority some centuries ago."[35]

These were in deed prophetic words which presaged the great *pāika* (militia) revolt. In this uprising of the landed militia of the former Khurda state in 1817 the

[31] Busby, Collector of Tax to R. Mitford, Collector, Cuttack, 17.5.1810 (JTC, I, p. 183).

[32] Trower to Busby, 29.1.1814, (Orissa State Archives, Vol. Jan. 1814-Dec. 1818) Laurie, 1850, p. 79 mentions further details of Mukunda Deva's "ritual struggle". (He quotes from an unkown letter of a Collector [Busby?] without mentioning the date and the rājā's name). When a feudatory Rājā with his family proceeded with the approbation of the Government to the temple "he was with his people personally insulted, principally by Pundahs and Purharries, shouting, joking, clapping hands, pelting stones etc., which strongly inclines me to think they were the partisans of the Rajah of Khurdah, sent there for that particular purpose."

[33] Richardson to Gov. Gen. 8.1.1814.

[34] Trower to Richardson, 18.3.1814 (JTC, I, p. 219).

[35] Richardson to Govt., 5.2.1814.

Rājā of Khurda played, although more indirectly, an important role because the insurgents wanted to place him again on the throne of Orissa. The reason for this early restorative movement was mainly the deep socio-economic distress of the political elite and their rural militia in the former Khurda state, i e. the *pāikas* and their leaders (*nāyaka* or *khaṇḍaitas*). They were the first in Orissa who felt the ruthless character of the initial impact of the British revenue system. Whereas under the Muslim and the Maratha rule they had been allowed to enjoy their hereditary fiefs (*jagīr*), the East India Company not only deprived the *pāikas* and the *khaṇḍaitas* of their privileges in their service land by assessing them at the same rate as the other tillers of the land. The *khaṇḍaitas* also lost the *chaupani* tax which they had previously been entitled to collect from the inhabitants in their *mahals* (estate) for maintaining law and order. Due to the increasing hight of the assessment[36] and the loss of further income through taxes many *khaṇḍaitas* fell into arrears of unpaid revenue. The invariable result of this mortgaging was the loss of the land which was auctioned in Cuttack and in Calcutta, where Orissa soon had become a favourite hunting ground for speculators. Thus after about ten years out of the original 2.340 Oriya proprietors only 1.449 had remained in 1816.[37]

One of those, who had been deprived of his ancestral home, was Jagabandhu, the general (*bakṣi*) of Khurda who had inherited this office from his forefathers together with the valuable estate Rorang near Puri. In Orissa he was regarded as the representative of the Gajapati not only by the population of Khurda but also by the rājās of the *Gaḍajāta* states. Through the fraudulant machinations of a rich Bengali[38] who tried to establish a great estate around Puri, Jagabandhu lost all his land. In the official report about the *pāika* rising it is admitted that Jagabandhu, the second man of the former Khurda state, had become in fact a beggar for about two years. But "even in his fallen condition he continued to cling to those insignia of state to which his rank and titles as a principal servant of the Rajah of Khurda entitled him."[39] Jagabandhu became soon the leader of the traditional rural aristocracy, the *khaṇḍaitas* and the *pāikas* who had lost their land and privileges. At the end of March 1817 an open revolt started which soon spread over the whole former Khurda territory. Khurda, Banpur and Puri were conquered and the British offices looted. Jagabandhu and the *pāikas* then tried to win the Rājā of Khurda as their acknowledged leader: "The first step taken by the rebels, after repelling the early [British] movements against them was an attempt to place the Rajah of Khoordah at their head, well aware of the

[36] After 1804 the assessment of the former Khurda state was fixed at 1,06,000 Rupees. Under the Marathas it was only 70,666 Rs. out of this amount the Khurda Rājā paid as annual tribute to the Marathas only 15,000 Rs. The rest of 55,666 Rs. remained in the country for the court at Khurda and the various officers down to the *pāikas* (see B.C. Ray, 1959. p. 166).

[37] B.C. Ray, 1959, p. 180. This picture is even worse if one considers that in Mughalbandi out of the land worth Rs. 1,33,93,000 annual revenue, the original proprietors in 1818 retained only land worth of Rs. 30,000.

[38] See P. Mukherjee, *Krishnachandra Singh, a much maligned man*, in: OHRJ, VI, 4 (1958) 271-280 and Ewer, op. cit.

[39] See G.N. Dash, below chapter 19.

strength which his name would lend to their cause, and of the assistance they might hope, in the event of his restoration, to derive from the whole body of the Gujrat chiefs, ranged under the banner of this fallen, but still revered, descendant and representative of their ancient native sovereign."[40] The Judge and Magistrate Impey at Cuttack wrote to the Government at Calcutta: "The insurgents called upon the Raja and Jagabandhu issues orders in his name. Their avowed intention is to proceed to Pooree and reconduct him in triumph to his territory."[41] When Jagabandhu with a group of several thousands *pāikas* had entered Puri the priests, which, only fourteen years ago, had welcomed the British as the new guardians of Jagannātha, now "openly proclaimed the fall of the English rule and the restoration of the authority of the ancient line of sacred kings".[42]

The sources about Rājā Mukunda Deva's participation in the rising are controversial. Although Ewer in his official report had come to the conclusion that "not a particle of evidence is attainable" that Mukunda ever favoured the rising, the Māḍalā Pāñjī, written by the temple scribe (*deula karaṇa*) of Puri, states that "both the father (Mukunda) and his son secretly revolted against the British rule and order. They did not openly fight with the English but invoked the *pāikas* and helped them in looting the English treasure in Puri."[43] It is very likely that the Rāja initially had in deed secretly favoured "his rebellious servants". But contrary to the last Moghul Emperor Bāhadur Shāh, who was in a very similar situation during the great mutiny of 1857/58, Mukunda Deva did not join the insurgents, because he had already personally experienced the British retaliation in 1804/05.

The rebellion was soon suppressed after 5 additional companies had been sent to Orissa from Midnapur in May 1817.[44] Mukunda Deva together with his son was taken to Cuttack where they were placed in close confinement. The futile, clearly restorative *pāika bidroha* put an end once and for all to the Puri Rājās' hope of regaining the lost territory of Khurda. But the rising had clearly spotlighted the high position of "this fallen, but still revered, descendant and representative of the ancient native sovereigns" in the traditional society of Orissa. Mukunda Deva died after few months in Cuttack. His struggle for the resurgence of the Rājās of Khurda was, however, continued in Puri by his successors.[45]

Under "normal" circumstances Mukunda Deva's involvement in the *pāika* uprising might have resulted in a considerable weakening of the position of the Rājās of Khurda if not even in their dismissal from the post of the superintendence of the Jagannātha temple. But the contradiction between the commitments of the Government

[40] Ewer, op. cit., III.

[41] Impey to Govt. quoted by Toynbee, op. cit., p. 17.

[42] Toynbee, op. cit., p. 18.

[43] MP, p. 82.

[44] The *pāika* rebellion in 1817 is celebrated in Orissa as "India's first popular rising"; see *Bharatara prathama gaṇa biplaba* by L.N. Raysingh, Cuttack 1965. See also S.C. De, Guide to Orissa Records, Vol. III (about the *pāika* rebellion), Bhubaneswar 1962.

[45] Ramacandra was allowed to return to Puri after the death of his father Mukunda Deva on 16.10.1817.

to protect religious institutions in India and the increasing propaganda of missionary circles in London against "British connections with idolatry in India" forced the British Government to sever its own connections with the Jagannātha temple and to hand over its administration completely to the Rājās of Khurda. Generally speaking, the problem of the connections of the Company with religious institutions in India became mainly a matter of dispute between home politicians and high officials of the Company in India on the one side, and administrators of the East India Company in India on the other side. Whereas the later justified the support of the religious institutions like the Jagannātha temple with pragmatic political arguments ("because in a political light its value is incalculable")[46] the former strongly opposed these links with moral and Christian missionary arguments[47] and condemned it as state sanction of idolatry. "At the heart of this reforming enthusiasm lay the doctrines of liberalism and evangelicalism. Though radically different in origin—the one a movement of religious revival, the other a doctrine of defiant secularism—evangelicalism and liberalism had much in common."[48]

Evangelistic influence was already felt during the preparations of the Regulation IV of 1806 and Regulation IV of 1809 through which the administration of the temple was vested in the hands of Mukunda Deva. The first missionary to visit Puri was Claudius Buchanan in 1805. His dreadful accounts[49] of the "Moloch of the heathen world" were a shock for the European mind and influenced the whole succeeding generation. In a famous speech before the University of Cambridge on July 1st, 1810 he observed: "I resolved . . . to visit the chief seat of Hindoo religion, for which purpose I made a journey to the great Temple of Juggernaut which is to the Hindoos what Mecca is to the Mohammedans, the stronghold fountain-head of their idolatry. . . . Many of the pilgrims die by the way, and their bodies remain unburried, so that the road to Juggernaut may be known, at least for fifty miles, by

[46] In a letter to G. Oswald, the first Supt. of Tributary Mahals, Dowdeswell (Chief Secr. to Govt.) mentions on 10.2.1814 as one of three "circumstances which distinguish the district of Cuttack from other districts in the lower provinces: 3. The celebrated temple of Juggunnauth an institution affecting strongly the passions and feelings, of the great Body of the Hindoos on the one side and the character of the British Government on the other side." (Board of Revenue, Cuttack, Jud. Dept., Febr. 1814-March 1815).

[47] In 1857 after the outbreak of the Great Mutiny G. Poynder wrote: "That unhallowed short-sighted policy is the real cause of England's disaster . . . . National sins call down national judgements, and . . . if there be one sin which does this more than another, it is idolatry." (G. Poynder, *Extracts from three Speeches Delivered by the Late J. Poynder* . . . London 1857, p. 1f). It is interesting to note that the Editor of J. Poynder's speeches connects directly the fight against idolatry in India with the Protestant struggle against Katholizism.

[48] T.R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt—India 1857-1870*, Princeton 1964, p. 8.

[49] It is difficult to imagine a greater and more fundamental difference than it exists between the two reports of the car festivals of the year 1804 and 1806, given by the officer Harcourt and the missionary Buchanan respectively. In 1804 Harcourt mentioned nothing at all of those observations which Buchanan described in 1806, on the contrary, Harcourt explicitly praised the "order and regularity" of the at least 500,000 pilgrims whose attitude was "highly favourable to the British Government".

human bones which are strewed in the way. On the great day the idol was brought out. . . . It had the character of crudelity and impurity. Men and women devoted themselves before the Moloch. I myself beheld the libations of human blood; I give you this record because I witnessed the fact."[50] In a letter to the Court of Director of the East India Company he asked whether they are afraid that "the wretches, who come to lay their bones within the precincts of Juggernaut would mutiny and take away our dominions?" and he concludes that "it will be a most happy event when our Christian nation shall dissolve its connexion."[51]

In 1814 this influence of the missionary propaganda seems to have reached politics in Orissa. In this year Richardson proposed in a letter to the Government the abolishment of the pilgrim tax which he called "a state sanction to idolatry" and the removal of the Rājā of Khurda from the superintendence of the temple due to the above-mentioned allegations. The Government, however, flatly rejected Richardson's proposal because of its "settled and still undisputed policy" to support the natives in "the undisturbed exercise of their religious rites and ceremonies and to preserve their places of worship inviolate." Furthermore it was clearly stated that "the active interference of an European officer in affairs of this nature, was by all means to be avoided".[52] It was this pragmatic policy on the one side and the rising influence of the missionary propaganda against any further British connection with the Jagannātha temple on the other side which saved the Rājā of Khurda from being removed from the temple superintendence both in 1814 (after Richardson's complaint) and after the *pāika* rising in 1817.

Meanwhile an important change in the religious policy of the Company had taken place, which, during the following decades, was to influence deeply their relation with Hindu institutions like the Jagannātha temple. Through the renewed Charter Act of 1813 the East India Company was forced to admit for the first time missionaries to its territories in India.[53] But astonishing enough, it took one full decade till active missionary work commenced in Orissa by the Baptist Missionary Society. These missionaries, especially the militant James Peggs, came to Orissa under the influence of Buchanan's impression that Puri was the chief seat of the Hindus and Jagannātha "the stronghold and fountain-head of their idolatry". They, therefore, assumed that "a blow at Idolatry here, will prove a blow at the root".[54]

[50] Quoted by J. Poynder, op. cit., p. 9 Buchanan gave a similar speech on 12.6.1810 before the Church Missionary Society, see J. Poynder, p. 10.—The question of self immolation under the wheels of Jagannātha's car was a permanent source of the agitation against the Jagannātha cult. A. Stirling, however, who had witnessed four car festivals, observed only three cases "one of which I may observe is doubtful and should probably be ascribed to accident; in the other two instances the victims had long been suffering from some excruciating complaints, and chose this method of ridding themselves of the burden of life" (1846, p. 127).

[51] Quoted by K.M. Patra, 1971, p. 240 and J. Peggs, 1830, p. 279.

[52] Secr. to Govt. to Richardson, 1.7.1814 (quoted by K.M. Patra, 1971, p. 243).

[53] Buchanan had visited Puri in 1806 as Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William (Calcutta).

[54] J. Peggs, A History of the General Baptist Mission, London 1846, p. 371.

Their blow, however, never reached the root. Contrary to their expectations it took several years till they were able to convert the first Hindu in Orissa—a Brahmin who was assisting a missionary. In 1832 the missionaries left Puri with empty hands. But they carried their struggle into Great Britain where they started an unprecedented and ultimately successful fight against British support of religious institutions in India, which Peggs once called "a perversion of British humanity, regularity and good faith".[55] It was their conviction that "the advantages of the repeal of Pilgrim Tax (implying that the British entirely withdraw their connexion from Hindu temples) are evident. The most prominent is the reduction of idolatrous establishments".[56]

Although Lord Bentinck's Governorship in 1828 had opened the new era of a hitherto unknown zeal for reforms in India it took a considerable time till a decisive alteration in the administrative system of the Jagannātha temple took place. Act X of 1840 abolished the pilgrim tax but it enacted again that "the superintendence of the Temple of Juggernaut and its interior economy, the conduct and management of its affairs, and the control over the Priests, officers, and servants attached to the Temple, shall continue to be vested in the Rajah of Khoordah for the time being."[57]

The abolishment of the pilgrim tax, through Act X of 1840, however, was only a compromise, because the Government continued to pay the subsidy of the fixed amount of 56,342 rupees to the temple. This fact caused again a tremendous activity of the missionaries and their evangelical supporters both in Britain and India. Under the continuous pressure from these groups, the Government was forced to hand over to the Rājā of Puri various estates in lieu of the annual payments. Through these transactions the Jagannātha temple, and hence the Rājās of Puri, became economically more and more independent. The last financial links between the British Government and the Jagannātha temple were finally cut in 1863. During this period the Rājās of Puri had still not given up the hope of regaining their ancestral estate of Khurda. Rājā Vīrakeśarī Deva (1856-1862) for instance, hesitated to accept for the maintenance of the Puri temple portions of the previous Khurda State as "being his own hereditary zamindari" an idea which a British officer in his imperial ideology did not hesitate to call "an assertion which appears to be an exceedingly impertinent one".[58]

The strife of the missionaries against the "British connections with idolatry" and against the pilgrim tax was thus finally successful. But they did not reach the ultimate goal of their struggle, "the reduction of idolatrous establishment"—on the contrary, it was farer away than ever before. Paradoxically, the struggle of the missionaries had caused a considerable strengthening of the Jagannātha cult and the position of Rājā of Puri. The theological misunderstanding of the missionaries and their followers, who had concentrated their struggle against "idolatry" in India on

[55] J. Peggs, 1830, p. 259.

[56] J. Peggs, 1830, p. 266.

[57] For the history of the preceding decade see P. Mukherjee, 1977 and K.M. Patra 1971, pp. 254-262.

[58] Cockborn to Board of Revenue, 12.1.1858. see also Kulke, 1974, p. 74.

Puri which they supposed to be the Mekka or the Jerusalem[59] of the Hindus, had considerably increased the fame of Jagannātha and its "First Servitor" (ādya sevaka), the Rājā of Puri.

The famous "Jagannath Temple Case" of the eightees of the 19th century revealed that the Rājā of Puri as the *calanti Viṣṇu* (the "Moving Viṣṇu") and the *ādya sevaka* of Lord Jagannātha had again reached the top-most position of the traditional hierarchy of Orissa.[60] By the same time Jagannātha became a "symbol of Orissa nationalism", as shown by G.N. Dash in the following chapter.

[59] *Brief sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Orissa Mission*, Cuttack 1858, p. 1. As missionaries of a monotheistic religion they—wrongly—searched for the "chief seat of the Hindoos" (like "Mecca of the Mohammedans" or "Jerusalem of the ancient Israelits" etc.), which they thought to have found in Puri.

[60] Against a new proposal to take over the administration of the Jagannātha temple in 1882 various groups of Puri priests and Oriya Brahmins petitioned the British Government: "The Maharajah of Pooree is the most respectable person among the Hindoos of India. Though there are many wealthier Rajas in Hindoostan none of them is held by the Hindoos with equal veneration". (JTC, VI, p. 1384, No. 3 of 8.7.1882). During the Jagannātha Temple Case the "*Statesman*" celebrated the victory of the Rājā of Puri, who "is supposed . . . to be the incarnation of the great Mahadeo Juggernath himself" (2.4.1887).

CHAPTER XIX

JAGANNĀTHA AND ORIYA NATIONALISM

G. N. Dash

INTRODUCTION

The year 1568 A.D. not only witnessed the fall of Rājā Mukunda Deva but also heralded the formative period of language-centered Oriya nationalism having a close link with Lord Jagannātha at Puri. Prior to it Lord Jagannātha, apart from his position as a Hindu deity, was made to play a role in the contemporary regional politics as a symbol of Orissan empire.[1] Though at later times to the Oriya nationalists the difference and distinction between the Oriya nationalism and the binding force behind the empire was not visible, if not deliberately forgotten and ignored, it must be added that the Oriya nationalism did not play any significant role in the affairs of the Orissan empire. The Orissan empire at its best was a mixture of heterogeneous elements bound together by the person or the dynasty of a ruler where several Aryan and Non-Aryan languages were spoken. Among these languages mainly Oriya and Telugu were used for royal proclamations and in other documents as is proved by contemporary copper-plate and stone inscriptions.[2] But if any thing the monarchs patronized Sanskrit which was the language of higher learning.[3] The

[1] See H. Kulke, *Jagannātha as the State Deity under the Gajapatis of Orissa* (Ch. 11).

[2](a) "The large number of Telugu inscriptions of the Gaṅga kings show that they used the Telugu language and script in the Telugu speaking regions of their dominion and the few Oriya inscriptions . . . shows that they sometimes used the Oriya language in the Proto-Oriya script in Orissa." K.B. Tripathy, (1962), p. 16 f.n.

(b) "The next dynasty in the history of Orissa called the Solar dynasty . . . has left us rich epigraphic materials written not only in the Sanskrit language but also different modern Indian languages, such as Oriya, Telugu and Tamil." *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[3] "The Eastern Ganga monarchs who preceded the Sūryavaṃśī Gajapati dynasty on the throne of Orissa, were not patrons of Oriya literature . . . . This is probably due to their partiality towards Sanskrit." R. Subrahmanyam, (1957), p. 157.

monarchs were moreover not always Oriya speakers.[4] Further the regional elites i.e. the Brahmins did not favour the language they were speaking i.e. Oriya. They were rather proud of their knowledge of Sanskrit and did not attach much importance to their mother-tongue. This knowledge of Sanskrit was also a source of their livelihood as they were the interpreters of the sacred scriptures. Therefore they squarely condemned when Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata and Harivaṃśa were rendered into Oriya by Sāraḷā Dāsa, Baḷarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa and Acyutānanda Dāsa respectively in 15th and 16th centuries. As for instance the Bhāgavata translated into Oriya by Jagannātha Dāsa earned the derogatory title of *teli Bhāgavata* or 'oilmen's Bhāgavata' as we know from the tradition.[5] The atmosphere was not congenial to the growth of language centered Oriya nationalism. Of course, the Oriya speaking tract remaining united under one government prepared the ground for the birth of such nationalism and probably the attitude of the Brahmins towards Oriya language might have sown its seed.

THE FORMATIVE PHASE

After 1568 A.D. the Oriya speaking tract, remaining for a long time under one administration, was divided into several political and administrative units, the size of which changed from time to time. But beneath this apparent disunity a feeling of unity was taking shape in the hearts of the people of the Oriya speaking tract in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They started feeling that somehow they were very close to each other and this awareness of unity, which they did not share with the people beyond the Oriya speaking tract, was much more stronger compared to their loyalty to the political/administrative units or even religious sects to which they belonged. This feeling of oneness gave rise to aspirations which are to a large extent vague in nature. Interestingly enough, even at this stage, Lord Jagannātha became very closely associated and almost symbolized this feeling of oneness and the aspirations it created.

Thus we find that in Rājabhoga section of *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*, which was probably compiled for the first time in the late sixteenth century, Lord Jagannātha has been described as "the king of the kingdom of Orissa",[6] "the master or the lord of the king of Orissa"[7] and "the god of Orissa".[8] Similarly in *Kāñcīkāberī*, a narrative poem by Puruṣottama Dāsa, Lord Jagannātha has been described as king of Orissa.[9] It must be pointed out that the word "Oḍiśā" in the above-mentioned expressions

[4] D.C. Sircar suspects that Kapilendra Deva (1435-1467 A.D.), the famous Sūryavaṃśī monarch, was of Telugu origin. See D.C. Sircar, (1959-60), p. 7.

[5] In the chapter 21 of his autobiography, written in Oriya, Nilakantha Das describes vividly how the Brahmins were prejudiced against the Bhāgavata translated into Oriya by Jagannātha Dāsa as he knew it in as late as the late nineteenth century. See Nilakantha Das, (1973), p. 20.

[6] Mādāḷā Pāñji. (Prācī Ed.), 1940), p. 27.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[9] Sukumar Sen and Sunanda Sen, (1958), p. 4.

roughly means the Oriya speaking tract but not any political unit, because by this time the Oriya speaking tract was divided into several parts over which ruled the Mughals, the Sultan of Golkunda and the semi-independent Rājā of Khurda etc. In several other works of this period the term "Oḍiśā"[10] and "Oḍradeśa"[11] are used in this sense only. Thus we find that the people of Oriya speaking tract irrespective of whichever political/administrative units they belonged to, invariably mentioned the Aṅka year[12] of the Rājās of Khurda in almanacs, in the horoscopes of the newly born baby, in official documents like sanads and in literary and other learned works. As for example in 1768 A.D., poet Rāma Dāsa of village Ḍurā in Mahuri state mentions at the end of his work "*Dārḍhyatā Bhakti Rasāmṛta*" part I, that it has been completed in 42nd Aṅka of Bīrakeśarī Deva (1737—1795 A.D.), Rājā of Khurda.[13] Similarly Kṛṣṇacandra Rajendradeva, the Rājā of Cikiṭi granted some land to Sarbana Bhaṭṭalu in the 55th Aṅka of the same Bīrakeśarī Deva, as mentioned in the charter.[14] This is at least certain that the village Ḍurā in Mahuri and Cikiṭi were not inside the territory of Khurda. Thus we find that Dibākara Dāsa in his "Jagannātha Caritāmṛta", a biography of the poet Jagannātha Dāsa written probably in the seventeenth century, makes a covert attempt to define a Vaiṣṇava sect, to which he belonged, in terms of the language of the adherents—i.e. *Oriya*—and consequently draws a boundary between the 'Utkalī' and Bengali Vaiṣṇavas.[15] It may be pointed out that the Oriya awareness not only influenced his thought but also found its symbol in Lord Jagannātha because according to Dibākara, *Lord Jagannātha* is the Avatārī i.e. source of all the incarnations including Kṛṣṇa. whereas the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas (the Caitanyaites) accept *Kṛṣṇa* as Avatārī. We may here add that Rāmacandra Deva II (1727—1736 A.D.), the Rājā of Khurda, was converted to Islam according to a legendary tradition recorded in the Rājabhoga section of *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* but still, according to the same source, was allowed to perform ritual services to Lord Jagannātha known as *Gājapati Mahārājā Sevā*. He also tried to protect Lord Jagannātha from falling into the hands of the invading army of the Subadar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.[16] Further, we find that the social structure of the Oriya speaking

[10] See, "*baragī Oḍiśā kale amaḷa*" in *Samara Taraṅga* by Brajanatha Badajena, Chanda I.

[11] *Athoḍradeśe tadanantaraṃ mahān upaplavo'jāyata lokaduḥsahaḥ* in *Sūri Sarvasva* by Gobinda Kavibhūsaṇa Sāmantarāya quoted in: K.N. Mahapatra, (1958), p. 115. This work was written in 1778 A.D. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. CLIV.

[12] "The Aṅka Cycle of 59 luni-solar years used in Orissa", Tripathy, K.B. (1962), p. 341; "... it begins the year on the 12th Bhādrapada, Śuddha. A singular feature is that, in their notation, the years whose numerals end with 6 or 0 (except 10) are dropped. When a prince dies in the middle of an Aṅka year his successor's 1st Aṅka which commences with his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year but ends on the eleventh day of Bhādrapada-Śuddha following." Sewell and Diksit (1896) Indian Calendar, p. 38 as quoted in K.B. Tripathy, (1962), p. 341.

[13] *Dārḍhyatā Bhakti Rasāmṛta* by Rāma Dāsa, 25th Adhyāya.

[14] K.N. Mahapatra, (1969), p. 280.

[15] *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta* by Dibākara Dāsa, 1st, 2nd and 3rd Adhyāyas.

[16] (a) K.N. Mahapatra, (1969), pp. 185 ff.
(b) Mādaḷā Pāñji (Prācī Ed.), 1940, pp. 74-78.

tract was controlled by *Mukti Maṇḍapa*, the headquarter of an organisation of 16 Brahmin villages of Puri situated in the precincts of Jagannātha temple. It appears that the jurisdiction of *Mukti Maṇḍapa* was confined to the Oriya speaking tract. All these point towards the feeling of oneness taking shape among the Oriyas during this period and the vague aspiration to remain united under the Rājā of Khurda because of latter's close association with Lord Jagannātha. The Rājās of Khurda—consciously or not—strengthened this feeling by patronising Oriya literature as for example awarding titles to Oriya poets.[17] Mukunda Deva (1798—1817 A.D.), the Rājā of Khurda in a poem written by him during his confinement in Cuttack in 1805 A.D., appeals to Lord Jagannātha to destroy the enemies of Orissa with his sword in hand,[18] the significance of which is quite clear.

Lord Jagannātha, primarily a Hindu deity, had been made to symbolize the Orissan empire, a collection of heterogeneous elements, the person or the dynasty of the monarch being the binding force. Thus Lord Jagannātha as *Rāṣṭra Devatā* had become the supplementary binding force of the heterogeneous elements that was the Orissa empire. But after the empire collapsed, Lord Jagannātha began to symbolize a growing secular force, the language centered Oriya nationalism in its formative phase. This was an important transformation for Lord Jagannātha. The reasons were not far to seek. Jagannātha had already become a regional deity identified with a particular region—which did not exactly correspond with the territory of Orissan empire. But the almost one to one correspondence between this region and the Oriya speaking tract which was predominantly Hindu[19] made it possible for

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According to another related tradition Rāmacandra II was neither allowed to perform the ritual services of Jagannātha nor to enter the temple after his conversion. But as he wanted to worship Lord Jagannātha the Patitapābana Deva was set up at the Lion-gate of the temple so that the fallen Rājā might be able to see and worship it from outside. Rāṇī Sūrjyamaṇī, in nineteenth century, in one of her petitions requesting the Government to recognise the Rājā title of Mukunda Deva alias Jagannātha Jenāmaṇi claimed that the above-mentioned tradition regarding Rāmcandra Deva II was true and mentioned in Mādaḷā Pāñjī. But this is not recorded in any of the published versions of Rājabhoga or any other section of Mādaḷā Pāñjī. This tradition can not be true because Patitapābana Deva set up at the Lion-gate existed almost a hundred years before Rāmacandra II as it is mentioned in *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, 20th Adhyāya, by Dibākara Dāsa of seventeenth century. This tradition might very well have been created by Rāṇī Sūrjyamaṇi in order to strengthen her claim.

17 See for details K.N. Mahapatra, (1969).

18 K.N. Mahapatra, (1969), pp. 296-7. According to Mahapatra this poem was collected by Surya Narayana Das. Birupaksha Kar published a slightly different version on the same poem in 1920 in Utkaḷa Sāhitya, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, p. 74. Kar thought that this poem was written when Mukunda Deva was imprisoned by the Marathas.

19 According to the 1961 Census the population of Orissa is divided on the basis of religion as follows: Hindu—97.57%
Muslim=1.23%
Christian=1.15%
Others=0.35%
It must be noted that the Christians are very late converts. See Census Atlas of Orissa, p. 271.

Jagannātha to symbolize Oriya nationalism which was taking shape. The attempt to destroy the image of Lord Jagannātha by the famous Pathan general Kalapahar and the subsequent raids on Jagannātha temple by the Muslims[20] helped to establish a close link between Lord Jagannātha and forces that gave birth to Oriya nationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Another factor that associated Lord Jagannātha with the Oriya nationalism that was taking shape in this period (and also subsequently) is the medieval Oriya literature. In Oriya literature of 16th, 17th and 18th centuries Lord Jagannātha was given the most prominent place. Barring a few, most of the medieval authors paid their homage to Lord Jagannātha in *jaṇāṇas*, *bhajanas*, at the beginning of narrative poems and elsewhere. Sometimes the festivals of Lord Jagannātha were described in different contexts. Thus another solid link between Oriya nationalism and Lord Jagannātha was established.

If we believe a traditional account, the aspirations of Oriyas to remain united and free were clearly expressed in the Khurda invasion of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, the Rājā of Parlakhemundi (1748—1771 A.D.) in 1760 A.D.[21] According to this source Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva tried to persuade Bīrakeśarī Deva, Rājā of Khurda, to assume the leadership of the Oriyas and to try to drive out the Marathas from Orissa. But when Bīrakeśarī Deva declined, he himself was obliged to take the initiative in this matter and as a first step invaded Khurda. His dynastic association with Lord Jagannātha, as the Gaṅgas of Parlakhemundi claimed to be the direct descendants of the Imperial Gaṅgas, must have been the chief source of inspiration to him securing the loyalties of the people in general and the priests of the Jagannātha temple in particular.

It may seem that with the occupation of central Orissa by the British in 1803 A.D., the maladministration and the corrupt practices of some of the Bengali officials working under the East India Company strengthened and intensified the feeling of oneness taking shape among the Oriyas and the aspiration to remain free and united under the Rājās of Khurda. The Paik rebellion of 1817 A.D. may be interpreted as the spontaneous though pre-mature outburst of this intensified feeling and aspiration. Buxi Jagabandhu's leadership of this rebellion was founded on his association with Lord Jagannātha through the Rājā of Khurda/Puri, apart from his personality. Not only was he a hereditary Buxi[22], i.e. the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Rājā of Khurda but also a scion of the same family being the direct descendants of Dāśarathi Bidyādhara, a cousin of Rāmacandra Deva I, the founder of the Second

[20] According to the Rājabhoga section of Mādaḷā Pāñjī there were several such raids when Lord Jagannātha had to be transferred to different places. See Mādaḷā Pāñji (1940), pp. 61, 65, 66, 67. (See above Kulke, chapter 17).

[21] S.N. Rajaguru, (1972), p. 118.

[22] The word Buxi is of Turk origin and means Pay-Master in that language according to S.K. Chatterji. See Chatterji, (1926/1972), p. 213. See also Ali Said Muztaba (1968), p. 4 f.n. It seems the word came to Oriya through Persian and the meaning gradually changed from Pay-Master (of an army) to Commander-in-Chief.

Bhoi dynasty of Khurda.[23] As such he commanded immense respect among the people. Therefore one of the first acts of Jagabandhu was to march on Puri and to try to induce Mukunda Deva, the Rājā of Khurda/Puri and to accept the leadership of the rebellion. Further, the support of the priests of the Jagannātha temple given to the rebellion by their public declaration that the British rule would end in Orissa,[24] which added to the morale of the Paiks is quite significant and makes clear the link established between Lord Jagannātha and this formative period of Oriya nationalism.

Therefore towards the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century the forces which were to blossom in Oriya nationalism after 1866 A.D. were already active and a vague awareness of unity has already taken shape among the Oriyas. But the aspiration to remain free and united, which this feeling of oneness gave rise to, was never pronounced in concrete terms though already at this stage Lord Jagannātha had become a symbol of this feeling of oneness and aspirations associated with it.

With the defeat of the Paiks in 1817 A.D. the first and the formative phase of Oriya nationalism came to an abrupt end. After this pre-mature outburst in the shape of the Paik rebellion it became a spent up force and almost half a century was to elapse before the next phase of Oriya nationalism began at about 1866 A.D. But Lord Jagannātha and Oriya nationalism were to retain their intimate relationship already noticeable in this formative phase in future and were never to go apart. In the days of its maturity this intimate relationship was to determine the course of Oriya nationalism when contact with the West reinforced it and gave it an easily definable concrete shape.

THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

After the failure of the Paik rebellion of 1817 A.D. for almost half a century—till 1866 A.D. to be more exact—the Oriya nationalism remained passive. By the time it became active again many changes had already taken place in the Oriya speaking tract. Among these the most noteworthy were the consolidation of British rule and the introduction of Western education. But it was the famine of 1866 A.D., caused mainly by administrative inefficiency and resulting in the death of "a third of the population or nearly a million persons"[25] which provided the immediate cause for the revival of Oriya nationalism. This is reflected in the establishment of the *Cuttack Printing Company* by Bichitrananda Das[26] and the publication of the weekly *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* from the same press edited by Gourisankar Ray in the same year.[27] Both of

[23] Sudhakar Pattanayak, (1952), p. 209.

[24] G. Toynbee, (1961), *Sketch of the History of Orissa from 1803 to 1828*. Quoted in H. Kulke, (1974), p. 204.

[25] *The Famine Commission Report of 1878*, quoted in Mukherjee, p. (1964), p. 358.

[26] N. Samantaray, (1964), p. 171.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

them were devoted to the nationalistic cause.[28] The *Cuttack Printing Company* and the *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* were the first non-missionary undertakings in their respective fields and contributed a lot towards the growth and spread of Oriya nationalism. Similarly in this period the nationalist sentiment was reflected in the language agitation, in the slogan "Orissa for the Oriyas", in the demand for the unification of the Oriya speaking tract under one administration and in modern Oriya literature. All these in turn accelerated the pace of Oriya nationalism.

Though since early forties the question of replacing Oriya in the government offices and in the schools situated in Orissa by any other language especially by Bengali had been a subject for continuous discussion and debate at different levels of government, around this time it engaged public attention.[29] The Oriyas and the Bengalis, especially the fresh Bengali immigrants in the Oriya speaking tract, openly participated in this debate which culminated in the publication of a booklet entitled "*Uḍiyā Svatantra Bhāṣā Nay*" (Oriya is not an independent language) in 1870 A.D. the purport of which was to prove that Oriya is a corrupt Bengali. The atmosphere remained charged with emotion for a long time to come. The slogan "Orissa for Oriyas" became popular because it also endeavoured to secure more government jobs for the Oriyas.[30] Further the demand for the unification of the Oriya speaking tract under one administration began to be heard and gained ground.[31] This was also a period of fervent activities in the field of Oriya literature which underwent a transformation under the impact of Western education. Experiments were made both in the fields of content and form. Among other things history and geography of Orissa, the past and present of the Oriyas, came to occupy a prominent place in the Oriya literature for the first time.

On the whole in this phase, in contrast to the earlier phase—perhaps under the impact of Western education—people started thinking in terms of Oriya nation, made conscious attempts to spread the nationalistic sentiment and could define their

[28] Both Bichitrananda Das and Gourisankar Ray were trying to help the famine-stricken people of Orissa. See P. Mukherji, (1964), p. 387.

[29] For details see N. Samantaray, (1964), p. 198 ff.

[30] As for example *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* of November 20, 1880 appealed to the Government to appoint only Oriyas to the posts of Deputy Collector in Orissa. See Sudhakar Pattanayak, (1972), p. 428. Similarly when a Bengali was appointed to the post of Head Clerk in Sub-Judge Court, Cuttack, Utkaḷa Dīpikā commented, "Was there not any Oriya ?"; Quoted in S. Mahanty, (1970), p. 478. In *Utkaḷa Bhramaṇam* (1892) Fakir Mohan Senapati wrote,

"The Officers and the Lawyers are all foreigners,
Not even the postal clerk is native."

Ibid., p. 477.

[31] This question first attracted the attention of the people probably in 1869 A.D. during the language agitation. *In Utkaḷa Dīpikā* of March 13, 1869 Gourisankar observed that the Oriya speaking tract remaining divided under three separate governments—Bengal, M.P. and Madras Governments--had come to harm. See Sudhakar Pattanayak, (1972), p. 533. A letter to the editor, *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* published on October 22, 1870 mentions that in a meeting held in September, 1870 in Russelkonda (now Bhanjanagar) the peop e of Ganjam urged the people of the District of Cuttack to try for the unification of the Oriya speaking tract. See *Ibid.*, pp. 172-175.

aspirations in more concrete terms. As already mentioned, during the earlier formative phase Oriya nationalism and Lord Jagannātha had been linked. But now several more links were established between them and the relationship consequently became more intimate.

In 1878 A.D. Divyasingha Deva, the Rājā of Puri, was arrested, tried and sentenced to transportation for life on the charge of murdering a Sādhū which aroused considerable excitement throughout the length and breadth of Orissa.[32] The Oriya folk did not seriously believe that he was really guilty.[33] It was generally accepted that injustice has been done to him and he was sacrificed at the altar of deep political designs of the British administrators. (This belief continued to prevail till the early forties of the present century.[34]) Then the recognition of the Rājā title of Mukunda Deva alias Jagannātha Jenāmaṇi, the minor son of Divyasimha Deva after much hesitation on the part of the Government was also another source of excitement and resentment.[35]

The climax of this chain of incidents occurred in the famous Puri Temple Case of 1886-1887 A.D. which need be explained in some detail. A suit was instituted in the Court of District Judge, Cuttack. The Collector of Puri was ex-officio Plaintiff. The Government of India originally proposed and later authorized the institution of such suit. It had also received the approval of Government of Bengal. The chief of the defendants was Rāṇi Sūrjyamaṇi Paṭamahādei, the grandmother and guardian of minor Rājā Mukunda Deva of Puri. The purpose behind such a suit was—at least it

[32] Jon Beams writes in his *Memories of a Bengal Civilian*, "immense excitement was aroused all over Orissa and crowds assembled round the Judge's Court every day during the trial." Quoted in S. Mahanti, (1970), p. 221. *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* from time to time reported the stir caused by the trial and sympathy of the people for Divyasiṃha Deva. At times even the editor Gourisankar himself was sympathetic. See *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* of 23rd & 30th March, 13th and 20th April, 17th August and 12th October of 1878 A.D. in Sudhakar Pattanayak, (1972), pp. 377, 380-82, 398-401, 427, 411 and 414 respectively. Many a song and poems reflected the sympathetic attitude of the people towards Divyasiṃha Deva and were quite popular. See K.B. Das, (1954), pp. 41-45 for such a poem. See B.C. Pattanayak, (1956), pp. 298-99 for another poem, the authorship of which is attributed to Divyasimha Deva himself. There is a veiled reference to famous Kāñcī-Kāverī episode in this poem. See also N. Samantaray, (1964), p. 433, and P. Mukherjee (1977), p. 330.

[33] It is significant that both the accessors opined that accused including Devyasimha Deva were not guilty as reported by *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* of April 6, 1878. See Sudhakar Pattanayak, (1972), p. 397.

[34] In a novel written by Godavarish Misra sometime in early forties of this century Divyasiṃha Deva figures as a character. In it he has been painted as a victim to British injustice and not guilty. This novel is full of chronological and other factual inaccuracies and perhaps an adoption of an English novel. The name of this novel is *Nirbāsita*. Bichhanda Ch. Pattanayak, who collected a poem supposed to have been written by Divyasiṃha Deva, feels that Divyasiṃha Deva was a victim of the British political design. See Pattanayak, B.C. (1956), p. 298. Surendra Mahanti very strongly feels the same thing. See Mahanti, S. (1970), pp. 221 ff.

[35] *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* reporting the visit of the Lt. Governor of Bengal who ceremonially conferred the title of Rājā on Mukunda Deva in a Darbar held at Cuttack on November 21, 1885 mentions that the minor Rājā of Puri, and not the Lt. Governor, was the centre of attraction of the people. Quoted in S. Mahanti, (1970), p. 398. This is just to illustrate how the recognition of Jagannātha Jenāmaṇi as Rājā Mukunda Deva was appreciated by the people.

was believed—to take away the hereditary rights of superintendence and management of the Jagannātha temple from the Rāj family and to vest them in a committee. The appointment of a Receiver till such committee could be formed was prayed for and accordingly granted. Rāṇi Sūrjyamaṇi on the advice of Mr. M.S. Das, a less known lawyer of Cuttack Bar, filed a writ petition in the Calcutta High Court against the appointment of the Receiver. Calcutta High Court set aside the lower Court's order appointing the Receiver. Just after this Sir Stewart Bayley became the Lt. Governor of Bengal and he wanted a compromise in the case. Accordingly a compromise was reached and the Government recognised Mukunda Deva's right of superintendence over the Jagannātha temple.[36]

The action of the Government to take away the right of superintendence of Jagannātha temple from the Rājā of Puri and to vest it in a committee generated deep-felt resentment in the hearts of the people of Orissa which was further aggravated by the appointment of a Receiver.[37] Protests were made through public meetings at different places[38] and the local press.[39] The order of the High Court setting aside the appointment of the Receiver was hailed with jubilation.[40]

The chain of incidents culminating in the Puri Temple Case 1886-87 A.D. not only reflected the relationship existing between Oriya nationalism and Lord Jagannātha but also provided a lasting link between them. The role played by Mr. M.S. Das, a Christian by choice (and not by birth), in the above case and how that affected his later career must be cited to prove that the Oriya nationalism and not the Hindu nationalism guided the reaction of the people. Mr. Das, who was to be elected President of the All India Christian Association twice,[41] was the attorney engaged on behalf of Rāṇi Sūrjyamaṇi. He took passionate and personal interest in the case besides his professional interest. His legal acumen was mainly responsible for the High Court's decision to set aside the appointment of the Receiver. He also participated in protest meetings and used the press[42] to bring pressure on the Government

[36] P. Mukherjee, (1977), pp. 368-70, 383, 391, 395-98.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 392-93.

[38] *Ibid*, 394-95. In the administrative Report 1884-85 it is mentioned, "The Pooree temple suit was the subject of meetings in different parts of the district and one large meeting said to have been attended by 5,000 persons was held in one of the principal mathas of the town, presided by a pleader of the local Bar." Quoted in S. Mahanti, (1970), p. 415. *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* also reported in its issue of January 1, 1887 that the meeting held in the Gopalji Matha of Cuttack was the biggest meeting ever held in Cuttack.

[39] *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* took very sympathetic attitude towards the Defendant. See *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* of January 1, 1887, quoted in S. Mahanti, (1970), p. 414.

[40] *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* hailed the decision of the High Court in April 2, 1887 issue. The Statesman of the same date reported, "A Cuttack correspondent wires on Thursday last that the public are extremely glad at the decree of the High Court stopping the attachment of the estate Juggernath by the Receiver." Quoted in P. Mukherji, (1977), p. 398 f.n.

[41] Surya Narayana Das, (1971), p. 396 and p. 425. He was otherwise also quite active for the cause of his religion. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11 and 225.

[42] Two letters, published in the 'Letters to Editor' column of the *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* under the pen-name "Lunatic", are believed to have been written by Mr. M.S. Das. See S. Mahanti, (1970),

which his professional interest did not demand despite the fact that he was a Christian. His religious faith did not stand on the way of his personal interest as to this champion of Oriya nationalism Jagannātha was not merely a Hindu deity but also the embodiment of Oriya nation. Therefore the issue was of supreme magnitude to him as an Oriya. We shall see that twelve years later he was to evince the same personal interest in the affairs of the Jagannātha temple when his profession had nothing to do with it.[43] His role in this case made him famous overnight and clearly established his (undisputed?) leadership in the Oriya movement for decades to come. Not only Mr. M.S. Das but also Gourisankar Ray, the hero of 1868-70 language agitation and another champion of Oriya nationalism, took equally keen personal interest in this case and voiced his resentment in his paper *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* although he belonged to Brahmo Samaj. His brother Ramashankar Ray, a lawyer and the assistant editor of *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* also appered on behalf of Rāṇī Sūrjyamaṇi along with Mr. M.S. Das in the court of District Judge, Cuttack. He was to introduce Oriya nationalism into Oriya literature, perhaps without knowing it, as we shall shortly see.

As a contrast, the protest voiced by the people of Orissa in general and Mr. M.S. Das, Gourisankar Ray and Ramasankar Ray in particular to the actions of the Government in relation to the Jagannātha temple it must be mentioned here that nobody made any protest when similar actions were taken in relation to the temples of Liṅgarāja, Baḷadeva and Sāraḷā Caṇḍī earlier.[44] It proves that the Puri temple case generated national sentiment and not religious sentiment as Jagannātha had already become intimately associated with the Oriya nationalism.

This series of issues, more than any other issue, caused the spread of Oriya nationalism among the common people. The other issues including the issue of the replacement of Oriya language affected only the educated and urbanized class who were vocal. But the Puri temple case drew the common people, the silent thousands, to the fold of Oriya nationalism.

Another lasting link was provided by the modern Oriya literature. Ramasankar Ray, one of the pioneers in this field, introduced Oriya nationalism into the Oriya literature perhaps for the first time through his play, *Kāñcī Kāberī* (1880-81).[45]

pp. 420 ff and also (1972). A letter published in the same column in the Statesman of March 15, 1887 under the pen-name "Wanderer" is also believed to have been written by him. See P. Mukherji, (1977), pp. 395-96 f.n.

[43] In a meeting of Utkaḷa Sabhā a committee was formed consisting of Mr. M.S. Das, Ramasankar Ray and Baidyanath Pandit to prepare a scheme for the administration of the Jagannātha temple and to prevent the mismanagement of the Temple property by Rājā Mukunda. See P. Mukherji, (1977), p. 394 f.n.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 410.

[45] It may be mentioned here that Rangalal Banerji, a Bengali official stationed at Cuttack, was first to popularise the Kāñcī-Kāverī tradition in modern times by writing a Bengali narrative poem entitled "Kāñcī-Kāberī" in 1877, subsequently published from Calcutta in 1879 A.D.; See S. Sen, and S. Sen, (1958). There are reasons to believe that Ramasankar had read this poem before he wrote his play. Thus Rangalal was instrumental in introducing Kāñcī-Kāverī tradition into Oriya literature. In fact he is the first person to introduce Oriya nationalism to literature through this poem.

He adopted the famous legendary tradition of Kāñcī-Kāverī,[46] in which a prominent place has been assigned to Lord Jagannātha as the theme of this play and started the process which ultimately transformed it into a nationalistic tradition,[47] thus combining Oriyā nationalism with Lord Jagannātha. Subsequently it became an extremely popular theme for the poets, play-wrights, authors of the books for the children and the school text books strengthening the link.

Radhanatha Ray, the most powerful poet of this period, collected themes for his Kāvyas—narrative poems—from many sources especially from Greek mythology. But he made use of history and geography of Orissa while transplanting these themes on Orissan soil. Otherwise also the past and the present of Oriyas found a prominent place in his works. Thus he became a great exponent of Oriya nationalism in Oriya literature and this great exponent of Oriya nationalism did not forget to reserve a special place for Lord Jagannātha in his works. We find the origin of this trend in his Kāvya *Candrabhāgā* (1886). In it Lord Jagannātha has been conceived as the presiding deity of Orissa region. The kāvya opens with a description of *Puṣyābhiṣeka,* the annual coronation ceremony of Lord Jagannātha and describes how a host of 'sub-regional' deities of Orissa visit and pay their respects to Lord Jagannātha on that occasion.[48] This trend of giving a prominent place to Lord Jagannātha in his works, which was greatly responsible for the spread of language-centered nationalism in Orissa, was to continue throughout his poetic career till it reached culmination in his Mahākāvya *Mahājātrā* (1892). In it he says,

> "This stretch of land (i.e. Puri) is the holiest of the holy places throughout the world, which has been chosen by Līlāmaya (i.e. God) himself for his līlā on this earth."[49]

Again,

> "If all other lands will be compared with leaves (of a plant or tree) then

46 For more information on this tradition see above G.N. Dash, *The Evolution of the Priestly Power*, (Ch. 12).

47 It must be admitted that the reflection of Oriya nationalism in this play is rather faint and not very clear, especially in contrast to Rangalal Banerji's long narrative poem.

48 The following sub-regional deities of Orissa were made to visit Lord Jagannātha on the occasion: (i) Haracaṇḍī from the shore of Chilka, (ii) Bhagabatī from Banapur, (iii) Bhubaneśvarī from Bhubaneswar, (iv) Maṇināga from Ranpur, (v) Carccikā from Banki, (vi) Baruṇeī from Khurda, (vii) Caṇḍikā from Debidvara, (viii) Caṇḍī from Cuttack, (ix) Sāraḷā from Jhankada, (x) Mahāmaṅgaḷā from Kakatpur, (xi) Kāḷijāyi from Chilka and (xii) Sun-god from Konarka.

49 Radhanath Ray, (1896), Mahājātrā, 2nd Sarga

Puṇyatama e saikata biśva carācare,
bāchi neichanti jāhā nije līḷāmaya
puṇya martya līḷā lāgi akhiḷa Bhārate.

Utkala will be compared with the flower . . . and the Niḷādri-dhāma (i.e. Puri) will be compared with the filament (i.e. best part of the flower)."[50]

In this Mahākāvya he further says,

"In this Kaḷi age (i.e. the present time) people coming here will be bestowed with the *puṇya* (merits) of visiting all the sacred places of India."[51]

Thus in the closing years of nineteenth century very close relationship existed between the Oriya nationalism and Lord Jagannātha which was at least considered a source of some administrative evils by the British officials. They used to believe that only the Oriya employees of the Government were susceptible to the Orissan custom of "Mahāprasāda brotherhood" formed by sharing the sacred victuals of Lord Jagannātha[52] which was an effective barrier to the smooth functioning of administration in Sambalpur. This was so because the Mahāprasāda brothers are supposed to come to each other's help and assistance under any circumstance ignoring the code of legal and moral principles and even humane feelings. Any deviation from this rule is considered not only a betrayal of a Mahāprasāda brother but also of Lord Jagannātha himself, the worst sin one commits. But as the official language of Sambalpur was Oriya it was not possible to transfer non-Oriyas from the other parts of Central Province to Sambalpur who—it was believed—would remain unaffected by the Orissan custom of Mahāprasāda brotherhood. As a solution in 1896 A.D. Oriya was abolished from the offices of Sambalpur so that non-Oriya Hindi-speaking employees could be transferred to Sambalpur from the other parts of the Central Province.[53] Whether the Mahāprasāda brotherhood was prevalent only among the Oriyas or not is not the point of issue here; rather why and how the British officials believed it to be so which is quite significant.

We must now take into account the underlying forces that helped to establish the lasting links between the Oriya nationalism and Lord Jagannātha in the late

50 *Ibid.* "*Parṇadaḷe śreṣṭha jehne prasūna laḷita,*
śreṣṭha e Utkaḷabhūmi guṇe garīyasī.
. . . .
Puṣpakuṇḍe śreṣṭha tāra keśara jesane,
śreṣṭha e Niḷādridhāma samagra Utkaḷe."

51 *Ibid.* "*Akhiḷa Bhārata tīrtha-bhramaṇa-sukṛta,*
labhibe kaḷire loke ehi sthaḷe bhrami."

52 For more information on Mahāprasāda brotherhood see L.K. Mahapatra, (1975).

53 The Government resolution said, "But the exceptional character of the language renders such transfer impossible in Sambalpur. This disadvantage is aggravated by the local custom of 'Mahaprasadas' or 'brotherhood', a custom described by Captain Saurin Brooke in the Central Provinces Gazette of July 21st, 1877. "Under this custom in Orissa, men of different castes bind themselves to one another in an offensive and defensive alliances which, if originally designed as a cement of friendship, has certainly proved an effective barrier to the discovery and remedy of administrative evils" Quoted in S. Mahanti, (1970), p. 548. See also *Utkaḷa Dīpikā* of May 11, 1895 as referred by S. Mahanti, (1970), p. 554.

nineteenth century. In the minds of common people the Rājā of Khurda and Lord Jagannātha were objects of veneration as symbols of the lost medieval empire of Orissa. Further in this hey-day of Oriya nationalism the urbanized and educated people looked back to this lost medieval empire of Orissa and to its two main symbols, viz. Lord Jagannātha and the Rājā of Khurda, as great sources of inspiration. So it was not surprising that the symbols of Orissan empire became now the symbols of Oriya-nationalism. Again people like Ramashankar and Radhanath came under the influence of Hindu nationalism. Therefore the predominantly Hindu population of Orissa seems to have facilitated the smooth transition from the Hindu nationalism to Jagannātha centered Oriya nationalism.

In this connection it should be mentioned here that in the nineteenth century Orissa the most dominant force was Oriya nationalism. But two other forces, simultaneously operating during this time, must be mentioned in order to make the picture more meaningful. These forces: Hindu nationalism and Indian nationalism were not that powerful but not quite weak either. Hindu nationalism could not become a rival force to Oriya nationalism because of the predominantly Hindu population of Orissa. Therefore the contradiction between the Hindu nationalism and Oriya nationalism was never apparent to the Oriyas and this was perhaps indirectly responsible for retaining Lord Jagannātha in the centre of Oriya nationalism. But since 1883 A.D., which brought Ilbert Bill controversy to the forefront, the Indian nationalism became a growing force in Orissa. Mr. M.S. Das and Gourisankar Ray etc. took active interest in the activities of Indian National Congress. But it was never in a position to overwhelm the Oriya nationalism. It is quite significant that most of the advocates of Hindu and Indian nationalism were also themselves champions of Oriya nationalism. In fact their first commitment was to Oriya nationalism.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

When twentieth century dawned the Oriya nationalism had already emerged as a very strong force in Orissa. It derived further strength from *Utkaḷa Sammiḷanī* or Utkal Union Conference which held its first session in Cuttack on 30th and 31st December, 1903. The Sammiḷanī was conceived as the "Parliament of the people inhabiting Oriya-speaking areas notwithstanding caste, creed, language and administrative division"[54] and Mr. M.S. Das was the guardian-spirit behind this organisation. This organisation continued its eventful existence till 1922 A.D. and held several sessions in different parts of the Oriya-speaking tract. Another source of substantial reinforcement was the establishment of Satyabādi school in 1909 A.D. by Gopabandhu Das. He and his colleagues like Nilakantha Das, Godavarish Misra etc. contributed a lot towards the growth and spread of Oriya nationalism through their multifarious activities and literary pursuits. The sympathetic attitude of the Government at times to the demand for the unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts gave it further impetus.

[54] S. Mahanti, (1972), p. 71.

The Hindu nationalism was almost completely absorbed by it gradually and it was often difficult to separate the two forces. But 1903 A.D. was a turning point in the history of Indian nationalism in Orissa, the very year in which the *Utkaḷa Sammiḷanī* came into being. It received a serious jolt when Mr. M.S. Das parted his way from Indian National Congress because, "the proposed separation of the district of Ganjam with its Agency tracts and Vizagapatam Agency from the Madras Presidency and its amalgamation with Orissa" was opposed in its Madras session the same year. After severing his connection with the Congress, Mr. Das founded Utkaḷa Sammiḷanī.[55] It maintained its independent though very weak existence till 1919 A.D. when it suddenly became a powerful force and successfully challenged the Oriya nationalism. In the sixteenth session of Utkaḷa Sammiḷanī held in December, 1920 and January, 1921 A.D. in Chakradharpur under the chairmanship of Jagabandhu Singh a resolution was moved by Gopabandhu Das which in effect proposed to merge this organisation with the Indian National Congress. It was a stormy session and the resolution was passed by majority vote after a heated debate.[56] Though it emerged victorious the Indian nationalism could never overwhelm the Oriya nationalism which always maintained its separate existence till today. It may be mentioned that Utkaḷa Sammiḷanī as separate from Indian National Congress was revived in 1923 A.D.[57] Both the forces ran in two parallel courses and came to conflict at times. Though always dominated by Indian nationalism the Oriya nationalism continued to remain a strong force, the creation of separate Orissa province in 1936 A.D. providing it further impetus.

But all those years the strong link established between the Oriya nationalism and Jagannātha was never snapped. As in the previous century the Oriya nationalism invariably looked back to medieval Orissan empire for inspiration. Because of the intimate relationship existing between the later and Lord Jagannātha, Jagannātha automatically occupied a central position in the nationalistic thought process. This is very clearly reflected in the literary activities of the Satyabādi group of writers who almost always built their literary citadels on the foundation of the Gaṅga and Sūrya-vaṃśa periods of Orissan history. *Koṇārke* (1919) a kāvya by Nilakantha Das, *Puruṣottama Deva* (1917), *Mukunda Deva* (1921) two plays and *Ālekhikā* an anthology of ballads by Godavarish Misra are some of the examples. The other writers also took the cue from them. *Gobinda Bidyādhaṛa* (1921) and *Kaḷāpāhāda* (1922) plays by Aswini Kumar Ghose, *Bārābāṭi* a play and *Mahānadīre Jyotsnābihāra* (1930) a poem by Mayadhar Mansingh, *Jayadeva* (1943) and *Abhijāna* (1946) plays by Kalicharan Pattanayak and *Utkaḷikā* (1945) an anthology of ballads by Radhamohan Gadanayak are only a few examples of this kind of pre-independence literary activities. It must be pointed out here that the already mentioned Kāñcī-Kāverī

[55] *Ibid*, p. 75.

[56] See the periodical '*The Oriya*', Vol. IV, No. 2 (January 12, 1921). The resolution was: "Resolved that while keeping the existing aim of the Utkal Conference intact, the aim and the creed of Indian National Congress be accepted as the aim and creed of this conference".

[57] *Utkaḷa Sāhitya*, Vol. XXVI, No. 12. Editorial, p. 406.

tradition figured prominently in the literary activities of this period, the implication of which is quite clear.

Even the advocates of Indian nationalism in Orissa did not ignore or forget the historic tie existing between the Oriyas and Lord Jagannātha. This is because many of them, as mentioned earlier, were primarily committed to Oriya nationalism and in their hearts remained committed to it even after their conversion to the cause of Indian nationalism. To them the contradiction between the two forces did not exist and they were supplementary in nature. Therefore even after his conversion to the cause of Indian nationalism Gopabandhu Das in his long poem *Bandīra Ātmakathā* written when he was in jail in 1923-24 A.D., says:

> "*If the world were a tank and India a lotus in it, then the filament of that lotus would be the holy Nīḷācaḷa (i.e. Puri).*"[58]

Further in this poem he made an appeal to the people of Orissa not to be disheartened as he—the leader—was in jail because according to him the god Nārāyaṇa himself (in this case Jagannātha) is the leader of Utkaḷa. He supports this contention citing the historical tradition that Lord of Nīḷādri (i.e. Lord Jagannātha) was present at the battle-field as Commander-in-Chief of Utkaḷa in the Kāñcī-war.[59] This is again an allusion to the famous Kāñcī-Kāverī tradition. He further says in the same poem,

> "*Lord Jagannātha is still sitting in Nīḷācaḷa,*
> *Then how can you claim that Utkaḷa is orphaned?*"[60]

Many more examples can be cited from his work where Jagannātha has rather ceased to be a Hindu deity and has become a true secular symbol.

The fact that Lord Jagannātha continued to occupy the central position in the nationalistic thought process, is also evident in many other spheres of activities apart from the literature. Thus Gopabandhu Das, during the census operations of 1921 A.D., was able to create strong Oriya sentiment in border areas of the Oriya speaking tract against the anti-Oriya activities of some very influential people through a slogan, meant to be sung like a *kīrtan*, which ran as follows:

> "Let us tread this path and meet the Orissan road,
> And let us tread this path and have a *darśana* of the
> Black-faced God."[61]

58 Gopabandhu Das, *Bandīra Ātmakathā*, Cuttack (1923).

59 *Ibid.*, "*biśeṣe Utkaḷā nāhī prayojana*
Utkaḷara netā nije Nārāyaṇa" *etc.*

60 *Ibid.*

61 Surya Narayan Das, (1975), pp. 320-21 and N. Satpathy, (1969), p. 233.
"*Cāla ho ei bāṭe jibā,*
Oḍiśā dāṇḍare miḷibā.
Cāla ho ei bāṭe jibā,
Kāḷiā śrīmukha dekhibā."

Similarly, while addressing a public meeting in 1928 A.D. in the Town-Hall of Cuttack Mr. M.S. Das, known by this time as the "grand old man of Orissa", recited a poem written on the spur of the moment, in which he appealed the ten million Oriyas to utter the cry, "Save us Lord Jagannātha" in unison which would bring to end the darkness that is reigning in Orissa and show the road of progress and prosperity.[62] And one of the first acts of K.C. Gajapati Narayan Dev, the Rājā of Paralakhimedi, after taking oath as the first Prime Minister of Orissa in 1936 A.D. was to pay a ceremonial visit to Lord Jagannātha though for some generations the Rājās of Paralakhimedi never paid any visit to Lord Jagannātha due to the dynastic rivalry existing between them and the Rājās of Puri. Even the roots of Mahatma Gandhi's decision to start his *padayātra* from Puri may be traced in the importance of Jagannātha for the nationalistic feelings of the Oriyas. Lord Jagannātha has thus further consolidated his position in the nationalistic thought process from the beginning of the century till the present times.

[62] Surya Narayan Das, (1971), p. 531.

"koṭie Oḍia goṭie svarare ḍāka trāhi Jagannātha,
andhāra ghunciba niścaya dekhiba jātira unnati patha."

CHAPTER XX

MAHIMĀ DHARMA: AN AUTOCHTHONOUS HINDU REFORM MOVEMENT*

A. Eschmann

INTRODUCTION

Mahimā Dharma is an autochthonous Hindu reform movement that turned against the Jagannātha worship in particular. Unlike the so-called neo-Hindu reform movement, as for instance the Brahma Samāj which came into being as a sequel to the encounter with Christianity and the philosophies of the West and obtained from there, i.e. from outside, the criteria of their criticism of its own tradition, no intrinsic, direct Western influence in the emergence of Mahimā Dharma can be traced. On the contrary, this movement derives its criticism of the Hindu tradition directly from the tradition itself, thus standing in an almost paradoxical twofold relation to the tradition which it accepts on the one hand, and rejects on the other.

This twofold relation to the tradition is made possible by its distinctive diversity and traces back especially to two characteristic features:

1. The constant dialogue of the so-called "great tradition"—the religion of Brahmins as portrayed in Sanskrit texts—with the tribal religions which, in a constantly changing process, are often Hinduized and partly rejected again.
2. The fact that in the course of its history, Hinduism has often brought forth heterodox movement of the most divergent nature, rejected them in the first place, but in most cases advanced their teachings later and integrated them in the mainstream of tradition.

An examination of Mahimā Dharma movement is, therefore, meaningful only in context with simultaneous examinations leading to the development and the

*This article was first published by A. Eschmann in German in the First Report of the Orissa Research Project, Heidelberg 1972. It was translated after her death by Mr. Dixit, Max Muellar Bhavan, New Delhi. (see also preface).

present orthodox Jagannātha-tradition and its dialogue with the tribal religions on the one hand, and the heterodox or esoteric movements on the other, as carried out within the Orissa Research Project.

The examination of Mahimā Dharma is therefore of twofold importance:

1. As complement to the study of Jagannātha-worship—the Mahimā Dharma regards itself as its counter as well as succession movement.
2. As a model for the formulation of questions about the present position of the Hindu tradition and the possibility of change and reform within the tradition itself.

In addition to this, Mahimā Dharma is an important example for the emergence and activity of autochthonous reform movements in 19th and 20th century whose appearance—in contrast to the so-called neo-Hindu movements—has hardly received any attention so far.

RESEARCH ON MAHIMĀ DHARMA

The reason for the first publication on the Mahimā Dharma was the spectacular attempt by a few followers of the sect to force their way into the temple of Puri, in order to take out the statue of Jagannātha and burn it. In 1882, the year following this offence, a short report of the "Commissioner of the Orissa Division" appeared in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*[1] which gives a fairly good resumé of the corresponding court records (see below). This report forms the basis for further short references made about Mahimā Dharma afterwards in the *District Gazetteer of Sambalpur*, in the census, as well as by C.E. Buckland in *Bengal Under the Lieutenant-Governors.*[2]

While the first report called the followers of the sect "Hindu dissenters" and therewith aptly characterised its peculiar relationship with the Hindu tradition, there appeared two versions in 1911 in which an attempt was made to establish the neo-Hindu origin and character of Mahimā Dharma. In B.C. Majumdar's book *Sonepur in the Sambalpur Tract*[3] written on orders from the Rājā of Sonepur in order to represent his rank and rights in relation to the British at the Royal Darbar in Delhi, an appendix is devoted to Mahimā Dharma. The portrayal furnishes a useful source at several places, since it depicts the customs and dissemination of the movement in Sambalpur province between 1890 and 1911. However, it does not go beyond this

[1] "On the Origin and Growth of the sect of the Hindu Dissenters who profess to be the Followers of Alekh, In *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1882, p. 2-6.

[2] Compare: L.S. O'Malley *Bengal District Gazetter Sambalpur*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 59-62. C.E. Buckland: "*Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*" Calcutta 1901, Vol. II, p. 733-735.

[3] Calcutta 1911, App. IV, p. 126-136.

account and confines itself to connect the doctrines of the sect with Digambara Jainism in a very general way.

In the same year, N.N. Vasu published his article on Mahimā Dharma in two works.[4] Vasu was the first to present the apparent connection between the doctrines of Mahimā Dharma with the tribal religions on the one hand, and the medieval school of "Five Friends" (*Pañcasakhā*) on the other. On the basis of the fact that Pañcasakhā used Buddhist terms, as for instance the concept of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), Vasu regarded them as crypto-Buddhists who declared themselves followers of Vaiṣṇavism only nominally under the pressure of political environments and for this reason he described Mahimā Dharma as a new Buddhist institution. Vasu's portrayal of Mahimā Dharma as "neo-Buddhism" probably got the widest propagation; it passed into standard works like Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*[5] and appears further in the most recent works on Orissa's history of literature in which Bhīma Bhoi, the actual "Prophet" of the sect gets attention.[6]

In forty years, till the appearing of the next article on Mahimā Dharma, the specific characteristic of the Pañcasakhā was analysed which certainly had taken up Buddhist conceptions, but remodelled them in a characteristic way, doveloped them further and became thereby the representatives of Orissa's special Vaiṣṇavism which was only partly covered with the theology of Chaitanya. In this connection a mention of the work *History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa*[7] by P. Mukherjee may be made in the first place.

A long article "*Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature in Orissa*"[8] by Chittaranjan Das appeared in 1951. Das showed that the tradition of the Pañcasakhās continued to exist in the 17th and 18th centuries as well and brought out further works and continues to operate upto the present day. On these lines he gives in the last chapter of his article a short summary of the principal teachings of Mahimā Dharma according to the present head of the movement, Visvanatha Baba and presents the inner relationship with and the factual dependence on the traditions of Pañcasakhā. His book *Oḍiśāra Mahimā Dharma*[9] is so far the only attempt towards a complete survey that restores the historical tradition, legends and doctrines and strives after portraying the conformity between the origin and development of Mahimā Dharma Movement and religions of the humanity on the whole.

4 *The Modern Buddism and its Followers in Orissa*, Calcutta 1911, pp. 159-172.
The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj, Calcutta 1911, Vol. I, p. CLXLV—CCLXIII.

5 Charles Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism, a Historical Sketch*, London 1921, Vol. II, p. 115 f.

6 Compare also: M. Mansinha: *History of Oriya Literature*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 150 ff.
John V. Boulton: Letteratura Oriya in: *Storia delle Letterature d'Oriente* Milano 1969, p. 432.

7 Calcutta 1941.

8 In: "*Vishva Bharati Annals*", 1950 Vol. III, pp. 107-194.

9 Santiniketan, 1952.

In 1968 appeared a study of Tribal Research Bureau: *The Impact of Satya Mahimā Dharma on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Orissa.*[10] This work enters for the first time, though in a very limited way, into the social structure of the sect and its expansion. The writers mainly tried to determine whether and how far a conversion to Mahimā Dharma is conducive to the integration of the tribes into the modern Indian society. The latest publication is, as far as I know, an article by Bijananda Kar, *The Religious Philosophy of Mahimā Gosvāmī and his School,*[11] which analyses the special philosophical position occupied by Mahimā Dharma in a few points between the systems of Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita on the one hand, and Jainism and Buddhism on the other, without, however, entering into the obvious link between Mahimā and the theist Sāṅkhya.

During my stay in Orissa in 1977 the *Dayananda Anglo Vedic College* at Khoraput organized a congress on the topic "Mahimā Dharma" in which Visvanatha Baba also took part. The conference did not bring out any new revelation. However, it provided some material on the present dialogue between Mahimā Dharma and the orthodoxy.

SOURCES AND METHODS

1. General

The task of my investigation must be to give first of all an overall portrayal of the historical development and the present cult and philosophy according to their own writings and pronouncements. For this the really voluminous literature of the sect has to be collected and complemented with the description of the ritual and the temples as also with conversations, interviews and observations. All this was possible only with surprising kindness of the head of the sect, Visvanatha Baba, whom I should like to thank sincerely at this place. He accorded me access to all the sources, gave me repeatedly the opportunity for long discussions and even permitted me for the first time to witness the rites, even such, as are only reserved for the initiated, as for instance, the confession.

With some diplomatic luck I was successful in coming into contact with two more groups, considered schismatic by the principal group, and collecting material, without marring the good relations with the principal group

A great problem was to comprehend the spread of the Mahimā Dharma and its social structure: Upto now there exist no data at all on the expansion. Like all such denominations the sect is no longer being given a separate entry in the census since 1901 and since its Āśramas, on principle, do not possess any land, they are also not registered with the *Religious Endowments Commission.*

In order to work out the position of the sect within and towards the Hindu tradition according to the viewpoints mentioned above, the portrayal must be extended

[10] In: *Ādibāsī* 1968, Vol. X, p. 44-76.
[11] In: *Bhāratī* (Utkal University Journal: Humanities) 1969, Vol. III, p. 59-66.

into two directions in accordance with its own writings and pronouncements; (a) definite teachings and rites essential for the sect must be examined on the basis of the Hindu tradition, its heterodox movements and tribal religions; furthermore various developments within the Mahimā Dharma must be presented; (b) the movement's portrayal of itself, must, wherever possible, be complemented with the testimony of other sources relating to the history and position of the sect in order to work out the sect's conception of itself in relation to the tradition on the one hand, the attitude of the orthodoxy on the other, as well as an eventual development or change of the attitude of both. For this, besides other things, the works on Mahimā Dharma appeared so far, as well as the court records are a useful source for reference.

2. Sources

Scriptures of the Sect

(*a*) *Publications*

It was possible to bring together an extensive collection of the sect's own printed writings and pronouncements. Furthermore I tried to collect, as far as possible, older pamphlets of both the denominations besides their principal works. Such pamphlets often contained interesting local versions and are for individual local groups often more important than the theoretical principal works. These pamphlets are in most cases handed out with reluctance and for short period, so that they even had to be copied at times.

(*b*) *Manuscripts and Records*

In addition to this, I was successful in copying some manuscripts and records not intended for the general public. Among these were, besides others, a description of Visvanatha Baba's life which is of special significance, since monks are forbidden to talk about their previous worldly life, a few palm-leaf manuscripts with Bhīma Bhoi's songs not published so far, as well as hand-written records from various places on history, construction and structure of each community.

Medieval Texts

The medieval Oriya scriptures in which Mahimā Dharma has its origin to some extent are not only essential for gaining a clear picture of these teachings, but they also portray an important phase in the history of Jagannātha worship. Their collection, translation and compilation is a completion of the Sanskrit texts on the Jagannātha Cult. Most of these texts are published. However, I could still find a few palm-leaf manuscripts in use by Mahimā followers and got them copied here and there which partly conveyed interesting versions of the prevailing texts.

Government Publications and Court Records

(a) In the "*Jagannath Temple Correspondence*" there were complete records

about the "Temple-turmoil" of 1881, as well as contemporary reports on the appearing of the founder of the sect.

(b) At the "Religious Endowments Commission", it was possible to see the case records of the litigation stretching over thirty years between both the denominations of Mahimā Dharma and to copy important portions from it.

(c) The Court records about the disturbances possibly connected with the founder's death (see below) could not be traced so far, in spite of thorough search in the archive of the Collectorate and in the palace of Dhenkanal, in the "Board of Revenue" in Cuttack and in the "State Archives of Bengal" in Calcutta.

Publications of Christian Missions and Literature of other Sects

So far as they could have influenced the development of Mahimā Dharma, the literature of other sects which sometimes was difficult to obtain, as well as earlier publications of Christain missions on religious conditions in Orissa of 19th century must be referred to. For studying the missions' publications, I worked in the library of the former English Baptist Mission, Serampore, for a week.

Conversations, Interviews, Recording of the Rites and Shrines

Conversations

The text material for the sect's own writings and pronouncements could be complemented with numerous conversations with the present head of the principal group, Viśvanātha Bābā, and with his adversary, the head of the other denomination, Jyoti Bābā, as well as with numerous monks and laymen in different regions. All conversations were each time recorded either by Mr. K.C. Routray, M.A., whom I would like to thank heartily for his untiring help, or by myself. In the course of all these conversations vis-a-vis the higher monks in particular, two basic difficulties became evident: first, running the risk to contribute, through the way of questioning, to the forming of a system. Mahimā Dharma does not yet possess a complete system of dogmas. Therefore, a far too intensive questioning can easily induce a person to close instantly the gaps which might appear in the system during the discussion. Therefore, questioning of a very cautious type is appropriate which foregoes to insist on specific question or questions not or seemingly not answered adequately. To repeat such conversations with the same persons after longer intervals proved to be the second necessity—the persons contacted for conversation are basically never prepared to reveal their entire knowledge of a particular subject all at once.

Interviews

For recording the social structures and expansion of the sect I carried through two different sorts of interviews:

During the festivals at which we were present we interviewed in all 955 laymen about the following points, or we let them interview each other on mutual basis:

1. Residence
2. Is there a settlement of the sect at that place?
3. How many families of the place in question belong to the sect?
4. Age
5. Caste
6. School education
7. Profession
8. Were the parents already members of the sect?
9. Reasons for joining the sect.

A similar interview of the monks would have been extremely desirable, but it could not come off, since they are not permitted to talk about their previous life, for instance about the caste they originally belonged to. Indeed, the monks of both the denominations were prepared to furnish me lists of existing *Āśramas* or *Tuṅgīs* for their respective spheres of mission. These were completed by interviewing the laymen of the sect.

Rites and Shrines

During my field stay it was possible for me to record with two exceptions, the entire range of rites, several times and at different places as well as complete it by visiting the different groups and their shrines.

Latest Evaluation

Till now* I studied the historical development and present aspects of the sect. I started first of all mainly with the *Balkaladhārī* groups. Further work is expected to bring forth a thorough examination of the other *Kaupīnadhārī* group and its literature as well as a further analysis of the historical and social context of the sect.

RESULTS

HISTORY AND PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE SECT

Founder's life

According to the statements of the Mahimā Dharmins, the founder of the sect Mahimā or Alekha Gosvāmī entered Orissa in 1826. For the teachings of the sect, Mahimā Svāmī was no human being, but rather one not born out of a mother's womb (*ayonisambhūta*), a pure incarnation of the *Mahimā* ("radiance, glory") of *Śūnya Anādi Brahma* (see below) who came to this earth in the Himalayas, turned

* [This article was concluded in 1972]

later to Utkal, the holiest land of India, and settled down on Kapilas mountain at Dhenkanal under the shelter of the Snake God (*nāga*). There, so continues the official biography, he lived only on water (*jalāhārī Gosāī*) for twelve years, without indicating his true nature. After the expiry of this period, he accepted his first disciple, initially called Jagannātha, and named him Vāsudeva. According to the teaching of the sect, he was the God Jagannātha Himself who was the first to know of the advent of Mahimā Gosvāmī because of his good Karma. And realising that his period was over Jagannātha left immediately his temple in Puri in order to serve his true deliverer and spread his teachings.

After initiating Jagannātha, Mahimā Gosvāmī subsisted for twelve years on fruit (*phalāhārī Gosāī*). Thereafter he started taking milk as well, supplied to him everyday in new earthen bowls by the mother of the then king of Dhenkanal who, too, like her son, is described as a disciple in the Mahimā Dharma scriptures. After the expiry of the last 10 years, Mahimā Gosvāmī converted Annapūrṇā, the goddess of abundance, accepted boiled rice from her for the first time and started afterwards roaming through the country and preaching with his disciple Jagannātha.

This biography unites the most important elements of Orissa's history of religion and subordinates it to Mahimā Svāmī: the Śaivism is represented by the Kapilas Temple. The Snake God, the Mother Goddess and Jagannātha are at the service of the new deliverer.

There are hardly any details about the actual personality of the founder. It is only certain that he was a Vaiṣṇava originally who had settled on Kapilas near the Śiva shrine, took part in temple services, looked after the sick who sought recovery on Kapilas, had tremendous success in it and won a certain fame. The Tahsildar of Banki reported in 1881 that Mahimā Svāmī was previously called Mukunda Dās and after leaving Kapilas, he had lived for 6 years near the Lokanātha Temple in Puri. However, this statement is not corroborated by any other sources.[12]

The beginning of his public appearance, thirty six years after his first appearance in Orissa, i.e. in 1862, is confirmed by the statements of other sources. The first deed of this period was the wonderful conversion of Bhīma Bhoi, whose famous poems the sect owes a major part of its popularity. Bhīma Bhoi was blind from birth, a foundling, adopted by a couple of Khond tribe in Kandhara (Rairakhol). He left them when he was still a child and eked out his living by begging, undertaking casual inferior jobs and narrating stories. When he met Mahimā Svāmī in 1862, he is stated to have been only thirteen years old. The remarkable meeting is described repeatedly in detail : Mahimā Svāmī and his disciple Jagannātha or Vāsudeva appeared before Bhīma Bhoi in a vision and restored him his eyesight. After realising, however, who his visitors were, Bhīma Bhoi requested them to take away his eyesight, so that he has not to see the wickedness of the world, and to bestow on him instead the prophetic and poetic gift, so that he could herald the new teachings. One of the most significant works of Bhīma Bhoi, *Nirveda Sādhanā*, describes this

12 *Jagannath Temple Correspondence*, Nr. 131, p. 1324.

vision followed by a preceptive conversation between Mahimā Svāmī and Jagannātha expounding the new teachings.

In the following years, Mahimā Svāmī preached in the former Feudatory States of Tigeria, Angul, Dhenkanal, Baudh, Rairakhol, Sonepur and Banki, set up *Tuṅgīs* and *Maṭhas* and gathered an apparently very fast growing number of disciples around himself, whom he ordained after a certain period first as *Kanapaṭiās* or *Kaupinadhārīs* (cloth or "kaupina" wearers) and later, at times, as *Kumbhīpaṭiās* or *Balkaladhārīs* (bark or "kumbhī" wearers). The *Kanapaṭiās* wear a so-called *kaupīna* i.e. ochre coloured cotton loincloth which is passed through the legs and tied to a twisted girdle. The *Kumbhīpaṭiās* or *Balkaladhārīs* have the same form of loincloth on, the only difference being that it consists of the dried bark of *Kumbhī* tree which has the same colour as the *Kaupīnas*. The distinctive mark of the sect are the characteristic big umbrellas made from a palm leaf which serve the roaming Saṃnyāsīs as a protection against sun and rain. Mahimā Svāmī is said to have ordained himself 64 *Balkaladhārīs* who are also termed as *Siddha Bābās*—a clear allusion to the 64 *Siddha Nāthas* of the Nātha sect with which Mahimā Dharma has many a thing in common. During Mahimā Svāmī's life-time there were, no doubt, tensions which later led to the setting up of two different kinds of denominations within the sect.

The term Kumbhīpaṭiā is sometimes used for the entire sect. The fact that the bark of just this tree is used, has perhaps its origin in the relationship of its name with the name of the *Ajapa Mantra* (*hamsa*). which is also called *Kumbhaka Mantra* in Bhāgavata Purāṇa and is of great significance in the meditative practice of the sect (see below). Besides his direct disciples, Mahimā Svāmī also converted a large circle of laymen who supported the new religion financially. Yet the new religion met naturally with stiff opposition, especially from Brahmins. Historian N.K. Sahu makes mention of, though unfortunately without any reference, a complaint having been filed by Brahmins with the then Commissioner of Orissa against Mahimā Svāmī because he allured Brahmin women to embrace his religion.[13]

Probably Mahimā Svāmī also visited the surroundings of Cuttack during this period where there were Christian, i.e. Baptist missionaries already since 1822. It is not ruled out that he came into contact with their propaganda or at least with the followers of Kujibarh Maṭha where, even before the arrival of missionaries in Orissa, a Guru made the Christian teachings known which he had taken from a Bengali translation of the New Testament. This possible encounter with the Christianity is on principle other than the one from which the so-called neo-Hinduism has emerged. The Christianity with which Mahimā Svāmī possibly came into contact was translated into Oriya in the brochures of the missionaries, as well as right in the teachings of the Kujibarh Guru who had firmly refused to be converted. In these translations, the Christian teachings were thus already adapted to the thinking and receptiveness of its new surroundings. On the other hand, the neo-Hinduism came

[13] "Bhima Bhoi". Published in: *Spread, Organisation and cult of Mahima Dharma*, ed. by D. Panda, Koraput 1972.

into existence out of a situation of estrangement in which the higher classes, mostly educated in the English way, had found themselves. These had got to know Christianity and Western philosophers very well and initially had regarded them as superior to their own tradition.

Thus, whereas neo-Hinduism came into existence out of a sort of "cultural shock" and devoted itself mainly to the theoretical discussions with Christianity and its own tradition, the possible encounter between Christianity and Mahimā Dharma took place "from equal to equal" on a common cultural *niveau* within which Mahimā Dharma could have taken over without hesitation individual features of Christianity without any constraint that a fundamental discussion would have taken place simultaneously. Such an element could be the consecutive ceremony of confession and a common feast (*satsaṅga goṣṭhī*, see below) which seems to be of Christian origin at the first sight. On the other hand, individual confession is not practised by Baptists, and Catholic missionaries came in the state only after the era of Mahimā Svāmī.

Institutional Development of the Sect

The second epoch, the one of its actual institutional growth, begins with the "death" of Mahimā Svāmī in the year 1876, when he spent a few days meditating in the state of Samādhi, until a voice from the space declared that this was the final Samādhi. Thereafter his body was buried in Joranda. Maybe the founder's death caused unrest; the Mahimā Dharmins themselves narrate that Queen Victoria had heard of the appearing of Mahimā Svāmī and wanted to arrest him. However, her emissary came too late, i.e. only after the final Samādhi. N.K. Sahu speaks, though again without evidence, of an intervention by Commissioner Ravenshaw.[14] In the very same year, a sort of council appears to have taken place in Joranda in which a foundation stone of *Gaddī Mandira* was laid which was built in the following years.

Bhīma Bhoi is said to have taken part in this council, but he did not participate in the construction of the shrine in Joranda. On the contrary, he built with his group of *Kaupīnadhārīs* his own Āśrama in Khaliapala in the next year 1877 with the consent of the Rājā of Sonepur Niladhara Singh. Besides Joranda, this is today the most important centre of the sect.

Whereas Joranda became the centre of a strictly organised monastic order which accepted no women, but admitted them only as laymen of the sect, a rather tantric trend developed in Khaliapala. Bhīma Bhoi lived there with four "female companions", two spiritual and two worldly (of whom one hailed from the Brahmin caste) and with four scribes whom, it is claimed, he used to dictate his works simultaneously.

It was from the group of Bhīma Bhoi and Khaliapala that the raid on the Jagannātha Temple took place in 1881, about which it has been repeatedly asserted that Bhīma Bhoi himself had led it. This was, however, not the case, as follows from

[14] *Ibid.*

the court records in unequivocal terms. On the contrary, the group of twelve men and three women "barbarous people" was under the direction of a certain Dāsarām who declared that the voice of Alekha Svāmī had ordered him to burn the statues of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. The intruders came only up to the Bhoga Maṇḍapa of the Jagannātha temple in Puri and from there they were driven back by paṇḍās and pilgrims in the course of which their leader lost his life. Noteworthy is the fact that the group carried a pot with boiled rice and tried to eat it within the Temple. They also apparently wanted to carry through the right—all castes were initially entitled to it—to enter the Temple and eat there together.

The judgement passed by the Deputy Magistrate against the survivors of the group was in line with the ruling orthodoxy which prevented the low castes from entering the Temple. They were sentenced to two months' "rigorous imprisonment" for "rioting" and for "committing trespass into a place of worship", in which the reason reads, "low caste people and barbarous people, who have no distinction of caste such as the defendants, are not allowed to enter the temple of Jagannāth".[15] Whereas none of the paṇḍās was called to account, four members of another group of Mahimā Dharmins from Sambalpur were sentenced to seven days' "rigorous imprisonment", since they admitted likewise having the intention to burn Jagannātha.

In connection with this incident, the Commissioner of Orissa called for reports on the sect from Banki, Angul and Dhenkanal which furnish a good view of the dissemination of the sect, already surprisingly large. The Manager of the Dhenkanal State reported that he had accompanied Mahimā Svāmī for a few days in 1874 and he appears to have been impressed by his personality. Interesting is the report from Angul, too, which lays stress on a direct effect of the social-ethical engagements of the sect, commending which, it is mentioned, that the Pan, a notorious caste of thieves, had given up their hereditory profession under the influence of the new religion.[16]

A decisive milestone in the development of the sect was the year 1896, one year after the death of Bhīma Bhoi. Upto that time, according to the order of Mahimā Svāmī, no new Saṃnyāsīs were initiated and it was feared that the order will become extinct. In this year, however, the last *Siddha Samnyāsī* initiated by Mahimā Svāmī himself received a "Śūnya word" (*śūnya bāṇī*) to initiate the novices who in the meantime had joined the order, and in the next twenty years about two hundred Saṃnyāsīs were initiated. With the clear perception of *Śūnya Bāṇī* as the resumption of revelation after the founder's death, further existence of the order was ensured. Even today the *Śūnya Bāṇī* is considered as the highest instance, yet its validity had to be restricted: only revelations to the *Siddha* or *Para Samnyāsīs* are or can be binding on everyone, all others apply to the individual himself.

In the year 1912, the same Bābā received the "Order" to initiate a few of the *Kaupīnadhārī* monks as *Kumbhīpaṭiās* This resulted into a final break between the

[15] *Jagannath Temple Correspondence*, No. 224, p. 1314.
[16] *Ibid.*, No. 40, p. 1336 and No. 513, p. 1330.

Kumbhīpaṭiās and Kaupīnadhārīs since Kṛpāsindhu Das, a wearer of Balkala himself, did not accept this *Śūnya Bāṇī* and moved out of the common maṭha in Joranda with his followers. Since this time the dispute between both the groups about the land "occupied" by Kṛpāsindhu, about the management of the temple estate etc. is continuing. The dispute aggravated the more the two groups organised themselves, and is being pursued in the court for about thirty years. Since 1950, the Religious Endowment Commission has been trying repeatedly to set up, on the basis of parity, commissions constituted with different groups for the management of the estate in Joranda. However, the commission existed always for a few days only.

The Influence of Viśvanātha Bābā

The third epoch in the sect's history, the current epoch, is the one of the Viśvanātha Bābā's influence. Viśvanātha Bābā joined the order at a very young age. Already at the age of 13 years he received the Kaupīna and in 1925, when he was 21, he was initiated as *Balkaladhārī*. The present form of *Balkaladhārī* group with its strict centralistic organisation is deeply influenced by him. He saw to it that a stricter monastic discipline was maintained and introduced new designations for the saṃnyāsīs: *apara* "imperfect" for the *kaupīna* wearers, *para* "perfect" for the *Kumbhīpaṭiās*. This special characterization of the subordination of *Kaupīnadhārīs* under the *Kumbhīpaṭiās* naturally aggravated the opposition to the *Kaupīna* group which, probably as a reaction, also started organising itself in a more uniform way.

The real significance of Viśvanātha Bābā lies in the fact that he systematized the Mahimā Dharma teachings for the first time. In doing so he, of course, "Sanskritized" them and remodelled in part vis-a-vis the older texts. Wheareas the older scriptures, as well as the works of Bhīma Bhoi were composed in the style of medieval bhakti literature and were mainly circulated in the villages, the works of Viśvanātha Bābā were open to their wider circles and also to those educated in the Western way who, in their search for a new understanding of their own tradition, reacted to them positively to some extent. Thus two groups of followers of the sect were formed: first, the properly initiated, other, a wider circle of sympathisers who usually do not get initiated.

Present Spread and Social Structure

The results of my interviews have not yet been evaluated finally. However, the following can be stated for the spread and social structure:

About 2/3 of the followers belong to the *chasā* (farmers) or allied castes (*kaibartha, gopāla*, etc.), about 8% are "tribals"; the number of Harijan members corresponds nearly to that of Brahmins. Both constitute about 4%. This assessment relates to the *Balkaladhārī* group; in the case of *Kaupīnadhārīs*, the participation of "tribals" is probably higher.

On the whole, the attracting capacity of the sect as a characteristic sphere between the folk cults on the one hand, and the *Varṇāśrama* Dharma on the other,

does not appear to have receded considerably even after independence, although with the merger of former Feudatory States, the influence of Jagannātha cult, strengthened in the 19th century had ended and an intensified revival of folk-religion had set in (see below. There are scattered members of the middle class, as village school teachers, employees in government offices, etc. These people are initiated, but on account of their position, they cannot follow all ritualistic precepts, as for instance exclusively wearing of ochre clothes. They form an external sphere of initiated followers who do not participate in *satsaṅga goṣṭhī* (common feast).

The "sympathisers", as mentioned already, form the most external circle, who join the new religion theoretically comparable to the *Seboúmenoi* of the Jewish Diaspora community in the age of Hellenism, without, however, undergoing the initiation and the strict norms of living.

This sphere is not comprehensible statistically. To this belong, in part, personalities of public life, a former minister, a Development Officer of Utkal University etc., who have often a *Saṃnyāsī* of Mahimā sect as personal guru. Significantly, their wives are sometimes properly initiated. From these spheres come most members of the *Mahimā Dharma Ālocana Sabhā*, a society founded in the thirties for the publication and circulation of Mahimā Dharma works.

Since 1881, the sect spread beyond the borders of Orissa in the neighbouring provinces too. About the spread of the sect, according to existing Āśramas or *Tuṅgīs* that are built from the donations of local communities, I was able to compile the following figures:

State	Āśrama or *Tuṅgī* of Balkaladhārī	Āśrama or *Tuṅgī* of Kaupīnadhārī	Total
Orissa	777	595	1372
Andhra Pradesh	40	46	86
Madhya Pradesh	8	—	8
Bihar	1	—	1
Bengal	—	65	65
Assam	—	51	51
Total	826	757	1583

In this list the extensive expansion to Assam is especially striking which should be examined closely.

Relation to the Jagannātha Cult

The surprisingly fast expansion of the sect in the second half of the 19th century can certainly be attributed also to the introduction of Jagannātha worship by

the Rājās of Dhenkanal, Baudh, Tigeria, Sonepur, Angul, that took place at this time. As H. Kulke [1972 and 1976] has emphasised, the introduction of Jagannātha worship for the subjects of the Feudatory Rājas meant not only a religious reform, but was also a symbol of a new form of oppressive Hindu kingship in former tribal areas. This situation had naturally to promote a movement that regarded itself as the final stage and the true resumption of Jagannātha worship thereby admitting everyone, even the lower sections that were no longer tolerated at this time within the orthodox Jagannātha cult.

This function becomes evident in an exemplary way from the point that Mahimā Dharma readmits an essential element of Jagannātha worship in its original meaning which no longer applied in Puri: common feast (see below) between persons belonging to all castes. Simultaneously, the temple in Puri was devalued with the imagination that Jagannātha had left it in order to serve Mahimā Svāmī. Jagannātha is equated with Buddha, i.e. the penultimate Avatāra of Viṣṇu. The idea of this god's replacement with the appearing of the last Avatāra Kalki or another eschatological deliverer is often found in medieval Oriya texts of the Pañcasakhā. Mahimā Dharma interprets these texts as the prophecy about the advent of Mahimā Svāmī. According to this point of view, it is only logical that some of the rites of the temple in Puri are being performed at present in *Gaddī Mandira*, the seat of the founder. in Joranda, by doing which it is proudly pointed out that the Nīti Bābās performed the worship here "like the Paṇḍās in Puri".

Another parallel is noteworthy: the historiography of the sect tries again and again to ascribe to its own founder and his teachings an equally close connection with the royalty, as the Jagannātha-worship actually had. The Rājā of Dhenkanal, Bhagīratha Bahādur, is described as a follower of the sect, who turned to Mahimā Svāmī in all important problems. So it is said as an example that the succession to the throne—King Bahādur was childless and adopted a son of the King of Baudh—took place exactly according to the directions of Mahimā Svāmī who appeared to him as well as to the rulers of Baudh in dream.

This episode corresponds exactly to the legend about the choice of Kapilendra through Jagannātha who directed the last Gaṅga King Bhānudeva IV in dream, how and where he would find his successor (see above chapter XI). In fact, Mahimā Svāmī himself appears to have striven for close connection with the Rājā of Dhenkanal; the report of the Manager of Dhenkanal State confirms the statement that in 1875 Mahimā Svāmī, during the first big festival in Joranda, wanted to hand over all offerings of the believers to the Rājā, but after the latter had refused, he directed to burn them. Although a certain break with the King came in here apparently, in the Mahimā Dharma historiography, the close connection between Mahimā Svāmī and the Rājā is repeatedly emphasized; it is said for example that the ground on which the temple complex was built, had been donated by the Rājā of Dhenkanal in gratitude. From the records of the Religious Endowment Commission it is, however, evident that it was purchased by a follower.[17]

17 Court of the Subordinate Judge, Dhenkanal, Title Suit No. 13/31 of 1960/62, p. 4.

Thus, there appears to be the tendency within the sect to take overfrom the Jagannātha worship the typical close connection with the royalty also. The connections with the Jagannātha worship which have been summed up appear to have been strongly stressed by the sect initially, but they fall today somewhat into oblivion under the influence of Viśvanātha Bābā.

The Teachings and Their Relation to the Tradition

Mahimā Dharma takes up the Buddhist concept of "emptiness" (*Śūnya*) and identifies it with the Hindu conceptions of *Parama Brahma* and *Īśvara Puruṣa*. *Śūnya Parama Brahma* is characterized more precisely with the concepts *alekha* (indescribable) *nirguṇa* (without attributes), *nirākāra* (formless) *anādi* (eternal), *nirañjana* (pure or without support) and *mahimā* (radiance, glory), all of which already appear in the medieval Oriya literature for describing *Śūnya Brahma* or as synonyms for Him.

Mahimā Dharma in no way takes over the concept of Śūnya directly from Buddhism, as Vasu had presumed, but rather from different spheres of Hindu tradition which had taken up the Śūnyatā doctrine in a different way, a process which still needs thorough examination and can be indicated here only in short. The development of the Buddhist Śūnyatā doctrine itself took place, as is well known, under the influence of the Hindu Vedānta doctrine and reacted again in its improvement. Thereby the comprehension of the concept within the Mahāyāna school changed from the initial conception of a negative principle to a positive dimension, that denoted a reality underlying all manifestations. From there the concept got into the esoteric sects and medieval Vaiṣṇavism of Orissa.

The tantric Buddhist sect of Sahajiyās developed a system of four of seven Śūnyas that is of different stages, in which the pure, all pervading Śūnya (*sarvaśūnya*) is darkened and polluted in a different proportion by the "impurities of nature" (*prakṛti doṣa*). In Yoga it means to traverse these stages so to say retrogressively, thereby attaining the highest stage of Yoga in *śūnyasamādhi*.[18] These conceptions seem to have been taken up from the Nātha sect which again has exerted decisive influence on the history of Orissa's religion.[19] Besides the development of these theories, the concept Śūnya within the Dharma sect simply became an attribute, sometimes even a synonym for the God Dharma.[20]

Both the tendencies in the direct application of the concept Śūnya, as an attribute or description of the nature of a personal god whom one has to approach through Bhakti and as landmarks and ultimate goals of certain Yoga practices, appear in the medieval school of Pañcasakhā and are combined with each other. In these texts, the true nature of Viṣṇu or Jagannātha is expounded as *Śūnya* or *Alekha*, *Anādi*, *Nirākāra* etc. and is equated with *Parama-Brahma* or *Śūnyabrahma*. The salvation (*mokṣa*) i.e. reunion of the soul with Śūnyabrahma takes place through meditation,

18 See also Shashibhusan Dasgupta: *Obscure Religious Cults*, Calcutta 1969, p. 41 ff.

19 Ibid., p. 196.

20 Ibid., p. 286 ff.

certain Yoga practices and through Bhakti, i.e. Nirguṇa Bhakti. Besides the many individual differences, the conviction of identity between the soul and Brahma is common to all these texts; they herald the occult doctrine of Brahmajñāna, which alone can, in contrast to the customary forms of religion, re-establish this unity. The antithesis to the orthodox tradition plays a decisive role in all discussions on Brahmajñāna. It is repeatedly emphasized that the salvation cannot be achieved through external rites, pilgrimages etc. or through the worship of lifeless idols of wood or stone, but on a meditative path alone, which revokes, step by step, the creation that is being repeated with the procreation of each human being, until the true reality, Śūnya Alekha Brahma, is attained again.

The fulfilment of the acts of worship is directly rejected on the one hand —the offering is Karma and contributes, therefore, to keep the soul in the cycle of rebirth, on the other hand it is given a new interpretation. Ahiṃsā is the best sacrifice and one must convert one's mind (*manas*)into a forest in which one practices true asceticism, i.e. Brahmajñāna etc. These new interpretations are made possible by the *Piṇḍa-Brahmāṇḍa*-doctrine, the doctrine of correspondency between the macrocosmos of the universe and the microcosmos of the body, in the relationship system of which a certain point in the body corresponds to a certain place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) of the external world. This "true" pilgrimage must be reached through Yoga.

The occult doctrine of Brahmajñāna or Ātmabhakti needs neither the authority of the scriptures nor the Guru. In *Nirguṇa-Māhātmya* it is said, for instance, that the principles of Brahmajñāna had been hidden at the time of creation in the Vedas by gods by order of Anādi Brahma or Viṣṇu; the Vedas are compared with a cuckoo egg that does not know its own origin. By this the authority of Vedas within the creation is not abolished, but of course, modified. It is pointed out that they may mislead, but the revelation of the new occult doctrine as the true interpretation of the Vedas can even surpass them. For the same reason that the true salvation doctrine is hidden in the Vedas, the institution of Guru is totally rejected; the real Guru is *Alekha Paramabrahma* or *Śūnya Brahma*; since He lives in every human being. He is, in reality, identical with the disciple and can be seen in His real form (*svarūpa*) with the correct realization. Just like authority of the scriptures, the authority of gods is also modified. They are only agents of creation who have to worry about the world constantly and resign themselves to its pleasures. They can be satisfied with a little asceticism and themselves need the instructions about the principles of Brahmajñāna.

The doctrine that Nārāyaṇa can be found equally in every manifestation of this world makes a certain modification of caste system possible, as it is found more often in Vaiṣṇavism. For example, it is emphasised that the same Brahma lives even in the lowest Caṇḍāla. The practical consequence of the doctrine of the Omnipresence of the one Brahma in every human being, the common feast between the members of different castes had become an institution in the Jagannātha Temple, remains, however, a generally ritualistic exception (see below under *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī*). This appears generally typical for the bearing of this esoteric texts on the orthodox tradition: indeed, they do question the tradition, but they don't fight against it openly.

The orthodox tradition in its usual interpretaion rather applies further to the un-initiated masses who do not know its true contents in its esoteric interpretation.

This type of re-interpretation and modification of the orthodox tradition is in no way unusual, especially in Vaiṣṇavism. But the Pañcasakhā go even further. While heralding their doctrine in the so-called *Mālikās* as the religion of the future they link it with a regular attack on the ruling orthodoxy. The Mālikās which have to be examined more thoroughly depict the end of the present age (Kaliyuga) in prophetic-apocalyptical visions, which in part deal with the period of Pañcasakhā themselves—for example, the rule of the last independent king of Orissa Mukunda Deva and the invasion of the Muslim General Kalapahar (1568).

The Kaliyuga terminates in the end of Viṣṇu's ninth Avatāra as Buddha or Jagannātha. Jagannātha will leave His temple in Puri, will appear in new forms and manifest His Mahimā. The well known conception of Jagannātha and Balabhadra who leave the temple and ride out on their black and white horses points to Kalki who manifests Himself with one soul in both forms and is Nirañjana or Śūnya Brahma, or Ādi Jagannātha Himself. Nirañjana as the real "mystic" (*gupta*) Kalki will manifest His Mahimā and the Dharma corresponding to it and kill in apocalyptic fight with the help of goddesses those who do not accept this doctrine. Only those can be saved who follow the new doctrine or already possess the occult knowledge of Brahmajñāna. These true bhaktas are particularly enumerated and some of them interpreted as reincarnations of great Bhaktas from earlier Yugas; for example, the Pañcasakhā themselves appear as the five Pāṇḍavas born again who are gathering for the final revelation, that can take place in Kaliyuga only. For, according to Vaiṣṇava conception, the descending order of Yuga in which the Dharma becomes more and more decayed, corresponds to an ascending order of manifestations through mightier and mightier Avatāras which balance the loss of Dharma. The manifestation at the end of Kaliyuga which will be a prelude to a new "golden age" (*satyayuga*) stands higher than all previous manifestations. According to the declaration of Mālikās, it will first of all bring about a final conquest of the authority of Vedas and the general abolition of caste system which are already heralded in the occult doctrine of Brahmajñāna.

As the real prophet of this doctrine, it will not be Kalki to appear, but it will be another manifestation of Nārāyaṇa who will appear, after the end of the Buddha Avatāra as a Saṃnyāsī or a Avadhūta, a wandering ascetic, who will wear a *kaupīna*. The description of the Saṃnyāsī sounds in part like the descriptions of Mahimā Gosvāmī and possibly are partly interpolated. The true nature of the Saṃnyāsī, i.e. his identity with Śūnya Anākāra, will first of all remain hidden. In the beginning of his appearance he will stay in the Himalayas, will practice Brahmajñāna at first on Kapilas under the guidance of Śiva, before roaming through the country and gather his bhaktas round himself.

The concept of a final revelation through a Saṃnyāsī who stands in a special relationship with Śūnyābrahma, more intensive than all earlier deliverers, must have been well known, for example, the Dharma sect assigns a *paṇḍita* for each Yuga who

heralds the doctrine corresponding to the respective age and is the master of one direction, colour etc. The Paṇḍit of the fifth Yuga following the Kaliyuga is called Gosāin and is part of the Śūnya.

The portrayal and advent of Mahimā Svāmī in the medieval esoteric tradition relates quite obviously to these patterns which are repeatedly referred to and quoted for authentication. Bhīma Bhoi refers directly to this tradition as he resumes the category of Mālikās and expounds, wholly in the style of these medieval texts. The present times, especially the battles against the Englishmen are seen as the apocalyptic proclamation of the last days, which will bring forth the presence of deliverers, like Kalki, but above all the true, real advent of Nārāyaṇa or of Ādi Jagannātha, whom the initiated know as Mahimā Svāmī. The Mālikās of Bhīma Bhoi are, just like those of Pañcasakhā, very popular in the villages even today and, with further interpolations to some extent, they conform to the twentieth century. To give an example, the independence of India is a sign for the end of Kaliyuga—the leaders of the independence movement appear as Pāṇḍavas reborn.

The earlier texts of the Mahimā Dharma sect, i.e. the works of Bhīma Bhoi and his followers (for example of his Brahmin "scribe" Vāsudeva Paṇḍā) go even beyond the medieval texts. They establish that the eschatological deliverer has already appeared and the occult doctrine of Brahmajñāna has become an institution. The criticism of the tradition which appeared in the medieval texts as esoteric interpretation that could be realised only in the inner being of each individual through personal devoutness and would only in future be manifest openly. What is expressed in medieval texts only as cautious modification or reinterpretation, becomes now an institution within the Mahimā Dharma sect. The initiated followers are not permitted to take part in the traditional rituals to worship idols or even to have a tulsi plant at home, a plant that is dedicated to Viṣṇu and is normally found in every household. The practical conclusions from the teachings about the uniform presence of God in every soul are drawn with the attempt to get over the caste barriers at least within the sect and with a partially fervent anti-Brahminic agitation. This is expressed in a paradoxical expansion of the traditional precepts, not to accept food from members of lower castes or from dirty occupations as washermen etc.: to the followers of Mahimā Dharma applies additionally and above all the interdict to accept food from Brahmins as representatives of traditional worship.

In spite of this new aggravated attitude towards the orthodox tradition, Bhīma Bhoi and his school remained within the tradition of Pañcasakhā. He uses the medium of re-interpretation and emphasises likewise the mysterious character of the new teachings to which first of all only a few bhaktas belong who, exactly as stated in the old texts, are especially presented and are identified as having taken birth again. He considers the coming of further deliverers or the return of Mahimā Svāmī possible who will bring forth the final victory of new Dharma. The conformity to the tradition of Pañcasakhā is also evident from the outstanding position the syllable Oṃ takes with Bhīma Bhoi. Exactly as laid down in medieval texts, its correct understanding is the watch-word that distinguishes the initiated.

Out of the works of Viśvanātha Bābā who has systematically portrayed the teachings of the sect in a scholarly way, emerges a completely different picture. Here, for instance, the use of the Ekākṣara Mantra is strictly rejected and the entire connection with the medieval Oriya tradition is played down as much as possible. Viśvanātha Bābā takes the credentials of Pañcasakhā and Bhīma Bhoi only to establish that in their works the advent of the eschatological deliverer is announced whose description corresponds with Mahimā Svāmī, who for him is a final manifestation of this entire Kalpa. But beyond this he refers to Sanskrit texts of the Vedānta school on the one hand (to Śaṅkara, if at all possible) and to the *Bhagavadgītā* or the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. And he prefers the Sanskrit text rather than their widely circulated Oriya translations. In this selection, an attempt--whether conscious or unconscious—is evident to dissociate the Mahimā Dharma teachings from the regional esoteric traditions and substantiate these from Sanskrit tradition. The attitude of Visvanatha Baba towards the tradition is thus fundamentally different from that of Bhīma Bhoi. Whereas the latter remained within the Pañcasakhā tradition, wrote in their style etc., for Viśvanātha Bābā the tradition only serves to prove the correctness of Mahimā Dharma teachings in which the whole tradition has found its fulfilment.

This attitude towards the tradition makes it possible for Viśvanātha Bābā to take simultaneously into consideration totally different elements for the justification of his teachings which, strictly speaking, seem to contradict each other. Once he tries to identify, as much as possible, the Mahimā doctrine with the Vedānta. For this purpose he stresses the difference between Mahimā and Śūnya Brahma. Śūnya Brahma alone is *nirguṇa*, Mahimā is *saguṇa*, i.e. united with the Śūnya Brahma so inseparably as the rays with the sun, but still dependent on it.

If this demarcation of Saguṇa Mahimā from Nirguṇa Śūnya Brahma really means an approach to the Vedānta, there still remains a decisive difference to which Kar has pointed out. The world and the individual soul are not illusory, but have, during the course of creation, a limited character of reality: the term *māyā* is used to mean illusion as well as "energy" with which Alekha Parama Brahma starts out of Himself the creation as a play.

The doctrine of creation does not correspond to the Vedānta, but rather to the doctrine of creation of the theistic Sāṅkhya in the special stamping as represented by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā* and other Vaiṣṇava texts, which proceed from equating Brahma or Nārāyaṇa with the one Supreme Puruṣa, who pervades all, brings about all experiences and has brought forth the creation out of Himself with the energy of His Māyā (*sakti māyā*)[22]: In these texts, the term Śūnyatā (*śūnyatā-rūpiṇi*) occurs to define the original form of Viṣṇu's energy.

The connection with the theistic Sāṅkhya which is not expressed by Viśvanātha Bābā, but is veiled, on the contrary, with an approximation to the Vedānta, also appears in the position Viśvanātha Bābā concedes to Mahimā Svāmī. It is out of the

[21] See *Nirguṇa Māhātmya*, chapter IV.

[22] See also: Surendranath Dasgupta: *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV, Cambridge 1966, p. 32 ff.

question, as one ought to expect according to the strong recourse to Śaṅkara, that Mahimā Svāmī was only a somehow "veiled", provisional form of the last reality which could be overcome by a perfect knowledge. He repeatedly stresses that Mahimā Svāmī is not anyone of the countless manifestations or partial Avatāras of Viṣṇu, but the *Īśvara Puruṣa* Himself in His real form (*svarūpa*). This Puruṣa is directly identical with Mahimā, stands above all other Īśvaras, i.e. creators of a universe, gods, Avatāras and founders of religion, all of whom, in contrast to Him the "Unborn" (*ayonisambhūta*), are bound up with Māyā.

As already stated, the tradition serves Viśvanātha Bābā to establish his position of Mahimā Svāmī. For this he does not make use of the means of esoteric reinterpretation and modification, like the older works, and does not speak of a replacement of old revelations. He rather acknowledges *śruti* and *smṛti* as fundamentally the highest authority (*pramāṇa*) which can be surpassed only by the *pramāṇa* of "Guru's command" (*guru-ājñā*). The highest *guru-ājñā* is naturally the one of Īśvara Puruṣa Himself from whom the Vedas and the Smṛti originate. This One must, therefore, not have considerations for the contents of scriptures—Viśvanātha Bābā stresses repeatedly that Mahimā Svāmī did not refer to the scriptures in his sermons at all—but the scriptures must, of course, endorse all declarations of Īśvara Puruṣa from whom they really originate.

This conception explains Viśvanātha Bābā's peculiar relation to the tradition which he takes into consideration only when it is suitable. In doing so, it must naturally come to re-interpretations, not in the sense of an esoteric spiritualisation, but a new interpretation of separate passages of text which have been taken out of their original context.

In the medieval Oriya texts, as well as in the great Vaiṣṇava Sanskrit texts, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the difference between Brahmajñāna and Nirguṇa Bhakti and the traditional custom of worship is clearly pronounced. But Viśvanātha Bābā simply ignores this difference; he attaches no importance at all to the traditional custom to substantiate it directly from the scriptures of the tradition itself, i.e. to refute the orthodox tradition in a sort of vicious circle with the tradition itself.

The Religious Customs

Norms of way of living

After the initiation, the believers have to submit to a strict way of living, the norms of which are composed of ethical and ritual commandments. The principal ethical commandments are: worship no idols, perform "*śaraṇa* and *darśana*" at the prescribed time everyday, don't kill, don't eat meat, don't lie, don't steal, don't commit adultery, follow the directions for sexual behaviour in marriage, exercise propriety, goodwill and kindness towards all creatures. Added to this, a series of drastic ritual commandments: accept no food from Brahmins, put on exclusively cotton clothes which are coloured with ochre in a strictly laid down process in which

cowdung must be used, take nothing after sunset, take bath every morning before prayers, use no chairs or elevated seats (the last applies only to Balkaladharīs). Since these commandments influence the way of living very drastically, and would not permit practice of many professions, there are different grades within the initiated laymen as well, whose members follow these rules very strictly or less rigorously.

To the monks the rules quoted above apply on an intensified scale and are further supplemented with the following norms:

Chastity, having no property, duty to preach, move about as much as possible and, as much as possible on foot (the *Parā-Saṃnyāsīs* are not permitted at all to spend more than one night at the same place or in the same building, only in exceptional cases they are permitted to move along by means other than going on foot), the forbiddance to visit one's own native place, to establish contact with one's own relatives, to speak about the earlier life, the original caste etc. Obedience applies only to the novices (*tyāgī bairāgī*) who follow one of the monks as Guru. The *Balkaladhārī* group demands, however, a certain subordination of the *Aparā* under the *Parā Saṃnyāsīs* or their common decisions.

In the case of the *Kaupīnadhārī* group, the rules for the way of living of the Saṃnyāsīs are less rigid, there are sometimes also married bābās who maintain a place of worship in their native village (see below). The highest norms for all Saṃnyāsīs are the three aims: to work for the welfare of *Gaddī*, for the welfare of the community and for the welfare of the entire world. This motivates a few to devote themselves to practical problems. To give an example, a Bābā is almost exclusively and quite successfully occupied with organising the setting up of schools in remote villages.

Initiation (*dīkṣā*)

The initiation (*dīkṣā*) of the laymen takes place through a Saṃnyāsī mostly on the occasion of one of the festivals. At dawn after the bath, the candidate gets the new dress and is exhorted to lead his new life according to the rules. After putting on the new dress he prostrates himself in front of the Saṃnyāsī who blesses him (*mānya*), (I could not ascertain whether an individual Mantra is given at that time). Then he takes part in the *śaraṇa* and *darśana* of the community for the first time. The initiation of the Saṃnyāsīs proceeds in the same way. However, it takes place in Joranda during the *Gurupūrṇimā* festival. On the eve of initiation, all Saṃnyāsīs assemble in a building of the *Gaddī* around a fire. The proposed novices prostrate themselves towards the east in front of the building and when all have assembled, they are called inside and are questioned separately by the oldest or the *Parā Saṃnyāsīs*: why they want to be initiated, whether they believe that they would be able to muster the necessary strength for a monk's life etc. They are accepted or rejected according to their answers, in connection with which mostly the Saṃnyāsīs, too, who took care of the *tyāgī*, gets a hearing. The congregation is wound up with the exhortation not to forget the three aims of the monk's life. During the night, the accepted candidates get their new dress from the Saṃnyāsīs who looked after them as novices.

With this dress they assemble, after the bath, around 4 in the morning on the eastern side of the *Gaddī Mandira* in the portion surrounded by a wall above the *Samādhi* of Mahimā Svāmī which one otherwise does not enter. Under the direction of one of the *Nīti Bābās* they get rid of their old loincloth, throw it high across the wall, raise the new dress towards the sky with the loud shout "*Alekha*" and then put it on. Thereafter they perform *Śaraṇa* and *Darśana* at all the four doors of the three temples and then move to the older *Parā Saṃnyāsīs* in order to get their blessings.

The initiation for *Parā Saṃnyāsīs* is said to be performed in the like manner; during my stay no such initiation took place. The institution of such initiations, accessible to all castes, is, without any doubt, both an "anti-Brahminic" element, and an approximation to Brahminic rites, found more often in the sect's rite. Constitutive for the status of a Brahmin is, indeed, not only the birth, but just so the rite of initiation—originally a privilege of the three higher castes—which every young Brahmin has to go through. A specially striking parallel is the *Kaupīna* and the twisted belt: the Nambūtiri Brahmin too gets this clothing at the initiation (Sanskrit: *upanayana*) and he ought to have it on during Brahmacarya up to marriage.[23]

Śaraṇa and Darśana

The main ritual of the sect is a complicated rite of prayer which is obligatory on all followers, monks, as well as laymen. *Śaraṇa* (literally "shelter") and *darśana* ("view") mark its aim to take refuge in Mahimā Prabhu according to the concept of Bhakti in order to get his "view", i.e. to attain the consciousness of the union of one's own self with Mahimā. *Śaraṇa* and *darśana* must be performed in the morning before sun-rise by turning towards the east and in the evening immediately before sunset by turning towards the west. In the *Gaddī Mandira* of Joranda these are carried out additionally for the third time at noon. Outwardly, the rite consists of the seven time repetition of a minutely prescribed complicated sequence of prostrations, which are depicted with the Sanskrit terms *sāṣṭāṅga* (eight parts of the being) *praṇāma* (prostration). Between each *praṇāma* the person praying stands again erect with raised hands and calls loudly (see fig. 74). Thereafter, the believers worship the Saṃnyāsīs by prostrating themselves and then they worship each other.

Viśvanātha Bābā adds to this rituals two more kinds of *śaraṇa*: with the voice (*vācika*) and with the mind or the organ of perception (*manasika*). *Vācika śaraṇa* consists of shouts as for example "*Arūpa Svāmī*", "*Alekha*", "*Mahimā Svāmī*" which the person praying says loudly and it consists of prayers which he is said to recite, mostly short stanzas from the *bhajanas* (devotional songs) by Bhīma Bhoi, Viśvanātha Bābā and others. They contain supplications to Mahimā Prabhu who is the believer's father, mother and friend, to rescue him from the friends of nescience (*avidyā*), to protect the believers, as well as the whole world (*jagat*).

[23] E. Thurston: "*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*", Vol. I., Madras 1909, p. 274 ff.

Mānasika Śaraṇa consists in meditating on the so called *ajapā* or *Kumbhaka Mantra* which consists of the Sanskrit word "*hamsa*". This Mantra is of great importance in Vaiṣṇava Sanskrit texts, as well as in the works of Pañcasakhā. The word Haṃsa literally means swan; it can, however, also signify the Highest Being, the gods Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Śiva and the Sungod. It owes its use as Mantra to the fact that it can also be modified as "*aha saḥm*" ("I am He").

The special connection between the prayer rite and the sun probably traces back to an original identification of *śūnya* and sun as it is found, for instance, in the sect of Dharma. There Dharma is identified with the sun: Śūnya is the "emptiness" in the first place and this means the "space" (*ākāśa*). The sun, moving in the space, is, therefore, identical with Dharma that dwells in Śūnya. Secondly, Śūnya has the form of nothing, i.e. it can only be portrayed with the round zero. The circle is also the image of the sun. The familiar identification of the god Dharma with the sun thus goes at first beyond the identification of this god Śūnya on the one hand and of Śūnya with the sun on the other. The Sungod identified with Dharma is again called Gosāīñ or Gosvāmī which further makes an influence of these conceptions on the Mahimā Dharma practice probable.[24]

A further basis for the connection between Śūnya and sun is found in the text of Pañcasakhā where the "radiance" (*jyoti*) of Śūnya Brahma is talked of repeatedly out of which the sun has received a portion at the time of creation in order to rule over the earth.

The connection with the worship of Śūnya and sun is thoroughly substantiated, it is also found thoroughly discussed in the older texts of the sect in which there is mention of the duty towards *Śūnya Darśana*. It is, however, significant that Viśvanātha Bābā rejects such a connection with all firmness, and does not accept the link between the radiance of *Alekha Parama Brahma* and that of the sun which can be easily established. Significantly for his interpretation which somewhat dissociates itself from the connection with the regional traditions, he explains, prostration towards the east and the west has been prescribed by Mahimā Gosvāmī, but it has no significance, since Parama Brahma is omnipresent.

Festivals

Pūrṇimā

The typical festival of the sect is Pūrṇimā celebration, which takes place on every full moon day. Corresponding to the character of the entire sect it has, except when *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī* is additionally celebrated (see below), no centre of its cult. It is rather a meeting of the followers, who come together from a bigger circle, take the evening meal together (which is mostly donated by a rich member of the community), perform *śaraṇa* and *darśana* thereafter and then remain together during the night. There sermons are preached, religious debates are held and also *bhājanas* are sung, for which the accompaniment by only two instruments—cymbal

[24] S.B. Dasgupta, *op. cit.* (1969), p. 291f.

and tamburin—is permissible. All other instruments, even the conchshell are forbidden, probably because they are too closely connected with the Hindu cult.

In the festivals of the *Kaupīna* group, fire (*dhūnī*) is of great importance. The worship of fire as the manifestation of the Highest Being has also apparently been pushed in the background under Visvanatha Baba. Bhīma Bhoi calls Mahimā Gosvāmī also Dhūniā Gosvāmī whom one can realize in fire. The worshipping of the fire connects Mahimā Dharma directly with the folk-worshipping of earth goddesses who manifest themselves to some extent in fire too [e g. Hiṅgulā, see above Eschmann, chapter 4].

Bālyalīlā

Bālyalīlā can be linked—but it is not a must—to the Pūrṇimā celebration. It can be performed at any time at will. *Bālyalīlā* (literally "children's play") is a rite originally introduced, no doubt, by Chaitanya. It consists of the distribution of sweets to children. At the *Gaddī Mandira* in Joranda it takes place every evening at which, however, only pieces of coconut are distributed which a Bābā hands out, while another prevents the children with a stick from queueing up more than once. The centre of a separate Bālyalīlā is the preparation of huge quantities of a special sweet dish, prepared from cocónuts, bananas, curd, ghee, sugar, pepper and a little cowdung. This is done at dawn by laymen of the sect who observe special rules of cleanliness. The ingredients are always donated by a layman of the sect, who desires something or whose desire has already been fulfilled (children, health etc.).

Inauguration of new buildings

Another festival that is celebrated only occasionally is the inauguration of a new Āśrama or *Tuṅgī* (see below). The new building and its vicinity are smeared with cowdung and then it is inaugurated. A Saṃnyāsī lights fire in the inner portion and the community keeps singing as it takes seven rounds of this fire. In other respects, the festival proceeds just like a normal Pūrṇimā or Bālyalīlā festival.

Gurupūrṇimā

The principal festival is the celebration of *Gurupūrṇimā* on the full moon day of the month of *Phālguna* which is considered as the founder's "death anniversary". This festival is celebrated in all the large centres of the sect and in Joranda it lasts for four days. Here it has the character of a regular *Melā*, with annual fair activity, own advertisements (e.g. "*Mahimā Bīḍī*"), theatre and circus presentations of the most rural nature. It attracts a few thousand pilgrims and many curious spectators. The pilgrims from closer neighbourhood often come separately, those from far off places remain under the guidance of a Saṃnyāsī who, with an apparent reference to the paṇḍās in Puri, lives with this group in the pilgrims' lodgings and looks after them. Gurupūrṇimā is also the annual gathering of the wandering Saṃnyāsīs at which decisions of general nature, for example possible expansion

of temple building etc., are taken and management jobs are assigned afresh. The general climax is the Pūrṇimā (full moon) night which the followers spend in small singing groups in the temple courtyards. Besides this, a few also start dancing sometimes, but are, especially the women, again and again stopped by older Saṃnyāsīs. For Gurupūrṇimā, the temples in Joranda are specially decorated: the enclosure above the Samādhi of Mahimā Svāmī is mounted with standards and banners, which are used only on this day. Besides this, huge lamps are placed in front of the *Śūnya* and *Dhūnī Mandira* and at all the four doors of the *Gaddī Mandira*. These are constantly fed with ghee by means of stands and ladders and illuminate the temples. Donations for the ghee offering on this day are collected throughout the year. In the night before Pūrṇimā the initiation of Saṃnyāsīs takes place, during the day itself the Saṃnyāsīs make confessions; on the last day after the actual Pūrṇimā day the constitutive ritual of the sect, the community meal takes place which is otherwise also celebrated more often. In this only a relatively small circle of followers takes part—those who are already initiated for some years and have made confession earlier.

Confession

The confession takes place in the courtyard of one of the āśramas. It begins with a short speech of the Saṃnyāsī who sends all non participants out. Then each and every one comes forward and they are questioned about their lapses and whether they have already taken part in a *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī* earlier. A few answer immediately that they had not committed any lapses and thereupon they are dismissed immediately. Thus no basic sin-consciousness is expressed here, but only the desire to purify oneself from the lapses committed. On this occasion, ethical lapses like killing, lying, stealing, adultery etc. seem to weigh as heavily as ritual lapses, as for instance not to preform prayers at the correct time or to take something during night time etc. The Bābā admonishes each and everyone and makes sure of their intention, not to commit any mistakes in future. Then he decrees penitences according to the severity of the act and, apparently, also according to the financial position of the individual: manifold performing of *śaraṇa* and *darśana*, taking of *pavitra* (a mixture, which mainly consists of the urine of a female calf and has a purifying effect) and cash donations, mostly between 1 and 21 rupees. In some cases, for instance in the case of repeated killing of animals, an expulsion from the community was threatened.

Although ethical and ritual lapses are reproached equally, a pastoral effort is still clearly discernible which ascertains the severity of a ritual lapse according to the intention behind committing it. Thus for instance, someone, who had missed the evening prayer due to a journey by train, but had tried to compensate it on the next day itself, was reproached far less than someone who had not undertaken anything like that. Noteworthy is the tendency to a uniform social ethics binding to all, which excludes certain morally questionable professions: a moneylender who confessed that he has to tell lies often and has to act firmly against his debtors, was, with appropriate penitence, admitted for this time to the *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī*, but in principle he was given the option between his profession and the sect's membership.

This would be a new element in Hinduism, which initially does not have any social ethics binding on all, but prescribes different Dharmas for each individual caste. For the layman, confession and admission to *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī* means a sort of second initiation which makes it obligatory on them to observe all rules quite strictly.

The saṃnyāsīs, too, have to make a confession before they are permitted to take part in Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī. In their case, all lapses are atoned for much more severely. The penitences consist, as in the case of laymen, of the obligation to perform *śaraṇa* and *darśana* more often and to take *pavitra*. Besides this, there is also the possibility to impose fines on them, for which they have to ask their followers and in doing so have to give an account of their lapses. There is also the possibility of a temporary or a complete expulsion from the community.

During the last Gurupūrṇimā festival an *Aparā Samnyāsī* was expelled for ever on account of the violation of the commandment of chastity, a *Parā Samnyāsī* was expelled for three years because he had visited his birth-place and had spent more than one night in a *Tuṅgī*. Significant for the high value attached to the personal behaviour is the fact that an *Aparā Saṃnyāsī* was expelled for one year because he had beaten a child.

Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī

Shortly before the next midday, *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī* takes place: a common meal for all laymen and monks who have been accepted in the order. Food is cooked by the laymen in the open at an especially demarcated place and is also taken there. The participants sit in long rows facing each other; women form a separate row. The meal, as well as each meal of the Bābās, starts with all participants putting a morsel in the mouth and concludes with the shouting of "*alekha*" and the common expression of joy.

As already mentioned, eating together by members of different castes depicts a feature of medieval Nirguṇa Bhakti and forms a special characteristic of the Jagannātha temple. There *prasāda* (literally: "grace"), i.e. food offered to the gods, is eaten by all the pilgrims together irrespective of the castes they belong to. However, the rite of eating together lost a lot of its original practical significance, after an entirely free access to the temple was again confined to the higher castes in the 16th century. The reason why *prasāda* can be taken by all human beings lies in the nature of this food itself which justifies an exceptional situation. Having been offered to the gods, it is so pure that nothing can pollute it at all. Even if a dog has eaten from it, it does not lose anything of its divine value. Such exceptions are mentioned by the Pañcasakhā, too. To give an example, *Nirguṇa Māhātmya* narrates that the Saṃnyāsī Avadhūta had, even though he himself was a Brahmin of divine parentage, eaten in the house of all castes, since he had become equal to Viṣṇu through his Brahmajñāna and thus he could not be polluted any longer.

The ritual of *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī* that can be practised everywhere and at any time is the attempt to make this exception a rule for all true believers: the reason,

however, is not due to the purity of food, as in the case of *prasāda*. Of course, this motive is there in the reports on the foremost celebrations of *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī* it is stated that the food of which Mahimā Svāmī had partaken was entirely pure. The actual reason, in continuation of the thoughts from *Nirguṇa Māhātmya*, however, is due to the nature of bhaktas, all of whom stand in the same relationship to Parama Brahma after the purification of their lapses.

Nīti

The only form of temple cult recognized by the Mahimā Dharma takes place in the Gaddī Mandira, the seat of the founder.

In the interior of the Gaddī Mandira, only the so called *Nīti Bābās*, eighteen selected Parā-Saṃnyāsīs, are a allowed to enter. They perform here *nīti* in the morning, at noon and in the evening, i.e. they open the temple doors, sweep the temple and then go round carrying a *cāmara* and striking gongs. This is an obvious adaptation of the worship of Jagannātha which is likewise termed as *nīti* (literally: "conduct" or "morality") [see Tripathi chapter 15]. In the worship of Jagannātha, sweeping plays a decisive role: for example on the Car Festival the king himself has to sweep in front of the figures of gods (see below Kulke chapter 11 and Dash chapter 12). The *cāmaras* are royal requisites which are likewise among the temple property of Jagannātha. In the same way, the striking of gongs marks important movements in Jagannātha-worship, for instance, throughout the period the chariots are moving, a lane of gong striking Brahmins is formed in front of the idols of gods.

Birth, marriage, death

The rites in this sphere are not very distinct. For birth and the newly born the "normal" Hindu custom is negligibly modified. For marriage, there is a special ritual with account on simplicity—*Brahma Vivāhana*—during which the hands of bride and bridegroom are put together. Unlike the common custom of cremating, the dead are mostly buried.

It is striking that the last one takes place relatively often, the Mahimā marriage ceremony, however, takes place only seldom. It is on one hand due to the fact that mostly individuals and not so often entire families are converted and the sect has an overwhelming majority in a few villages only. On the other hand, marriage, with its economical implications, is a decisive, constitutive element of the Indian society and it is certain that a possible change in this society will affect this element slowly.

Places of Cult and Prayers

Since Mahimā Dharma rejects idol worship of traditional Hinduism, this sect recognizes no proper temple and just as little any proper worship. Seen from outside,

principal shrines are, of course, in accordance with the Orissa pattern of Hindu temples, yet they have no sculpture of any sort. Most places of worship only occasionally contain a fire, none of them however, have any idol or other symbols.

Bhajanālaya, Caupāḍhī, Āśrama, Maṭha

In some isolated villages a *bhajanālaya*, a simple fire-place, is mostly built to begin with, which is provided with a leafy canopy on Pūrṇimā days or other occasions and becomes the meeting place of believers. The next stage is the building of a caupāḍhī or āśrama or maṭha. *Caupāḍhī* denotes a simple hall, a thatched roof on four posts. But it is also called the "village school" or a Sanskrit school in which teaching is imparted free of cost. The taking up of just this idea is characteristic of the sect's tendency. The word *āśrama* has probably been introduced by Viśvanātha Bābā and denotes a fixed dwelling. Āśrama and caupāḍhī are meeting places for the followers and serve as lodging for the monks passing along that way. The āśramas are mostly inhabited by Aparā Saṃnyāsīs who are not bound by the obligation of wandering constantly. Unlike the traditional āśramas, the āśramas of the Balkaladhārī group do not possess land of any sort and depend on Joranda for their financial needs. The construction of such buildings always takes place out of earmarked donations made by the local communities, whereas the maṭhas of the Kaupīna group frequently possess land and are often set up on the individual initiative of a Bābā who attaches a place of worship to its estate.

Tuṅgī

Caupāḍhīs or *āśramas*, are often complemented by a *tuṅgī*, a separate fenced building in which only monks are allowed to enter. Mostly it contains nothing and serves as a store for unused palm umbrellas and Balkalas or Kaupīnas of the monks. The main function of these buildings appears to be a sphere of special purity.

Perhaps this is just an adaptation or reaction to a particularly wide-spread rural institution in the last century, i.e. a special house for the preservation of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. These houses or huts were also called *tuṅgīs* and members of lower castes were not permitted to enter them, a fact which played a considerable role in the biography of Bhīma Bhoi.

Joranda

The central shrine of all denominations is Joranda, a small village in the north-west of Dhenkanal, the so-called Mahimā Gaddī. "*Gaddī*" literally means "throne" or "mountain", as well as the seat of god, a king or a great personality and also his *Samādhi* or the seat.

There is a Gaddī of this purport for some of the Pañcasakhā, too, e g.: in Nembala. The principal temple in Joranda is accordingly the *Gaddī Mandira* which

has nothing other than a small platform. Besides this there is also a *Dhūnī Mandira* in Joranda which has a constantly burning fire, the ash of which is preserved and has healing effects. And there is a *Śūnya Mandira*—naturally completely empty—which is situated somewhat away and is visited infrequently.

In front of the entrance of the Gaddī Mandira there is a fenced place with a small Śūnya Mandira and a shrine for Dhūnī. This place serves the Kaupīnadhārī group exclusively, that celebrates Pūrṇimā here. Besides these three temples, Mahimā Gaddī consists of several "monastery enclosures" each of which contains different *tuṅgis, āśramas* and *Caupāḍhīs.* The Balakaladhārī group maintains the two largest enclosures. The chief utility of one of these is to enable the Parā Saṃnyāsīs to stay in Joranda for a longer period. By spending every alternate night there, they do not violate the commandment of constant travelling. The second complex—probably the oldest—is very large and has a Siṃhadvāra ("lion gate"), "like at the Jagannātha Temple". It includes lodgings for pilgrims, a school in which novices and younger monks can learn Sanskrit, libraries, a sort of archive and—also a conscious approximation to Puri—a store room in which banners, standards and lamps are stored that are used in the Guru Pūrṇimā celebrations. The Kaupīnas possess in Joranda in the heart of the village a relatively small complex. In the middle stands a large Caupāḍhī which distinguishes itself by the presence of tables and chairs, the use of which is permissible to the group.

Khalliapala

Near Joranda, in Khalliapala, is the Gaddī of Bhīma Bhoi for the Kaupīnadhārī group, an additional centre. The temple is not surrounded by a wall, it stands freely accessible surrounded only by several smaller shrines for the wives and children of Bhīma Bhoi. Temple and shrines have only empty niches. A farm building is directly attached to the temple in which the Bābā responsible for the shrine lives. By the side of the temple lives Śrīya Mā, Bhīma Bhoi's adopted daughter, a woman scintillating with temperament, who looked after the temple until a few years back and does not refrain from criticizing the present management. Unlike Joranda, there is "no activity" here besides the festivals.

Baunsudi

Besides these two centres, there is also a complete range of local centres which I often discovered only by accident. Besides and between both the denominations they have a special existence and are often more important than Khalliapala or Joranda for the closer surroundings. As an example I should like to mention the temple complex of Baunsudi (near Keonjhar). Besides Kiching, it is the only bigger temple in an area covering a wide countryside a region, which can be termed as wild and is almost exclusively inhabited by tribes.

The enclosure, a Śūnya Mandira, a Dhūnī Mandira and a small Gaddī

Mandira rises impressively on a rock. This rock is said to have been a "holy place' from time immemorial to which people came, especially to implore for rain. As narrated by the residents of the village, numerous followers used to go earlier to Joranda on a pilgrimage until the people (about 1900) built their own Śūnya Mandira at which a Saṃnyāsī from the next village, a Khond by parentage, had settled. After his death (about 1940), a Gaddī Mandira was built for him.

Thus a perfect pendant of Joranda has been formed here, with all the three temples making the visit to Mahimā Gaddī superfluous. The present managers of the temple, father and son, have only a loose connection with the organisation of Kaupīnadhārī and no one from the surroundings visits the Mahimā Gaddī any longer. All festivals are celebrated under their own management and donations for ghee too (between 2 and 5 Rs.) do not go to Joranda, but are used on the spot. At this shrine and its surroundings the affinity of the idolless Mahimā Dharma religion, especially in the original Kaupīnadhārī stamping, to the religiosity of the tribals and the folk religions becomes evident [see above Eschmann chapter 4]. Their gods are not worshipped in iconographically determined idols or images as in Hinduism, but are formless and their presence is often less tied down to the presence of a definite symbol, tree, stone, pillar, fire, than to a definite place. The renunciation of idols which at first appears to be shocking within Hindu surroundings is, therefore, no renunciation for those groups that constitute a majority of the Mahimā Dharma followers, but conforms, on the contrary, to their custom.

Present Dialogue Between Mahima Dharma and the Orthodoxy

Synopsis: *Attitude towards the tradition*

Mahimā Dharma accepts regional traditions and those esoteric traditions partly connected with the Jagannātha cult which the sect generalizes and institutionalises. Therewith the conflict with the orthodox tradition which, to some extent, is covered by esoteric teachings and reinterpretation, is intensified in practice, but not in theory. The Mahimā Dharma teachings are understood as secret, real and true interpretation of Śruti and Smṛti; stress is laid on the relationship with the Pañcasakhā which in the meantime have themselves become a constituent of the tradition. Only with Viśvanātha Bābā the theoretical relationship with the tradition changes: the connection with the regional esoteric tradition is abandoned in favour of an approach to the Sanskrit tradition which is used as "scriptural proof" for the legitimacy of the Mahimā Dharma teachings. The direct initial success of the sect certainly traces back, at least, partly to the strong and new influence of Hinduism and especially the Jagannātha cult in the former Feudatory States during the late 19th century, which exerted strong pressure on the rural and tribal population. Mahimā Dharma appeared and also regards itself as a counter and alternative movement to Jagannātha worship which is open to all castes, as was also the case with the Jagannātha cult initially. Nevertheless, the Mahimā Dharma remained important after independence

as well, when the Jagannātha cult was losing its strong position in the hinterland, and even has been spreading further. The sect evidently acts as a third force between caste Hindus on the one hand and folk religion on the other and is also for the lower, especially the landless labourers, attractive. This constant success in the villages distinguishes Mahimā Dharma among other things from neo-Hindu movements whose modernistic reinterpretations of the traditions rarely penetrated in the countryside beyond the sphere of the middle classes. Apart from this success the Mahimā Dharma has also succeeded, chiefly owing to the work of Viśvanātha Bābā in the last thirty years, in gaining a new circle of followers from the educated middle and upper classes, that see a new access to their own tradition in this reformatory, and yet in no way western but tradition-bound movement.

Present dialogue with the traditional orthodoxy

Mahimā Dharma is an example of the fact that revival and reform within Hinduism can also come at the present time from within, so to say, out of the tradition itself. The question only remains how the dialogue between Mahimā Dharma and representatives of the orthodox tradition takes shape today, practically and theoretically. Theoretical dialogue between Mahimā Dharma and representatives of the orthodox tradition has lost nothing in sharpness. It takes place mainly in religious debates on the occasion of Pūrṇimā celebrations which always find a large audience because of its preference for rhetoric, especially prevalent in Orissa. On this occasion, the Saṃnyāsīs attack especially the Brahmins and portray them as cheats and exploiters who pay homage to false gods, with whom one had as well nothing to do at all and from whose repression one should ultimately liberate oneself. To this the orthodox side hits back mostly with a slander of Mahimā Dharmins, "dirty fellows" who do not know Śruti and Smṛti at all, do not even know Sanskrit correctly etc. This form of "dialogue" takes place on a higher level, too. For instance, two lectures delivered on the auspices of the Congress on Mahimā Dharma held in the spring of 1971, actually contained mere speeches of this type.

Practical dialogue between the sect, which breaks through the caste order with the institution of common meal, and the traditional social order of the world around needs another complementary sociological study. So far as I could ascertain up to now it can find the following different solutions :

(a) A complete, economic and social boycott by the traditional system. This takes place primarily in the villages where the Mahimā Dharma followers represent a small minority. I have come across one example only : in Sahapada (Baudh) six families of *Kaibarta* (fisherman) caste gave up their membership of the sect, because they could not bear isolation within their own caste. The journal *Adibasi* also reports of a similar case of conflict in which the residents of the village prohibited their children from taking part in *Balyalīlā* that was organised by an initiated Brahmin[25].

[25] *Adibasi, op. cit.* p. 59.

(b) The breaking of caste barriers has a limited significance only, since the local community consists of the members of one and the same caste and within this one it forms a new caste. Thus the community in Korduala (Sambalpur), to give an example, consists of Harijans exclusively. The shrine containing the Balkala of a locally important Bābā stands in the Harijan sector, but another shrine outside this sector directly at the entrance of the village is planned, of which a large tower is standing already—a sort of symbol of this entire village. The community is remarkably large here and forms its own group within the Harijans who perform the rites of individual life, even marriage in particular cases, according to the directions of the sect. The theoretical possibility of inter-communion with other castes, effectively put into practice on the occasion of pilgrimages to Joranda, elevates this group out of its surroundings, at least in its own eyes.

(c) The caste-barriers are broken through ritually, but are not abolished on principle. This was noticed by me most frequently. In Dadapali (Redhakol) for instance, where members of different castes, e.g. *Chasa*, (farm labourers) *Ghoura*, *Khonda*, *Taṅgola* ('tribals') and *Dhoba* (washerman), belong to the Mahimā Dharma community, a common *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī* is celebrated once a year. Apart from this, these people accept no food from each other and marry only within their own caste. Therewith the institution of *Satsaṅga Goṣṭhī* has again the function of a ritual only, an exceptional position, like the one occupied by the meal taken together in the Jagannātha temple.

(d) The members of Mahimā Dharma form a new castc, the members of which come from various castes and which remains "open". This seems to have been the case sometimes in the nineteenth century: However, it takes place today, so far as I can judge it upto now, only very seldom, and rudimentarily, so to say, e.g. in Baunsudi where a marriage ceremony was carried out several times.

Besides the first case of boycott, the followers of the sect are again assimilated in spite of their initial separation from the traditional system of Hinduism, manifest outwardly too in their clothes. Either they continue to remain the members of their caste too, or are placed again in the entire system that they do not abolish, but loosen it indeed and question it with their presence. Here the dynamism of Hindu tradition which rejects heterodox movements as well as absorbs them in a far stronger measure, is evident. Mahimā Dharma pursues the function of heterodox movements in Hinduism. The task of this function appears to be to protect the tradition from torpidity, to act as a corrective to the tradition by adding to it new elements as well. In the case of Mahimā Dharma, to give an example, the development of a personal social ethics and old elements which were forgotten, e g. Vaiṣṇava doctrine of equal relationship of all human beings with God.

Dialogue with the representatives of the neo-orthodoxy

However, Mahimā Dharma stands in a changed position vis-a-vis earlier heterodox movements, for besides the traditional orthodoxy it faces yet another front: the modern enlightened neo-Hindu tradition of Ram Mohan Roy, Vivekananda, Radhakrishnan, Aurobindo etc. This course is in the process of becoming a neo-orthodoxy. Its interpretation of Hinduism will assume an increasingly dogmatic character, e.g. being called upon as an authoritative interpretation in the administration of justice.[26] This aspect conducts itself very positively towards Mahimā Dharma. One notices relationship between Mahimā Dharma and neo-Hindu reform movements also beyond the circles of direct sympathetisers. The tendency existing since Ram Mohan Roy, to prove that idol worshipping was no original Hindu characteristic at all, seems to prove true with Mahimā Dharma; one is proud that not only Bengal, but also Orissa has brought forth its reform movements. With this viewpoint Kar describes Mahimā Dharma as a real synthesis between traditional orthodoxy and the Christian-inspired neo-Hindu reform attempts, as for instance the Arya-Samaj: "He (Mahimā Gosvāmī) equally tries to bring reformation by dismissing the idol worship and showing thereby that the Hindu can well appreciate the formless God. In spite of these reformative trends, the Mahimaites keep themselves in close contact with certain old Vedic ideas. . . . ."[27]

From this aspect the Mahimā Dharma movement has also undergone a nationalistic interpretation. Thus a pamphlet appeared in 1970 exalts Bhīma Bhoi as the direct precursor of Gandhi and prophets of Indian independence which has materialized the overcoming of caste system proclaimed by Bhīma Bhoi, which conforms to the true Vedic (!) principles of the Hindu Sanātana Dharma. The pamphlet culminates in the request to all who are at the top of Indian society, to heed the prophecy of Bhīma Bhoi to unite all Indians under the banner of one Sanātana Dharma.[28] Significant is the strong anti-west bias of the pamphlet. A casteless society—there is no mention at all of the other teachings, percepts and institutions of the sect—must again become the principal constituent of Hindu Dharma in order to confront the effect of Christian missionaries, who otherwise tempt the "fallen ones" (i.e. "outcasts") for conversion. A reflection on the true Hindu principles, as enunciated by Bhīma Bhoi and Gandhi. Furthermore is a pressing necessity in order to eliminate the harmful influence of western thought on Indian society, for instance the conception of the emancipation of woman.

Besides these positive interpretations which relate less to the actual practice of the sect, but on the contrary to its rejection of idolatory and the caste system, the sect also suffers—and this appears surprising in the first place—a sharp rejection

[26] See also J. Duncan M. Derrett: Hindu: A Definition Wanted for the Purpose of Applying a Personal Law ! In: "*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*", Vol. 70, 1968, pp. 110-128.

[27] B. Kar, op. cit., p. 65.

[28] Sudarsana Baba: *Mahatma Bhima Bhoi*, Cuttack 1970, p. 12.

just from the neo-Hindu enlightened quarters. The article in *Adibasi* mentioned more than once is a good example of this. Indeed, it assesses certain features of the sect positively, especially the conception of a casteless society, but rejects it on the whole, not only as means for the incorporation of the tribes in the Indian society, but altogether :

> "It (Mahimā Dharma) gives stress on bringing out a drastic change in religious belief only. But idealism cannot be accepted by illiterate people unless some material benefits are added to it . . . . The Indian constitution provides freedom of religion irrespective of class, caste and society. Untouchability is abolished. Spread of education, attempt for upliftment of economic condition etc. can solve their (i.e. of the tribals) problems".[29]

Thus, as compared to the work on Bhīma Bhoi quoted earlier, exactly an opposite stand is taken here. Mahimā Dharma does not appear as forerunner of the new Indian society, but, on the contrary, as a backward element in it. Logically, the article in *Adibasi* concludes with an appeal to the Saṃnyāsīs to convert themselves to modern life :

> "The Sannayāsīs of this sect should therefore reorient their way of life and follow the principles only in consequence with the sweeping changes which development programmes have brought to the life of the people."[30]

This is, to put it mildly, a far too optimistic portrayal of what the development programmes have accomplished in the interior of Orissa. The article itself admits at another place that the normal abolition of untouchability has in no way been carried out so far and that Mahimā Dharma has by all means its importance as the "third dimension" for the future, too. In addition to this, the article quite consciously undervalues the character of the sect, which wants to be primarily a religious movement. This, i.e. the fact that it promises no more or less doubtful "social upliftment" first of all but the deliverance of the individual and gives practical guidance for it, is a constitutive component of its success.

The comment of this article reflects, even if in a conscious, secularised form, two tendencies of Neo-Hinduism: inclination for intolerance towards its own people and ignoring the actual religious practice. As already mentioned, most of the so-called neo-Hindu interpretations grew out of the necessity to surmount the estrangement from their own tradition—just the educated Indians got into this estrangement with the introduction of a purely British educational system, for instance Aurobindo and Gandhi in the beginning got to know the *Bhagavadgītā* only in its English translation—and to find an up-to-date interpretation of Hinduism. In doing so, there were conflicts with different theories of Hinduism—in the earlier movements, however, as for instance in Brahma Samaj, the practice was simply condemned as idolatory, and later deliberately overlooked in most cases.

[29] *Adibasi, op. cit.*, p. 63.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

The works of Radhakrishnan, Vivekananda etc. express themselves so tolerant that one spoke of an "inclusivism". They consider all world religions as manifestations of truths revealed at the optimum in Hinduism and allot them accordingly their place within a linearly progressive history of religions. By the dogmatising of these interpretations, however, the enormous liberalisation towards foreign religions means at the same time a new narrowness and limitation for the Hinduism itself.

All that does not harmonize with this interpretation, can no longer be considered as real and true Hinduism. On these lines K.M. Das of Bhajayanagar College judges Mahimā Dharma from the conception of a linear and rational development of religions and humanity :

> "The days of antagonism between Religion and Philosophy are over and in an age of reason nothing is lost if we put a religion to rational investigation in which process to quote Vivekananda 'all that is dogma will be taken off, and the essential part of the religion will emerge triumphantly out of the investigation.' Mahimā Svāmī attempted to cleanse this dross from Hinduism, but in the absence of a strong rational foundation, the brush became so coarse, that it destroyed so many finer aspects of this great religion."

Significantly, the author barely enters into the rites which Mahimā Svāmī has abolished, but, on the contrary, reproaches him that he has introduced some, "which, though satisfying the requirements of a popular religion, is to my humble mind, a step in retrograde, which is prone to arrest much of the catholicity, broadmindedness and an incessant quest for Truth, which as De Mal observes, has characterised Hinduism for the last five thousand years of its progress."[31]

I have quoted this point of view somewhat in detail, because it is symptomatic of the attitude of the new orthodoxy towards a movement like Mahimā Dharma. Here an entirely new understanding of religion imported from the west is evident : Practice and teachings deviating from the orthodoxy were for the traditional Hinduism, and are even today, as the example of Mahimā Dharma shows, no cause for expulsion fιom Hinduism. On the contrary, these become elements for its enrichment. Only the recognition of a definite interpretation as authoritative sets a limit to this typical process of constant assimilation and rejection of foreign or new elements. General religious-philosophical interpretations can be assimilated in part, concrete new institutions or the actual practice of religions and with that also that of the Hinduism itself in part have no place any more in this interpretation.

Finally, it can be stated : the present dialogue between Mahimā Dharma and the representatives of the orthodox tradition shows that an autochtonous reform movement of this type continues to work today on the one hand as well as earlier heterodox movements as corrective to the orthodox tradition, and is simultaneously rejected and assimilated by it. But today Mahimā Dharma is placed in a new situation

[31] K.M. Das: "Mahima Dharma—The Mission and Fulfilment", Published in: D. Panda (ed.), see f.n. 13.

vis-a-vis the neo-Hindu or enlightened orthodoxy becoming more and more powerful: this course, is no longer capable like the Hindu tradition of old stamping, of absorbing the practice of new movements and can accept their theoretical import only if it corresponds to its own interpretation.

CHAPTER XXI

THE ŚANKARĀCĀRYA OF PURI

Jürgen Lütt

INTRODUCTION

Though the Jagannātha temple in Puri attracts pilgrims from all over India and thus may be called a religious centre of all-Indian importance, it still is indissolubly bound up with the culture and history of Orissa,—Jagannātha cult and Oriya cultur are almost identical. The all-Indian importance of the Jagannātha cult is derived from its firm rootedness in the soil of Orissa. Not so with the institution of the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri. The Śaṅkarācārya of Puri derives his importance from the all-Indian institution of the Śaṅkarācāryas. Beside him there are at least three other Śaṅkarācāryas in the whole of India: in Jośīmaṭha in Garhwal near Badrinath, in Dwarka on the coast of Kathiawar, and in Sringeri in Karnataka on the Western Ghats above Udipi. The old philosopher Śaṅkarā is reported to have installed his four favourite disciples at these four places. They happen to be situated at the four extreme corners of the Indian sub-continent: Puri is the seat for the east, Dwarka for the west and Jośīmaṭha for the north. Sringeri is an exception, it does not lie at the extreme southern point of the Indian peninsula, but hundreds of miles north-west of it. I take this exceptional situation as a sign of its originality. Sringeri must have been the first Śaṅkarācārya maṭha, the origin of the institution which is supported by the tradition of Śaṅkara's life. The other three places have obviously been chosen according to a plan, a pattern. This is not the place to discuss the claims of a fifth Śaṅkarācārya in Kanchipuram near Madras.[1]

Thus, without the other Śaṅkarācāryas of India, there would be no Śaṅkarācārya of Puri. We shall try to show in this article, what importance the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri has had and still has in Orissa. But it may be said already at the outset that

[1] In a forthcoming article for *South Asia* (Australia) I discuss the role and importance of the institution of the Śaṅkarācāryas in Indian history and especially in modern times. Within the framework of the Orissa Project Report I concentrate on the Śaṅkārācarya of Puri.

the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri is more important on the all-Indian level than in the religious life of Orissa. The reasons for this are to be shown below.

THE ŚANKARĀCĀRYA OF PURI IN PRE-BRITISH TIMES

It is historically doubtful whether Śaṅkara himself founded the seat of the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri. It is even doubtful whether he ever visited Puri. His visit of Puri is only reported in one of the versions of his life-story. These life-stories (*digvijayas*) were certainly not written during or shortly after his life, but centuries later, and are consequently of questionable historical value. It is, however, clear from the site of the Govardhana *maṭha*, the residence of the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri, that the Śaṅkarācārya-seat in Puri must have been founded at a very early time of the town. The Govardhana *maṭha* is situated in the extreme east of the city and on a much lower level than its modern surrounding. The *maṭha* nowadays produces to its visitors a "*guruparamparā*", i.e. a list of seat-holders. Compared with the *guruparamparās* of the other Śaṅkarācārya-seats the list of Puri is the longest, it contains 144 names (Dwarka has 79, Sringeri 35 names).[2] But the Puri *guruparamparā* is a bare list of names without dates and any further remarks. Puri might have been tempted to produce a long list of Śaṅkarācāryas, in order to claim as early an origin as possible. If the list should be genuine, an explanation for its length could be found in the fact that it has been and is still customary in Puri to choose a successor who has been a householder before,—with the consequence that only elderly men become Śaṅkarācāryas. As their remaining span of life is comparatively short, there is a high frequency of change. In Kanchi and Sringeri the rule of succession is different. The ruling Śaṅkarācārya in his old age adopts a young *brahmacāri* (student) as his successor, who omits the stage of a householder. When he succeeds his predecessor, he is comparatively young. Consequently we find long terms of office in these two places, of 40, 50 and 60 years.

A reference to Puri, found in a letter of the Śaṅkarācārya of Sringeri to his colleague of Dwarka dated 1852 may contain a hint at the peculiar custom at Puri that a former householder can become a Śaṅkarācārya.[3] In this letter the Śaṅkarācārya of Sringeri relates "how the Acharyas of the Govardhana and Jyotir Maths degraded themselves to the position of Gosains and thus these two Maths remained without any Acharya although tbe Govardhana Maṭh was subsequently revived by a Sanyasi from Gougak Nakhal."

It is not clear what the Śaṅkarācārya of Sringeri meant by this "degradation to the position of Gosains", as the term "Gosain" has different meanings. It can simply mean a Vaiṣṇava priest, especially of the Caitanya Sect. The followers of

[2] A. Nataraja Aiyer and S. Lakshminarasimha Sastri, *The Traditional Age of Sri Sankaracharya and the Maths*. Madras 1952, pp. 164,5; 170-72; 175-80. These lists seem to be based on the Marathi work by Mahadev Rajaram Bodas, *Śaṅkarācārya va tyāncā sampradāya*, Puna 1923.

[3] Madhusudan Parvat v. Shri Shankaracharya, The Indian Law Reports (ILR), Bombay Series, Vol. XXXIII (-33 Bombay), p. 289.

Śaṅkara have traditionally been Śaivas. The term *gosāiñ* (=*gosvāmin*) can also mean an abbot who has founded a family and does trade and other worldly business.[4] Seen from an orthodox point of view, this is, of course, a "degradation" as only a *saṃnyāsin*, i.e. a celibate and a renunciate can be head of a maṭha.[5]

Unfortunately we are not told when this "degradation" happened, nor is it clear from the reference whether the *maṭha* was thereafter without an abbot (*ācārya*) altogether, or just without a proper abbot, i.e. a *saṃnyāsin*.

Some documents of the East-India Company inform us that around 1800 the *maṭha* was still (or again?) in the hands of saṃnyāsins. They (i.e. the Śaṅkarācāryas and his followers) were then fighting a bitter struggle with the Vaiṣṇava priests of the Jagannātha temple.[6] The dispute was over two images, one of Śiva and the other of Ādi-Śaṅkara which had been removed from the throne of Lord Jagannātha, as the throne was to be repaired. After the repair was done, the Jagannātha priests refused the reinstallation of the images. When the Śaṅkarācārya insisted on his demand, the priests even went to the extent of destroying the two idols and throwing the pieces into the sea. Now the Śaṅkarācārya asked the Marathas, who at that time ruled over Orissa, for help. Yet there were two factions in the Maratha government, one favouring the Śaivas, the other the Vaiṣṇavas. Finally the king Raghujī Bhonslā decided against the Śaṅkarācārya's demand for re-installing the images at the throne of Lord Jagannātha: "As that is contrary to custom it must never take place, therefore be careful that former usages be adhered to."

The Śaṅkarācārya after that turned to Sringeri for help. By then the British had taken over Orissa and an agent of Sringeri sent a petition to the British Government asking to have the two figures re-installed, "that thus the religious faith of the Dundees (=*daṇḍīs*) may remain firm . . . and to establish whether the service of the temple first belonged to the Soonnassees (*saṃnyāsins*) or to the Byragees (-*vairāgins*) and whether the superintendence and management of it is the right of the Swamees or the Byragees." The British authorities refused to interfere in the dispute among the various Hindu sects and the figures of Śiva and the Ādi-Śaṅkara were not re-installed.

The quotation shows that the dispute was not just over the two figures, but that it was nothing less than about the control of the Jagannātha temple. According to the last sentence the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri claimed that his monks (*saṃnyāsins*= Śiva monks) should have precedence in officiating as priests of the Jagannātha temple·

[4] Compare Jadunath Sarkar, *A History of Dasnami Naga Sanyasis*. Allahabad n.d., chapter VII.

[5] See J. Duncan M. Derret, *Modes of Sannyasis and the Reform of a South Indian Matha Carried out in 1584*. In: Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 94, No. 1, Jan.-March 1974, pp. 65-72.

[6] The following is based on Parliamentary Papers, 1812-13, Papers relating to East Indian Affairs, pp. 530-533, 546-548. See also the short article by P. Mukherjee, *The Missing Bhairava Image of the Jagannath Temple*, in: Orissa Review, July 1970, Car Festival Special, Vol. XXXVI, No. 12, pp. 33-34.

For himself (*Svāmī*) he claimed the superintendence and management of the temple. Whether this claim was new or was based on former practice, is difficult to say. Obviously he could not prove it to the Marathas. But the Maratha king might have had other reasons for deciding against him than just lack of evidence.

A modern authority, using other sources, confirms the close association that must have existed at one time between the Govardhana maṭha and the Jagannātha Temple.[7] He tells us that the priests of the Jagannātha temple received their training in ceremonies and rituals in the Govardhana maṭha. After completion of their training they got a certificate which entitled them, following confirmation by the king, to become priests of the Jagannātha temple. Furthermore, we are told that the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri had the right to preside over the Muktimaṇḍapa whenever this highest council of the temple assembled over matters of caste and religion (See Pfeffer, next chapter). The council's decisions were signed and sealed by him. This close association does not exist any more. If it ever existed it probably ceased after the fight over the two idols which ended negatively for the Śankarācārya. The passage from the East-India Company papers, quoted above, is interesting in another respect: It shows the importance of Sringeri and its leading role among the Śaṅkarācāryas. Puri appealed to Sringeri, not to Kanchi or any other authority.

Contrary to Sringeri, the Śankarācārya of Puri has never been the spiritual favourite of any ruling power of that area. The Rājā of Puri had allied himself instead with the Jagannātha cult.[8] One might wonder about the close proximity of the Vedāntic, Śaiva, all-Indian institution of the Śaṅkarācārya on the one hand and the Vaiṣṇava temple of Jagannātha which has its origin in a local tribal cult on the other. What was first?

Puri is not unique in having great Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sanctuaries side by side. Dwarka, too, is a Vaiṣṇava centre attracting pilgrims by virtue of being the place of Kṛṣṇa's birth and childhood. Jośimaṭha lies near the Vaiṣṇava centre of Badrinath and the Śaiva centre of Kedarnath. Only Sringeri is again an exception.

THE ŚANKARĀCĀRYA OF PURI IN MODERN TIMES

Lack of sources prevents us from telling more about the history of the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri up to the 19th century. But even the little evidence produced above seems to indicate that he, like the other Śaṅkarācārya except the one of Sringeri, did not play an important role in the religious life of India. This picture, however, has changed since about 1900. Since the beginning of this century the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri has established himself as one of the prominent figures of Indian religious life and politics. This is mainly due to two factors: 1. The Śaṅkarācāryas in general have come into prominance as guardians and representatives of Sanātana Dharma, of so-called Orthodox Hinduism. 2. From 1925 to 1960 the *gaddī*

[7] K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 151.
[8] See H. Kulke, 1974c and chapters 17 and 18.

(*seat*) in Puri was occupied by a personality of extraordinary stature, Bharati Krishna Tirtha, who may be called the most eminent Śāṅkarācārya of this century.

After the reformers had attacked the seemingly decadent Hinduism, the orthodox reacted in order to defend *Sanātana Dharma* (Eternal Religion). Several organisations who claimed to represent orthodox Hinduism tried to use the Śaṅkarācārya for this purpose. When in January 1906, on the occasion of the Kumbh Mela in Allahabad, various orthodox groups assembled under the name *Sanātana Dharma Mahāsabhā*, the Śāṅkarācārya of Puri presided.[9] He was again one of the three Śāṅkarācāryas who acted as "vice-presidents" at the inauguration of the All-India Hindu Sabha at Hardwar in April 1915.[10] At the Kumbh Mela at Allahabad in the beginning of 1918 the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri together with the ones of Dwarka and Sankeshwar/Karvirpeeth presided over sessions of the All-India Hindu Sabha as well as of the All-India Sanatana Dharma Mahasammelan.[11] The All-India Hindu Sabha, later to become the Hindu Mahasabha, differed from the other "orthodox" Hindu organisations. Though it claimed to be orthodox, too, it had also Arya Samajis and other reformers among its followers. It was in the Hindu Mahasabha, where Bharati Krishna Tirtha engaged himself, before he became Śaṅkarācārya of Puri.

BHARATI KRISHNA TIRTHA

In the person of Bharati Krishna Tirtha there was combined the traditional Hindu-savant and the Western-educated nationalist. He was born as Venkataraman Saraswati in a South-Indian Brahman family, was educated at the Christian College in Madras, gained his M.A. at the Indian branch of Rochester University in Bombay and taught at Rajahmahendri, Lahore and various other places in India.[12] From 1911 till 1919 he stayed at Sringeri, studying and teaching. He had founded a family, but lost wife, son and daughter. The rules of Sringeri prevented him from aspiring Śaṅkarācāryaship there, as only *brahmacārīs* were accepted on that post. But he saw chances in Gujarat, where there was some confusion about the legitimate succession of the recently revived *gaddī* of Dwarka. One of the claimants, Trivikram Tirtha, initiated Dr. Venkataraman Saraswati into saṃnyāsinship at Benares on July 14, 1919, and two years later installed him as successor. Since his initiation his name was Bharati Krishna Tirtha.

Besides his spiritual career Bharati Krishna Tirtha had held contacts with the national movement. He had met Aurobindo as well as Gokhale. With the help of

9 S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, *History of the Hindu University*. BHU Press, Varanasi 1966, p. 75 ff,

10 Shradhanand Sanyasi, *Hindu Sangathan. Saviour of the dying race*. Delhi 1926, p. 109.

11 *Leader*, Allahabad, 15.2.1918.

12 Biographical data from: Swami Bharati Krishna Tirtha, *Sanatana Dharma*, Bombay 1964 (Bhavan's Book University, 118), and *Shri Gavardhan Peeth Pattabhishek Souvenir*. Bombay 1964.

Pattabhi Sitaramaiya he attended the Congress session in Nagpur in 1920, when Gandhi's programme of non-cooperation was accepted. Bharati Krishna Tirtha came into the news as one of the seven accused in the famous Karachi case in autumn 1921, which was a consequence of the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Karachi in July 1921, when in a speech of Maulana Mohammed Ali and in a subsequent resolution it was declared unlawful for any faithful Muslim to serve in the British Indian army or help or acquiesce in their recruitment. While six Muslims were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, Bharati Krishna Tirtha was acquitted.

Thus, in terms of his political attitude he did not fit into the conservative pro-British line of the majority of Sanātana Dharmīs. He also was active in the revived Hindu Mahasabha following the Benares session of August 1923. He was one of the candidates for presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha for the year 1925/26, representing the orthodox wing. But Lala Lajpat Rai was elected, who stood for the reformist wing within the Hindu Mahasabha. Apart from Bharati Krishna Tirtha, only one other Śaṅkarācārya engaged himself in the religious politics of the Hindu Mahasabha: Dr. Kurtkoti. Both had in common that they were still fighting for recognition as rightful Śaṅkarācāryas: Bharati Krishna Tirtha for Dwarka, Dr. Kurtkoti for Sankeshwar/Karvirpith, a little place in Maharashtra, which had, it seems, seceded from Sringeri in the 16th century. An explanation for their engagement in the Hindu Mahasabha could be that both had to compensate their disputed position as Śaṅkarācāryas through conspicuous activity in politics.

Bharati Krishna Tirtha did not succeed in being recognised as the rightful Śaṅkarācārya of Dwarka. But instead he received the call of the dying Śaṅkarācārya of Puri, Madhusudan Tirtha, to become his successor in Puri. Bharati Krishna Tirtha took over his new office in Puri in 1925. But even from Puri he continued meddling in the affairs of Dwarka. He tried to get one of his disciples installed as Śaṅkarācārya of Dwarka. Only in 1951 he got the courts to recognise his disciple Abhinava Saccidānanda Tirtha as rightful Śaṅkarācrāya of Dwarka.

After Bharati Krishna Tirtha had become Śaṅkarācārya of Puri, he gave up his activities in the Hindu Mahasabha. The reason probably was the defeat of the orthodox wing of the Hindu Mahasabha at its session of April 1926 over the question of untouchability. He appeared again as a defender of strict orthodoxy in connection with the temple-entry question which Gandhi aroused after the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931. Gandhi demanded entry for the untouchables to the temples of the caste-Hindus. In opposition, the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri made himself the spokesman for the orthodox position. When the priests of the Jagannātha-Temple were asked to open their temple to the untouchables, the Śaṅkarācārya led the orthodox faction of the priests, who opposed the measure. At the height of the controversy, at the beginning of February 1933, when Untouchability Abolition and Temple Entry Bills were about to come up for discussion in the Legislative Assembly, the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri sent a telegramme to C.S. Ranga Iyer, editor of the *Daily Herald* and mover of the "Hindu Temple Entry Disabilities Removal Bill". In the telegram he stated:

Do you really claim that questions relating to medicine, engineering etc., and to religious faith can be determined by referendum and especially by legislators not returned on such tickets or that it is moral or even constitutional to force such decisions on sincere Sanatanists however misguided you may deem them? Why this playing to the gallery and dancing to the tune of renegades from Sanatanism and true constitutionalism? Surely this is unworthy of you. Reflect and turn back. It is not too late now.

Jagadguru Śaṅkarācārya of Puri.[13]

The telegramme was published by Ranga Iyer and caused a public newspaper discussion, in which Gandhi, who was obviously meant by the term "renegade from Sanatanism", also joined.

Since 1952 the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri spent more and more time in Nagpur and finally settled there. It was in Nagpur in 1953 that he founded the *Viśva Punarnirmāṇa Saṅgha* (World Reconstruction Association). It is not clear what this association aimed at. We are told that Bharati Krishna Tirtha founded it at the instance of Sri Aurobindo, and that the then Chief Justice of India, B.P. Sinha, was its president, Dr. C.D. Deshmukh, ex-Finance Minister of India and ex-Chairman of the University Grants Commission, its Vice-President.

At the instance of the Self Realisation Fellowship of Los Angeles, an early example of those sects or societies, which now preach "Indian Wisdom", "Indian Tolerance", "Unity of all Religions" etc. to the Western World, Bharati Krishna Tirtha went on a tour to America in 1958, the first tour outside India ever done by a Śaṅkarācārya. He gave speeches on religion and related subjects, and a discussion was arranged between him and Arnold Toynbee on "World Peace" at Washington and Lee University.

Bharati Krishna Tirtha did not choose a successor during his life-time—for reasons unknown to me. After four years of confusion, while a number of candidates, some of them from Orissa, refused the post—at last one Mr. Chandrashekhara Sastri, then Principal of the Government Sanskrit College in Jaipur, accepted. I do not know, why it was difficult to find a successor. Why did not an Oriya accept the post? The Oriyas might have been put off by realising that there was not much chance for a Śaṅkarācārya to exert influence in such close proximity to the powerful Jagannātha Temple, besides: the Govardhana maṭha in Puri is not richly endowed.

The installation ceremony of the new Śaṅkarācārya (*paṭṭābhiṣeka*) was celebrated with great pomp in June 1964. Among the guests were: Biswanath Das, then Governor of Uttar Pradesh, later Chief Minister of his home state Orissa; the Rājā of Puri, the patron of the Jagannātha Temple, the law minister of Orissa and Sri Radhanath Rath, the grand old man of Orissa-politics and editor of the Oriya newspaper "Samāja". Two other Śaṅkarācāryas were present: the one of Dwarka

[13] *H.H. Jagadguru of Puri—Ranga Iyer—Gandhi Correspondence on the Temple Question.* Published by Dr. K.A. Sankaranarayan Iyer, Emergency Committee Secretary, All-India Varnasram Swarajya Sangha, Madras n.d., p. 1.

and one of the two rivals of Jośīmaṭha; Sringeri had only sent a representative. Mr. Chandrasekhar Sastri had first to be initiated into saṃnyāsinship, as he still was a householder (in this respect he fitted into the Puri tradition very well). The *dīkṣa*-ceremony was performed by the Śaṅkarācārya of Dwarka. He had been a disciple of Bharati Krishna Tirtha, and it is probable that he had some influence in selecting Mr. Chandrasekhar Sastri who originally belongs to Gujarat. The new name of the new Śaṅkarācārya of Puri was Niranjan Deva Tirtha.

In the following years Niranjan Deva Tirtha was unable to get a foothold in the religious life of Orissa, and he has no importance in Orissa whatsoever. Instead he had become a famous, not to say notorious figure at the all-Indian level. He was one of the leading figures behind the violent upsurge of more than 2,00,000 people who, on the 6th of November 1966, tried to storm the Parliament in Delhi in protest against the failure of the central Government to ban cow-slaughter in the whole of India.[14] The police had to use lathis and tear-gas, eight people were killed, 45 demonstrators and 19 policemen were hurt. The Home Minister G.L. Nanda had to resign because of this event. 750 people were arrested including 500 "holy men". About 14 days later the Śaṅkarācārya started a fast unto death as a further pressure upon the Government. The Government reacted by arresting him—putting him into prison at Pondicherry for some days, and releasing him in Puri where he continued his fast. After 73 days, on the 1st of February 1967, he broke off his fast without having achieved his aim. He appeared again in the news when he defended untouchability on the basis of Manu's lawbook. In 1972 he formed an organisation against family-planning, arguing that through family-planning the Hindus would be a minority in their country in about 100 years. In April 1972 an Anti-Family Planning Conference was held in New Delhi.[15] Apart from the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri the one of Jośīmaṭha was also present. Om Prakash Tyagi, Jana Sangh member of the Rajya Sabha from U.P., was chairman of the reception committee.

This would be in line with the slogan of the twenties: "Hindus—a dying race", at a time when there was no idea of family-planning yet, but when the census seemed to show a relative decrease of the Hindu population in relation to other communities, or more truly, a slower increase than the others. "Hindus—a dying race" was one of the slogans under which the Hindu Mahasabha was revived in 1922 as was the issue of the sacredness of the cow. Thus we see the present Śaṅkarācārya of Puri in the tradition of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jana Sangh, although these two parties have never been as explicit about the caste-system as he has been. To what extent is the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri representative of the other three or four Śaṅkarācāryas? The one of Jośīmaṭha followed him most closely. During the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri's fast, when it looked as though he would die, the Saṅkarācārya of Jośīmaṭha threatened to fast as well, in sympathy with the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri, but he postponed his decision "pending negotiations with the Government."

[14] *The Times*, London, 7th November 1966 and after.
[15] *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 18th April, 1972.

The Śaṅkarācārya of Dwarka appeared in Delhi during those days and gave his full support to the cow-protection movement. We find him being called "spiritual advisor to the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri". This reminds us of the role the Śaṅkarācārya of Dwarka played at the initiation and installation of Niranjan Deva Tirtha. These three, the Śaṅkarācāryas of Puri, Dwarka and Jośīmaṭha form one group within the five Śaṅkarācāryas in that they have similar outlooks. Their pronouncements and activities fit into what is called the Hindu revival movement and they supported the former Jana Sangh or at least allowed themselves to be used by that party. But none of them has mingled with politics as openly as the Śaṅkarācārya of Puri has done. However, the authority with which he makes pronouncements on religious topics in public, is only based on the institution of the Śaṅkarācāryaship. To a large extent he owes his authority to the great name, Puri has among all Hindus due to Jagannātha cult, and last but not least to the reputation his predecessor Bharati Krishna Tirtha had acquired due to his erudition as a Hindu savant and his activity in the name of Sanātana Dharma.

CHAPTER XXII

PURI'S VEDIC BRAHMINS
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THEIR TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

G. Pfeffer

THE END OF BRAHMIN ELITISM

Bottomore[1] has recently marked the absence of a traditionalist elite in India. For him, modern Indian society has passed the organizational stage, "in which religious thought is pre-eminent, technological and economic change slow, the movement between social strata limited and the strata themselves are clearly separated!"[2] He draws support for his opinion from D.P. Mukerji who announces the end of the old elite in India which is replaced by a stratum of professional politicians and bureaucrats. Literally Mukerji writes, "to keep Brahminism as a going social concern in this universe is an old maid's dream."[3]

The statements cited above can hardly be contradicted. Indian society is not as static, as extremely segregated as Bottomore's "traditionalist" one. Brahminism does not belong to the ideologies which are propagated in the Subcontinent today. It is, however, questionable, whether this simplified societal conception is sufficient to describe a highly differentiated, highly flexible pattern. Similarly, it is questionable, whether the allegedly overcome Brahminism has lost all support in modern India. A formally professed secularism in no way guarantees the elimination of a strong traditionalist under-current. In this context, we may note the dominant influence of the Brahmin caste in the civil service of Orissa.[4] According to my personal observations, these modern decision-makers have certainly *not* broken with the norms and standards of their ancestors.

[1] T.B. Bottomore, 1967.

[2] op. cit., p. 246.

[3] D.P. Mukerji, 1958, p. 73.

[4] See: R.P. Taub, 1969, p. 63 and Orissa Civil List, 1970.

The aim of this paper[5] is to describe the traditional elite status of the Vedic Brahmins of Orissa and show how they could adapt their position to recent political and socio-economic changes. Within the framework of new media of influence, they could retain their status. This adaption was possible because of the nature of the traditional, social and economic base of the Brahmins. And this base not only provided for prestige and material resources but also for standards stressing intellectual competitiveness and abstention from material indulgence. Today, just as in the past centuries, the Brahmin subculture provides maximal gratifications for administrative, literary, and ritual leadership in the general community.

THE TRADITIONAL BASE

The Genealogical Legend

According to tradition, the earliest Vedic Brahmin wave of immigration occurred under the legendary king "Yayāti Keśarī".[6] From their North Indian home in Kanauj (called Kānyakubja), their fame had spread to the little known "marginal region" of Orissa. The legendary Oriya king is said to have been eager to let them perform the tenfold horse sacrifice for him in place of the allegedly "debased" local Brahmins. Although very little historical proof[7] can be provided in support of the immigration legend, it is highly likely that Orissa, just like other relatively backward areas of the Subcontinent,[8] witnessed another influx of the torchbearers of Brahminism around the turn of the last millenium. Under the following pressure of Muslim invaders, orthodox Brahmins from the North Indian region called Madhyadeśa had every reason to accept invitations from powerful rulers in marginal regions.

The argument denouncing these regions as "uncivilized"[9] and therefore unworthy of orthodox attention had lost its strength under the changing political conditions. The first section of immigrants from Kānyakubja (the legend mentions 10,000 Vedic Brahmins) is said to have settled in Jajpur, the site of the horse sacrifice, as the name (Yajñapura>Jajñapura>Jājpur) indicates. At a later date (perhaps with the shifting of the capital), some of these Brahmins moved south of the river Brahmani and formed a separate endogamous group.

It is highly probable that the monarchs of Orissa utilized again[10] the services of the North Indian ritual and administrative experts in the establishment and

[5] The detailed results of my field-work in Orissa in 1971/72 have been accepted as Habilitation in the Wirtschafts-und Sozialwissenschaftliche Fakultät of Heidelberg University in 1976,. They will be publish d shortly.

[6] For Yayāti Kesari see above chapter I and VII.

[7] So far, only the so-called Kapoteśwar Plates indicate Kanauj as the home of one family of Vedic Brahmins in Orissa. See: S.N. Rajguru, 1965, p. 43-48 and A.K. Rath, 1964, p. 164.

[8] See for instance: B. Stein, 1969, p., 178.

[9] See: Mittal, 1962, p. 89/90.

[10] For earlier settlements of Brahmins see above chapter 7.

functioning of the Liṅgarāja temple of Bhubaneswar. Today, four villages in its vicinity[11] can still be classified as traditional Brahmin bases, and a number of place names in the present police stations of Balianta, Balipatna and Pipli within the sub-division of Puri strongly indicate the existence of former residential quarters of Vedic Brahmins which might have been attached to the Śivaite centre in Bhubaneswar. The oldest Brahmin settlement in the vicinity of Puri seems to be the large village of Kapileswarpur, established by the Sūryavaṃśī monarch Kapilendra Deva in the 15th century. It is still in existence today, just as the establishments of the second Sūryavaṃśī king, Puruṣottama Deva, which are situated between the rivers Birupa and Mahanadi in the police station of Salepur, Cuttack District.

The centres of Orissa's intellectual elite, however, have been for the last centuries some 30 settlements in the vicinity of the great Jagannātha temple of Puri. These were founded by later kings, namely the last Sūryavaṃśī Pratāparudra Deva (Birapratapapur), Govinda Vidyādhara (Biragobindapur), Chakra Pratāpa (Raichakradharpur) and the rulers of the house of Khurda, their queens, princes and ministers (see Kulke above, Chapter 17).

Any power-holder who founded such a settlement of pious men immortalized his name and expressedly appeased an extremely influential elite of ideologists. As a consequence, it seems hardly astonishing to see the number of such foundations increase with the doubtfulness concerning the legitimacy of the ruler. Royal foundations for Brahmins were termed *Śāsana* villages.[12] Brahmins translate this term with "royal edict", "administration", or "duty". Their honorific title, Śāsana Brahmin, is correspondingly understood in a historical or in a functional sense. Just as the entire Brahmanic cosmos, these sacred settlements are subjected to a numeric order which in theory (if not in practice) subdivided this residential base into:

4 so-called "seed" (bīja) villages
16 Śāsana villages proper
32 so-called *karbar* villages (foundations by queens etc.)
64 so-called *para* villages (menial settlements)

Most Brahmins would rank the inhabitants of the four "seed" villages Śrīmukundapur, Biswanāthpur, Bīraharekrishnapur, and Bīranarsinghpur as the "elite of the elite", presumably, because the four traditional *Rājagurus* (spiritual perceptors), assigned to the royal house, hailed from these settlements.

In the Śāsana villages proper, members of the Rājaguru's lineage, so-called *Sāmanta*, would generally carry highest prestige because of this link, and because of their assignments in the traditional administration of the kingdom. No marked

11 Brahmin tradition is still kept alive (though practiced at a much lower level compared to Puri) in Kalyānpur, Gangeswarpur, Basantapur and Palāshpur.

12 Any settlement, founded by any king or chief for the sake of Brahmins would be termed Śāsana. Most people in Orissa would, however, point toward the vicinity of Puri if asked for "the" Śāsanas of the region.

organizational differences can be observed between Śāsana villages proper and Karbar villages. The latter were not founded by a king but rather by some queen or prince and are not inhabited by at least one family of Śāmanta. By contrast, the menial inhabitants of innumerable *Para* settlements in the vicinity of the sacred sites are strictly segregated.

Settlement Pattern

The exalted status of the Śāsana Brahmins is openly emphasized by the pattern of their settlements. The front portions of all Brahmin houses arise on the top of two parallel six feet high rows of earth which frequently stretch out for more than a mile. The master of the house (*mahājana*) has his quarter in this high front portion. He is facing his opposite across a road of some 40 yards breadth. This road is always running in east-west direction. No passerby can therefore ever cast his shadow upon a resident, the latter being literally placed above all others. Whereas the raised front portion of each Brahmin house is in public view, the ground level back portion contains the private sphere of each resident—the sphere outside the official frame of reference. Here is the place of worship for his family, privatistically guarded against any outsider, here are the quarters for women, children, and household cattle. Through the back door the Brahmin has access to his vegetable garden and the drainage canal which runs at a distance of about a hundred yards parallel to the houses. Paddy fields stretch out beyond this canal. A portion of these—big enough to support an extended household and small enough to prohibit extravagance—is expected to be in the hands of each Śāsana Brahmin.

At each exit of the big public road a temple of Lord Śiva is guarding the village in the eastern direction, and a temple of Lord Viṣṇu is performing this function on the western side. Their respective tanks provide the Brahmin villagers with bathing sites. Each of these two temples commands the popular attachment of the inhabitants of the eastern or western halves of the villages. In most settlements, the border between these two halves (*Kandhi*) is clearly demarcated by a rectangular platform (*grāmavedī*) which as a microcosm also demonstrates the opposition between the northern and the southern row of houses (*daṇḍa*). So the village is quartered into equally exalted, opposite and yet interconnected segments.[13] On various occasions, for instance the marriage of Lord Śiva, these ritual oppositions find expression in competitive activities and mock conflicts. In the past, the residential segregation is likely to have been correlated to the kinship divisions or to the distribution according to the four great Vedic schools of learning.[14]

Each village temple is a major integrative centre for the resident Brahmins themselves and—even more so—for the Brahmins and the various menial castes,

[13] This dichotomous, encompassing order of settlement alone demonstrates Dumont's concept of Brahmanical hierarchy. See: L. Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*, London 1970.

[14] Representatives of each of four vedic schools are supposed to have been settled in each Śāsana village.

settled in the *para* villages apart from their masters but within the bounds of the administrative village unit (*mauza*). These menials may have their own, internally organized temples. Regular ritual obligations in the "central" temples, however, determine their status in the general divine, unquestionable social order. Services, analogous to those owed to the gods, are to be performed for the Brahmins. The relationship to the divine controllers of the realm is equated to the relationship to the controllers of the village lands. As a result, the degree of regularity in the performance of ritual assignments would indicate class harmony or tension between producers and landlords. Equally, the controllers of the means of production represent divine authority and have the power to exercise corresponding sanctions.

Traditional Functions

The manifest reasons for the immigration of Śāsana Brahmins into Orissa was, as mentioned above, their unquestionable reputation as ritual experts. Ritualistic superiority must, however, be seen within a comprehensive societal framework. The comprehensive "civilizing" performance of institutions like the village temple and basically similarly structured centres at the regional level served to unify the political administration, insulate the socio-cultural values and channelize the surplus product.

For the rulers of Orissa the glorious Gupta rulers from Madhyadeśa were the reference group of identification. A highly qualified staff from this heartland of Brahminism—unattached to indigenous warlords and ritually as well as materially dependent upon the king—must have been fairly ideal to perpetuate civilization in a region with strong tribal character. With a very high degree of probability, the north Indian immigrants were not the first Brahminic culture heroes in Orissa. Basic, revolutionary changes in the political economy of the province appear to be connected with the innovative activities of a large subdivision of Oriya Brahmins today called Balarāmagoṣṭhī, or kinsmen of Lord Balabhadra, the patron deity of the plough-farmers. These agents of civilization can be found in settlements on what must have been the "tribal frontier' not too long ago. Their specific technological know-how in plough cultivation and their plough worship[15] seem to have accelerated the introduction of superior methods of agriculture at the cost of the tribal slash-and-burn technique, resulting in a major change of the political landscape (see Kulke above, Chapter 7).

[15] According to my opinion (and probably differing from the opinion of my colleague G.C. Tripathi) these Plough-Brahmins are referred to in a manuscript, found by Tripathi in Keonjhar. The manuscript describes a settlement-pattern, differing completely from that of the Puri villages. It contains rituals for gods of the vedic epoch, no longer worshipped in the Puri Śāsanas and stresses the cult of the plough, an object which is taboo for Puris Śāsana Brahmins. Finally, the site of its discovery, Keonjhar, belongs to the "tribal frontier" and as such has large Balarāmagoṣṭhi colonies. *See*: G.C. Tripathi: "*Ritual of Founding a Brahmin Village; a Description of the Ceremony of Establishing a Brāhmaṇa Śāsana in Orissa*": Delhi 1978.

By contrast, the second wave of Brahmin innovators, those who allegedly came from Kanauj, brought further advancement above the purely technological level. They strengthened the politico-administrative framework of a regional kingdom. In order to avoid any association with the ritually inferior plough-priests, the mere touch of agricultural implements was tabooed for the Vedic intellectuals. Violations of this taboo are sanctioned by outcasting until the present day. As a second phase, after the "inner colonization" of an "underdeveloped" politically insignificant, "forgotten" region by the Balarāmagoṣṭhīs, administrative streamlining was the calling of the immigrant community from Kānyakubja. With the material means of the political rulers, the Śāsana Brahmins developed the administrative and socio-cultural superstructure in the shape of the great temples in Jajpur, Bhubaneswar, Puri, and Konarak—to be recognized all over the subcontinent. Analogously to the temple in a Śāsana village, these regional centres were to tie and integrate the population of the whole administrative domain (see Kulke above, Chapter 7).

Śāsana Brahmins performed the foundation sacrifices for the great temples. They laid down the elaborate rituals and were regularly substituting the lofty, if time-consuming, temple obligations of their royal sponsor as well as his alleged literary productions.[16] They took the charge of the highly complex redistributive systems of the temple[17] involving agricultural products as well as the achievements of innumerable specialist-craftsmen, assembled in villages for the service of the Lord. Śāsana Brahmins also helped to organize the defence and expansion of the realm of Lord Jagannātha whose authority on earth was merely represented by the king (or in turn by the Rājaguru). Various Brahmin clans (interconnected at least by a formal hierarchical order) specialized in these offices,[18] with, for instance, some groups of the Atharva Veda School being responsible for the police and spy network as well as other administrative sectors, considered "polluting" by the three "pure" schools.[19]

The seat of power, the Jagannātha temple, contains until today the site for the assembly of the Śāsana Brahmins, the Mukti Maṇḍapa.[20] Sixteen columns carry

16 In the absence of the king the Rājaguru presented the Rājabhoga to the Lord. Innumerable compositions by Brahmins bore the name of the monarch as author.

17 The redistributive system is treated by J. Rösel in his unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, *Der Palast des Herrn der Welt*, Freiburg 1976.

18 The *Baechasa* (vatsa) Clan supervised the revenue administration, the *Go-Ātreya* clan the rituals for warfare, the *Nanda* Clan the running of the great temples and the *Bājapeya* Clan the foundation sacrifices.

19 The members of this school, found in Basudevpur and Dibyasinghapur today, did not inform the author about any of their traditional functions, save that they had followed the instructions of the executive Sāmanta. Leading members of this group informed me of the performance of the members of the Atharava Veda school (Contrary to the position of historians, anthropologists are frequently bound *not* to disclose their sources).

20 It seems, the assembly of learned Brahmins represent Lord Brahmā in the temple. The latter is never worshipped in the form of an anthropomorphical sculpture, like all the other gods present in the compound of Lord Jagannātha.

the roof of this platform, each representing one of the sixteen Śāsana villages. At this spot where the foundation sacrifice of the temple is said to have been performed, representatives of the Vedic intellectuals congregated regularly in order to study and discuss the sacred scriptures, consider the policies of the king, and advise any inhabitant of the kingdom in any religious or social matter that may arise. The issues brought forward to the holy assembly of the Mukti Maṇḍapa (platform of redemption) would usually be concerned with intra-family, intra-caste, or intra-village conflicts, unsolvable for the local peace-keeping institutions.[21] Such disputes would not infrequently involve long term material advantages and therefore pose material temptations for the Brahmin referees. The superior interest of the latter, however, the maintenance of the ultimate, unquestionable judicial authority and moral sanctity in the whole region, has—as a rule—led to wise, even minded, and well founded interpretations of the sacred law and to ingenious adaptions to the change of times. The application of such sacred rulings would facilitate this flexibility: The assembly would not deal with the conflicting parties at a time but only listen to individual complaints. The wise men on the platform would leave the execution of their decisions to those involved. They would not condescend to examine the outcome of their advice. More important: The judgements would demand maximal conformity to traditional hierarchy and minimal material sacrifices from the applicants.

The Paṇḍit Sabhā, the Brahmin assembly seated on the Mukti Maṇḍapa, at least in theory dealt with king and commoner alike. Mostly the assembly would be occupied with the innumerable disputes between the various sections of inferior Brahmin and Non-Brahmin functionaries in the service of the great temples. These temple servants, concerned with the "physical" performances of the cult, may have originally been recruited from the priestly section of the Plough-Brahmins or—such as the so-called Daitas and Patis—from the tribal elites.[22] Finally other castes of the region, such as scribes and craftsmen, are likely to have sent their representatives to the ritual centre of Orissa. Mutual boycotts among these groups of cult specialists and other conflicts over hierarchical privileges must have necessitated a close supervision by the assembly of Śāsana Brahmins, so that the regular functioning of the elaborate organization of the temple was insured.

Sources of Livelihood

Plain, straightforward material gain was an unimaginable motive for a Vedic

21 A number of such cases have been collected by C. Panigrahi: *Mukti Mandap Sabha of Brahmins, Puri*. In: N.K. Bose: *Data on caste. Orissa*: Calcutta 1960.

The cases during my field-work usually concerned the ritual obligations and privileges of the temple-priests in Śāsana villages. Once a landowner physically punished an "indolent" peasant and additionally achieved a judgement of the *Mukti Maṇḍapa Paṇḍit Sabhā*, granting him a fine from the peasant.

22 It is not unlikely that some tribals were even promoted to the rank of Śāsana Brahmins. In two famous villages, the neighbours of some Brahmins pointed out the latter's tribal heritage behind their backs, and without animosity.

Brahmin serving the God, the king, and the mankind of Orissa. His performance was his sacred duty, gifted to the world. It was his contribution to the household of the universe. In order "to make the gift complete", he was to be provided with "considerations" (*dakṣiṇā*) which happened to guarantee his physical existence. The king's "consideration" for his Brahmins can be seen in the same light as the obligation of the modern state, to "provide" for his civil servants a livelihood which is "adequate to their status"[23] but in no relation to their "performance". Brahmin administrators were beyond the reach of feudal exploitation just as modern bureaucrats do not have to sell their power of work on a labour market. The personal immunity of the Brahmin and the specific protection law codes provide for the civil servant in many modern states underscore the ethical base of their service relationship. Max Weber's conception of the modern bureaucrat's obligation "to be faithful to his office" is equally applicable to the sense of "duty" of the medieval Śāsana Brahmin of Orissa. In general, the exercise of superior physical or material power in service contracts happens to be renounced at a class level, where any physical or material pressure is of no avail. Also, such an act of renunciation in no way excludes definite, measurable material privileges to those "faithful to their offices".

The material privileges of the Śāsana Brahmins were never openly expressed but rather hidden within a system of general reciprocity in which each one was supposed to contribute according to his alleged capacity. Through the Vedic sacrifice of the Brahmins, the king had been given the command over the land of Lord Jagannātha. In return, his "consideration" consisted of a microcosm of this land to his spiritual preceptors. Ideally, this chain of obligations was continued, was made the substantial component of a universalist ideology. The receiver of the village kingdom was to distribute it among "good Brahmins of the four Vedas", just as the king had shared his dominion with the "good men of the four Varṇas".

The principal receiver of a village called on his own spiritual preceptor to perform the village foundation sacrifice[24], just as he himself, as the king's spiritual guide, had done so for the macrocosm. Similarly, he "considered" these sacrificial services with an extra portion of land. The chief receiver also called on men of repute from other kinship groups and schools of learning to move into the wilderness with him, civilize the "savages" and colonialize the land. Each donee in turn "shared" his portion, his little kingdom, with his Non-Brahmin tenant who, for about half of the produce, was permitted to cultivate the paddy fields. The latter could also "share" work and income with agricultural labourers, drawn from what must have been the aboriginal population of the Brahmin colonies. Workers and tenants "considered" their gifts, their source of livelihood, with work and paddy. An individual Brahmin householder paid respect to the principal receiver and the sacrificer (or their descendents) with literally a token (*taṅki*) of 11 to 13 *kahan* of

23 See: Max Weber, 1960, p. 148.

24 The site of a foundation sacrifice is remembered in the form of a three foot high phallus-shaped stone.

couries.[25] With slight deductions for personal efforts to connect the chain, the village leader transferred the amount to the king.

The person of the king was not meant to be the receiver of this consideration. The power for which the king stood was addressed. To a lesser extent, this power was derived from the particularistic favours the king had been given by the goddess of his family, by the Kanaka-Durgā.[26] Therefore a lesser extent of the *taṅki* collection went to her, that is, to the upkeep of her ritual. To a much larger extent, the king's power was derived from the universalistic favours for the civilizing idea of a centralized kingdom, given by the institution which stood for this idea, given by Lord Jagannātha. So a much larger amount of the *taṅki* contribution was to be used for the expenses of the Great Temple's ritual.

This ritual of the temple was the obligation of the Śāsana Brahmins (under the sponsorship of the king) and, as the scholars were to avoid its degrading "physical" aspects, they at least had to provide adequate substitutes. These substitutes, the inferior temple servants, found their livelihood in the *taṅki* contributions which—collected by the king from all the Śāsana villages—made up the so-called "Estate of the 27,000" or the household fund of the Lord.[27]

Just as the Śāsana villages as a whole made up the funds for the running expenses of the kingdoms central temple, each village had commonly administered lands (*koṭha* or court-land) to meet the expenses of the village temple and the village administration. The exclusion from the benefits of the *koṭha* funds was the material part of the most severe village sanction, the exclusion from the temple ritual or excommunication. The assembly of householders called *Mahājana Mela*—a microcosmic reproduction of the Mukti Maṇḍapa Pandit Sabhā—decided over all such easily enforcible sanctions. Similarly, this body occasionally drove out unruly village menials who had been permitted to cultivate *koṭha* land against their services for gods and Brahmins.

The Brahmin "share" at the different levels of "world", that is in the *koṭha*, the village, or the kingdom was ultimately attributed to, and legitimized by, the universalistic favours for the civilizing conception of intellectual dominance, gifted by the mother goddess annually on Durgā Pūjā, this conception was reinforced by an animal—(buffalo or ram) and wine-sacrifice to the goddess and by her redistributive act, providing each Mahājana with flesh and spirit.

Besides the donated land, the Śāsana Brahmins of Orissa enjoyed the privilege of monopolizing the only relevant cash crop of the region, the coconut. Until today, Non-Brahmins very expressedly fear the divine sanctions attached to this monopoly and refrain from coconut cultivation. At the most, they see to it that a Brahmin is formally made the owner of the palm tree. As coconuts are an essential part of any

25 This value was equated by British officials with about half a Rupee.

26 I was able to obtain this information from the revenue records of three villages, drawn up in 1825. Formerly, the royal house had a different family deity.

27 My hypothesis, that the "Estate of the 27,000" was primarily made up of the land from the Śāsanas, is explained at length in my book (Pfeffer, 1976).

sacrifice, it seems this monopoly can be compared with the traditional specialist's privilege over his implements—such as a warrior's weapons or a craftman's tools.

Traditional Conflicts.

Disguised in various legends, yet clearly distinguishable, conflicts between the institution of the king and that of his Brahmin staff seem to have played an important part in Oriya history. Frequently attempted changes in the ritual of the Great Temple became manifest issues of such disputes.[28] Doubts in the legitimacy of the king or the loyalty of the Brahmin minister or, to go one step further, questions of ultimate authority must have been the real issues. The practical consequences of such disputes involved the delay of foundation sacrifices for temples, palaces, and villages or the boycott of an initiation rite of a crown prince. On the other hand, villages which had been donated in the period the "as long as the sun and the moon continue to shine" were forcefully evacuated by the king and the guaranteed *taṅki* quit rent was replaced by the ordinary exploitive rates. During the 17th century, rulers disregarded the traditional privileges of one Brahmin lineage in favour of another and Brahmins conspired with rebels and foreigners such as the Marāthās and even—*horribile dictu*—Muslim invaders.[29]

Even more common than the conflict between the king and his staff were rifts within the royal house and disputes between various lineages or villages of Śāsana Brahmins. Controversies over succession and the like led to factions across the caste lines in which kings, queens, and army commanders indicated their favours through village donations and Brahmins through legitimatory rites.

"The people" apart from Brahmin and Kṣatriya decision makers seem to gain political importance only with the coming of the anti-intellectual Bhakti movement in the sixteenth century (see Mukherjee above, Chapter 16). A mass-mobilizing alternative ritual is presented for the esoteric Brahmin path—and the king cannot ignore this alternative. A Śāsana Brahmin (Jagannātha Dāsa), however, makes an important contribution to the propagation of this peasant cult by translating the Bhāgavata Purāṇa into Oriya and thus breaking the teaching monopoly of the Sanskritists. The translator is likely to have belonged to a section of disinherited inhabitants of Kapileswarpur,[30] which must make his motives understandable. Yet his commitment is likely to have eased some of the tensions between peasants and Brahmin landholders.

28 See: K.N. Mahapatra, 1961, and also G.N. Dash 1976 and above his two chapters on priestly power.

29 See: K.N. Mahapatra, *Khurda Itihāsa* (ORP-translation), pp. 305-330 and Kulke above chapter 17.

30 Until today his home and his palmleaf-manuscripts are paid respect in this village.

THE COLONIAL EPOCH

Socio-economic degradation

As has been shown in the previous chapter 18, the British colonial power, in control of Orissa since 1803, had no intention to abolish the position of the Jagannātha temple as a socio-cultural centre. On the contrary: Through the development of housing facilities, the means of transportation as well as public safety, the temple witnessed a unique rise in fame and popularity under the European government.[31] The British did intend, however, to register minutely assets and liabilities, rights and duties, and all residues of power and influence involved in the temple administration. The site of Lord Jagannātha was to be bureaucracized and the bureaucracy to be controlled.

The Śāsana Brahmins would have been suitable executives for the British and in fact some of their leading members (such as Jagannath Rajguru of the Nanda lineage) intermingled with the colonialists' administration in the transitory phase until the 1830s. But there was always a shadow of doubt upon their loyalty. In 1804 Jay Rajguru of the Go-Ātreya lineage had been opposing the British and was executed. Others apparently underestimated the drive and interest in detailed revenue questions, which was so peculiar to the European invaders. Attempts to support the government of seemingly ignorant foreigners in order to aggrandise Brahmin power and Brahmin wealth failed completely. The king and even more so his spiritual preceptors were reduced to mere ceremonial importance.

History might have taken another turn and the traditional intellectuals of Orissa might have become the collaborators of the alien power, if the latter had not had at its disposal already an experienced staff of Indian but Non-Oriya administrators. Members of the Bengali urban elite, acquainted with the exploitive system and the corrupt personnel of the colonial power for some decades, were sufficiently divorced from the indigenous population to refrain from conspiracies and close enough to it to understand the important religious institutions, incomprehensible for the Christians. Through tax-farming and more intricate modern administrative techniques, the personal fortune of some Bengali administrators rose proportionally to that of their masters.[32]

Part of this wealth also came from Śāsana villages. The British had guaranteed the light *taṅki* quit rent of their Brahmin inhabitants if sufficient documentary proof legitimized it. As a result, those settlements unable to produce the ancient donation Sanands were subjected to regular treatment or at least "doubtfull"[33] classifications and in turn their revenue was auctioned to the tax farmers of the Calcutta market.

[31] J. Rösel, 1976, has dealt with this process in detail.

[32] See: P. Mukherjee, *The Employment of the People of Orissa in the Government Service of the 19th Century*, in : OHRJ, VIII, (1959) 110-117.

[33] The revenue term was "*Tanki Bajyaftadar*".

The above-mentioned changes also affected the base of the hierarchy within the temple: Mass pilgrimage from all over India brought wealth to Puri. This wealth, however, failed to reach the disinherited traditional executives of the temple—now sulking in their villages. Instead, it went to the pilgrim guides of the sacred site, to the shop-and inn-keepers and to businessmen of all sorts. These lines were traditionally monopolized by the inferior temple servants. With the rapid increase of their clients, the newly rich owners of so-called pilgrim estates needed capable managers of their files and polyglott travel agents for distant provinces. On account of sheer necessity, the Śāsana Brahmins were forced to enroll for this service under their ritual inferiors. In this way, some of them indirectly participated in the British sponsored pilgrim boom.

The Oriya Nationalist Movement

By the turn of the last century, the Śāsana Brahmins of Puri were able to find government jobs in the newly created schools. Such teaching positions were in conformity with Brahmin conservatism and provided access to western intellectual developments. The first students, graduates and teachers of the region hailed (as I was reliably informed) from the village of Bīrapratāpapur just as the first female graduates. Even before the Gandhian movement in Orissa introduced significant reforms, indigenous educationalists founded institutions which could be characterized as Gandhian and which helped to merge the Oriya Satyabādī movement[34] with the mainstream of the country. Frequently against the opposition of the orthodoxy within the own caste, Gopabandhu Das and his principal followers from Śāsana villages propagated comprehensive education and opened a school in Sākhī Gopāl which forms the nucleus of the Brahmin settlements. Self-sufficiency was the expressed aim of such efforts. As a consequence, the school and associated cottage industries frequently declined support from the public purse.

The reformist teachers may have annoyed their Brahmin elders, because they took to fashionable symbols (like the beard) and neglected caste segregation in view of a more comprehensive "Oriya nationalism". In practice, however, the movement stood for traditional Brahmin convictions, supplemented by the idea of social service. For the first time in history, the conception of a public responsibility for the flood-striken, the sick, and the destitute was admitted. Politically, the movement stressed the Oriya cultural heritage and economic independence against alien (that is, Bengali) cultural and economic domination. Although this negative reference group would hardly be mentioned so expressedly today, Bengali claims seem to have been more relevant to the economic interests of the indigenous population than the relatively distant demands of the colonial power itself. Aloofness of the British not necessarily meant antagonism—as innumerable formal declarations of loyalty to the crown would prove. Although some of the factions (into which the

[34] See: Mahtab, 1957, Vol. III App. 2, and Dash, above chapter 20.

movement disintegrated fairly early) joined the forces of the Indian National Congress, others stoutly defended the colonial masters almost until the end. Today only actions and persecutions of the freedom fighters are remembered.

The Situation Today

The advent of independence in India was to strengthen the already existing currents towards a more democratic control of public institutions, a greater public responsibility for the distribution of wealth, and a secular public outlook. The effect of these trends upon the community of Śāsana Brahmins seems to have been a bifurcation of the caste into a section able to accept these reforms and participate in their implementation as against those "left behind" by these developments. Similar bifurcations must have occurred in the past. In the following, we shall examine some details of these trends in the spheres of public administration, land tenure, and inter-caste relationships.

Administration

In the past, the royal court and the temple of Jagannātha were linked into one decision-making centre for the region. The fact, that the temple executives wielded worldly power and the fate of the temple depended upon the fortunes of the political leaders was beyond discussion. Today the two spheres are divorced.[35] In the pursuit of their administrative careers, Śāsana Brahmins can accordingly choose between the path of government servants and the traditional performance in the Brahmin assembly of the temple and institutions linked to it.[36]

The status conferred in both careers depends upon achievement, a high degree of literacy for example, though the government executive may be under greater stress. Both lines benefit from the ascribed status, though the ritual guide may be more dependent upon it. The divorce between the two lines is never total: The herb doctor or astrologer in the vicinity of the temple may simultaneously work as a school teacher or clerk. Similarly, the joint secretary of a provincial ministry may be invited regularly to recite his poetry or discuss religion in the pious assembly of the temple. But the depth of the rift cannot be overlooked. Many houses in a Śāsana village remain locked throughout the year, for instance, because their owners are on duty in some distant location. Only on very few important ritual occasions all inhabitants of the village are present.

Material resources have also become a segregating factor: The traditional scholar of the temple may be able to support his family from his petty fees or salary and from his inherited land. He would not, however, have the resources to compete

[35] Yet they still seem to depend upon one another. High government officials practically administrate the temple and on important festivals, political leaders pay homage to the "Lord of the Universe."

[36] Several wise men run medical consultancies near the temple.

in the arrangements for the life-cycle ceremonies—since long subject to excessive inflation. As a consequence, he would have to be satisfied with less influential marriage alliances or sell land of his forefathers. The government executive next door would be the most likely purchaser of such land. Provided with the inherited base, a decent (through by no means extravagant) allowance for his job, and a highly attractive position on the marriage market, his budget would have different dimensions, though his daily consumption habits would run in conformity with traditional moderation. With more land, his sons could keep an adequate share in the village and the annual sacrifice and at the same time benefit from ambitious if expensive modern educational institutions.[37] The traditional career on the other hand may lead to extreme poverty. Not a small number of destitute if wise old men exemplify this final stage by public begging in the temple.

The decline of the ordinary "pilgrim-business" seems to endanger the traditionally exalted status of the Brahmins congregating on the Mukti Maṇḍapa and other institutions of the Great Temple. Hunger and desperation may occasionally even lead to formerly unimaginable public unruliness of the wise old men.[38] The general weightage given to the rulings of the Brahmin assembly on the Mukti Maṇḍapa is correspondingly on the decline. On thc other hand, those modern government officers endowed with real power in the Great Temple's administration would be Śāsana Brahmins without fail, just as the provincial government's effort to develop not just the beaches of Puri but also the festivals in the temple into a tourist attraction would be executed by a Brahmin staff. People from the same strata fill the pages of Orissa's newspapers and periodicals, administrate modern courts of law and teach in schools and colleges. However, hardly any Śāsana Brahmins today are engaged in national or provincial politics. The intricacies of this game appear to contain too many "polluting" obligations. The civil service in contrast seems to provide a long-term base of power, guarded against excessive public exposure.

Land Tenure

The most important modern change in the traditional land tenure was the possibility to *buy* land, formerly *provided* for as a base of subsistence. As mentioned above, this extension of the market was partly responsible for the pauperization of some sections of the Brahmin community, benefiting others. The western-educated Brahmins were apparently also successful in getting the biggest share in the provincial coconut whole-sale market, making use of the traditional Brahmin monopoly. Such commercial activities should, however, not lead to the undue emphasis of economic ambitions among Śāsana Brahmins. They served to retain the traditional base, not to expand it.

[37] I found young Brahmins being sent as far as Mayo College in Ajmer.

[38] It seems, that Pandas of the Great Temple induced the powerless king to prohibit physical fights among his Brahmin guides in a decree, dated 10 8,1958, Not much heed was paid to these orders.

Expansion of landownership was limited in Orissa through a host of laws between 1948 and 1955 called Abolition of Estates Act, Tenants' Protection Act, and Tenants' Relief Act. Legislative improvements of these reforms have followed until today. They were meant to transfer the means of production to the producer and increase the productivity of the soil. In Orissa they removed the privileges of alien tax-farmers and indigenous big land-lords such as the members of royal families and monastic institutions. The term tenant being a legal fiction, the reforms in practice did permit some non-cultivators such as the Śāsana Brahmins to continue their hold over the actual producers. Technically, the token *taṅki* "consideration" was taken as "rent". A landholding Mahājana of a Śāsana village therefore, technically, qualified as tenant—though at the same time he would go out of his way to avoid any contact with the plough.

As the Śāsana Brahmins had *not* been feudal landgrabbers in the past but royal officers, provided with nothing but their means of subsistence, the size of their holdings as a rule did not exceed the twenty standard acres the new legislation had laid down as a limit. So the outcome of the reforms in Śāsana villages was the legal confirmation of the traditional landholders. But as the impact of the reforms had a psychological dimension surpassing detailed legislative arrangements, producers have today begun to question the legitimacy of the Brahmin privileges.[39]

Some old Brahmin institutions which tied down the peasants in the past have continued to guarantee Brahmin dominance though in a different frame of reference. The communal land (*koṭha*) of the Mahājana, for instance, used in former centuries to provide domestic services for Gods and Brahmins, nowadays serves to secure definite, measurable civilizational advantages[40] for the Brahmin village lords. Returns out of the *koṭha* help to finance high standard primary and secondary schools in Śāsana villages. They are spent to install electricity, supply drinking water, and build roads, just as they are used to pay postal and telephone services which are hardly ever found in Indian villages. These returns would also pay for improved medical and veterinary aid and superior seeds and livestock.

Brahmin government officers know conditions, under which such innovations are subsidized, and *koṭha* funds furnish the necessary self-effort to obtain these subsidies. It is hardly astonishing therefore, to witness Śāsana villages on display by government servants, demonstrating the achievements of socialist development.[41] The visiting politician or foreign expert would not know that communal funds and influence are also used in law-cases against disobedient peasants. Many of such cases[42] directly concern the communal land, because the official *koṭha* records would regularly also contain the names of the cultivating tenants and thereby certify a subordinate right of ownership to village menials. The government would thus have to protect the temple priests, gardeners, barbers and the like who cultivate the communal land. As

[39] For a critical evaluation of the reforms, see: B. Mishra, 1970.
[40] They are listed in the Village Directory of the Distr. Handbook.
[41] Many delegations have visited, for instance, Bīranarsinghpur.
[42] I had the opportunity to talk to both parties involved in a number of villages.

they would be safe from the threat of expulsion by their Brahmin masters, their bargaining position would be strengthened while claiming more adequate "considerations" for their services. Cash remuneration for all professional activity is the standard demand. Unexplicitly, this demand does away with the essentials of their service tenure and ultimately leads to a challenge of all superior rights of ownership enjoyed so far by the community of Brahmins. Using different tactics from one village to another, the latter has employed lawyers, priests or goodwill to ward off this threat.

The records of individual holdings in Śāsana villages hardly ever contain any rights of cultivators because the services of all tenants were quietly discontinued (at least formally) when the land reforms were under discussion. Legally the Brahmins became "self-cultivators". In pratice they either personally supervise their former tenants at work or keep up the old relationship tacitly. The superior standard of literacy and administrative experience must have facilitated such an arrangement for the Brahmins.

Intercaste Relationships

The land reforms cast doubt upon the Brahmin privileges. They changed the degree of class consciousness among the peasants rather than the class situation itself. As a result a number of apparently obsolete norms of daily interaction have been discontinued. Only in one of the "seed" villages, for example, Scheduled Caste members would still be expressedly debarred from temple entry. In the other villages, Brahmins would not make an issue out of an egalitarian breach of tradition, yet try to keep the old restrictive norms latently.

In all such questions of ritual superiority, a tendency of compromise would be displayed by the professionals and civil servants of a village. This group would also keep a low profile in disputes over land and conditions of service[43]. The pauperized section of the Brahmin community, however, frequently left with not more than homesteads, petty school master's pensions, and high traditional status would be eager to persecute egalitarian aberration. In three villages I was able to talk to the parties involved in burning peasants' houses or the torture of coconut-pluckers. Such excesses were facilitated by the universally respected norm guarding the Brahmin's physical immunity.

Intermarriage with Non-Brahmins is another traditional prohibition still very much in force. Formerly unimaginable alliances with lowly Plough-Brahmins do take place though. The most widely known cases is that of a family from the despised Ginger subgroup of the Balaramagoṣṭhī which had been able to become one of Orissa's biggest tax-farmers in colonial times. This power was used to contract marriages with all the leading families from Śāsana villages except those from Śrīmukundapur. In recent years, some top-ranking politicians of inferior if Brahmin status have bartered their influence against the ascribed status of the Vedic scholars.

[43] One leading Brahmin lawyer from Puri has gone even further. He is representing the cause of the untouchable coconut-pluckers free of all charges.

Conclusions

The traditional intellectual elite of Orissa, the Śāsana Brahmins of the Puri District, were able to retain their influence in the administration of the province until today, because their traditional training emphasized qualities like literacy, rationality, and abstention from worldly indulgence which continue to be required by any administration. Traditional moderation made them less vulnerable to modern challenges of egalitarian character. As hardly any excessive material privileges had been accumulated in the past, hardly any material demands against them could contribute to their decline in present times. The relatively moderate material base most of the Śāsana Brahmins were able to retain (a few acres of land and the community fund of the village) could, however, be utilized to retain those civilizational privileges (professional training) which had always been their immaterial base of their excessive elitism. The centre of its application shifted away from the Jagannātha temple to the secular administration in Bhubaneswar and the new professions. Those Brahmins who were incapable of the shift of activity have accordingly declined in status, just as other sections of the Brahmin *varṇa* in the past have lost their position with the advent of the Vedic scholars.

One reason for the continued influence of the Brahmin administrators may be found in the absense of anything like a technological revolution, leading to a capitalist mode of production under the control of a strong bourgeoisie. Government—whether royal, colonial, or socialist—has never really tried to loosen its control over the essential means of production, thus preventing a significant expansion of productivity, the development of something like a free market, and the standardization of material wealth as the universal status indicator in place of the traditionally stratifying standards.

CHAPTER XXIII

TEMPLE, TOWN AND HINTERLAND: THE PRESENT NETWORK OF "RELIGIOUS ECONOMY" IN PURI

E. Hein

HINTERLAND AND TOWN

The great esteem in which Jagannātha is kept in the religious thought and feeling, has attracted a continuous stream of devotees to his temple for ages. Puri, the site of the Jagannātha temple at the coast of the Bay of Bengal in Orissa is one of the most prominent places of Hindu pilgrimage. The importance of the cult of Jagannātha and the temple is by no means confined to the religious aspect. A similar importance can be ascertained in a political, social and economic aspect. This importance can be stated for the town of Puri and for the hinterland as well.

With regard to the economy of the town and its environment, even today the influence exercised by the cult and the temple can be traced in many views. An analysis of the means of transport and their development soon proves the influence of the peculiar character of Puri as a place of pilgrimage with hundreds of thousands of pilgrims throughout the year. The first road connection in a modern sense was completed between 1811 and 1826. Less than ten years after the beginning of their supremacy over Orissa (1803) the British authorities started this popular achievement. Besides distinct strategic aims as a connection between Fort William and Fort St. George[1] the construction of the road also has been done to meet the needs of the pilgrims from Bengal in the North to Puri in the South.

Accordingly the road has been called 'Jagannath Road', and has partly been built along the ancient pilgrim routes to Puri. As an evidence for the popularity of the construction work, inscriptions ordered by the then Governor General in Council[2] in the year 1826 remind of the generosity of "the late Maharaja Sukhmay Ray of Calcutta having presented a lakh and a half[3] towards the construction of this road and the bridges on it".[4] Along the road a number of shelter houses for the benefit of the pilgrims has been erected mainly with the help of donations of devotees.

Today Puri can be reached by excellent roads from all major towns in Orissa. There is also a connection to the National Highway Calcutta—Madras. The modern road between Puri and the new capital of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, with the nearest airport has been constructed with a much higher capacity than one could expect for a

[1] Fort William=Calcutta; Fort St. George=Madras. See H. Kulke, 1974c, p. 70.

[2] Lord Amherst (1823-28).

[3] One lakh and a half=150,000, —(Rs.).

[4] W.H. Lee, 1898, p. 8.

town with about 70,000[5] inhabitants like Puri has. The capacity of the road stands the demands of hundreds of thousands of pilgrims coming to Puri especially during the great festivals like the annual Ratha Yātrā.[6] Puri has bus services to all important places in Orissa, and even distinct places like Calcutta can be reached by a daily Express Bus service.

Besides road transport the railway plays an important part. The rail communication between Calcutta and Madras was completed between 1869 and 1879. Puri has been linked with the railway system of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway by the opening of a branch line from Khurda Road on February 1st. 1897. Today this network belongs to the South Eastern Railway. From the total of twenty railway stations or passenger halts "the largest number of passenger traffic, mostly pilgrims, is handled by Puri station".[7] The total number of passengers handled in Puri was about 1,390,000 in 1960/61[8] and 1,450,000 in 1973.[9] At the terminal station of Puri, which covers quite an impressive area, all necessary facilities are available for the passengers. Puri is easily accessible by trains with all kinds of comfort even from distant places like Howrah/Calcutta or Waltair or Madras. One of the most important trains within the network of the South Eastern Railway is the daily Puri-Howrah Express.

In the whole region around Puri one can witness an influence of the temple in various aspects. Still today the names of many villages remind of the important role of the temple. These so-called Śāsana-villages[10] were founded by the kings of Orissa. In an early kind of regional planning Śāsana-brahmins with a special duty within the cult of Jagannātha were settled in the parganā—districts around Puri. The setting of all of these villages followed a certain pattern[11] which can be found today. Formerly large estates belonged to the temple. Jagannātha lost his position as one of the biggest landlords in India only very recently. To give land as endowments to shrines or temples has a long tradition in India. Usually lands given to Hindu shrines are designated as Debottar (*devadāna*). The endowments to Jagannātha and his temple were so important and large that the lands endowed were called *Amṛta-maṇohi*(=meant for the 'embrosial food' of the Deity). It is the only example that for an endowment to a certain temple a special name has been chosen. Although most of the landed property could be found in the parganās around Puri, there are also endowments of land to be found in distant parts of India.[12] Today the landed property of Jagannātha lost its importance in accordance with the new agrarian policy with the abolition of the large estates. But some land is still under the control of the temple and its officers which is restricted to land under the own cultivation. By no means, however, the loss of the lands led to an end of a relation to the population in the region. In

[5] The extact figure is: 72.674 (Census 1971, p. 10).

[6] Ratha Yātrā=Car Festival.

[7] Census 1961, p. 29.

[8] Census 1961, p. 377 (as counted according to collected tickets).

[9] Own material.

[10] Pfeffer and above chapter 22.

[11] See G.C. Tripathi's forthcoming edition of the Śāsana Karaṇam (Delhi 1978, in press).

[12] in R R—Report, by L. Panda (1954) p. 86 are mentioned: Jammu-Kashmir and U.P.

addition to the payment of rent the peasants were usually rendering services within the cult of Jagannātha. Though at present, they do not pay the rents any longer many of the peasants are still serving Jagannātha, e.g. during the construction of the cars or pulling of the cars during the great Car Festival.

Puri is the main market for the agricultural products of the whole region. The temple again has the largest demand. For the preparation of the Mahāprasāda the temple needs an immense quantity of agricultural products like rice, ghee, vegetables etc. In addition to the demand of the temple the large number of pilgrims coming to Puri and their demand has to be respected. But the economic importance of the temple for the region is not restricted to the mere agricultural products. There are several villages which are producing certain goods and articles mainly for the temple or the pilgrims. One village consists only of families which are manufacturing pottery for the temple. Formerly the village was endowed with land by the temple. But the land had to be given away as ground for the construction of a hospital for the pilgrims. The temple is the only buyer of the pottery. A special contract exists between the temple administration and the association of the potter-families. Another village (Bīr Raghurājpur) is specialized in the preparations of paintings, plasterings or masks (fig. 7). These articles are determined in their design by religious motives connected with the cult of Jagannātha and very often bear a devotional character. They are mostly sold in Puri where the pilgrims have the highest demand.

The economic importance of the cult of Jagannātha and the temple for the town of Puri is, of course, by far more evident than for the hinterland. The temple is the most important employer of the town and of the whole region. The words of Reclus written more than a hundred years ago still have their value. He stated: "Religion is in fact the great, almost the only, industry of Puri."[13] Most of the inhabitants directly or indirectly depend on the temple or the pilgrimage.

An exact figure of the members of the ritual organization of the temple cannot be given. The total number of priests and other religious functionaries is more than two thousand. For the year 1960/61 1,793 ordained religious workers were counted for in the Census.[14] There are nearly five hundred family members in the association of the cooks who are working in the temple kitchen. The cooks again employ about five hundred servants. These figures may give some impression of the total number of people being directly dependent on the temple for their livelihood. But more people earn their livelihood in an indirect dependence upon the temple. For the accommodation of the pilgrims there are about seventy licensed and unlicensed lodging houses in addition to a few hotels in western style. The capacity of the lodging houses is enough for about 6,500 people to stay. The number of restaurants, tea stalls, etc. corresponds to the needs of the pilgrims.

An analysis of the commerce and trade in Puri shows very clearly the influence of the temple. This can be observed in different aspects. The local concentra-

[13] E. Reclus, 1833, p. 430, here cited after: O.H.K. Spate, 1972, p. 732.
[14] Census, 1961, p. 121.

tion, the location of the shopping area, in the direct neighbourhood of the temple is one argument (see map 9 and fig. 5). Attached to the temple-walls we can count more than ninety shops or booths of every kind. The main shopping centre is at the Grand Road (*bada danda*) which leads from the Jagannātha temple to the Guṇḍīcā temple. The choice of articles, sold in the market, is of a peculiar character. A lot of articles have something to do with the cult of Jagannātha or religion in general. Pictures, photographs, sculptures, or articles which are necessary for certain rituals are sold in the market. But also textiles and all kind of household goods can be found there. It is a common phenomenon that religious festivals are connected with commercial activity. And this is not restricted to India only. The pilgrims especially those who are coming from the small villages in the nearby area take the chance to combine their visit of the temple with a visit to the market (see figs. 5 and 31). This connection is revealed in the fact that the opening and the closing times of the market depend on the respective timings of the temple.

An analysis of the economy of the Jagannātha temple can be divided into two distinct parts. Within the organization of the temple there are two factions. One group, the by far larger one, consists of the members of the ritual organization. These people, mainly priests or religious functionaries and their servants, are acting in an economic sense in many ways. They are responsible, for instance, for the preparation of the Mahāprasāda, which is later on sold by them to the pilgrims. Furthermore they render against payment different services to the pilgrims as e.g. pilgrims-guides or Paṇḍās. Due to the lack of reliable informations the economic activities of this part of the temple organization cannot be described in an appropriate manner. This will be possible only for the economic activities of the secular temple organization.

The first task of the following chapters will be to analyse the organizational framework of the Jagannātha temple and its development during the last decades and to elaborate the position of the religious institution under a secular government. The second task will be a broad analysis of the various economic aspects and activities within and by the temple.

TEMPLE ORGANIZATION

The situation of the temple seemed to have improved slightly by various efforts of the British administration. "But immediately after independence everything went out of control."[15] The government realized the needs of the moment and introduced a bill in the State Legislature in 1948. The bill provided two important new institutions: 1. a Committee and 2. a Council of Religious Rituals. The Committee should be responsible for the administration and the management of the endowments. The Rājā of Puri should act as the ex-officio chairman of the Committee. "Jewels and the properties vested in the deities should be subject to the control of the State Government."[16] The Council should be responsible for the control and proper

[15] K.C. Mishra, 1971, p. 124.
[16] L. Panda, R.R. Report, p. 4.

conduct of the religious rituals.

The bill was not enacted. The opposition against it must have been very strong. But one reason can also be seen in "the fact, that no proper efforts had yet been made to have an authentic record of different individuals and classes of persons on whom the various rights and duties in the complex scheme of Sebā Pūjā had from time immemorial been devolved. Even there had never been a proper assessment of the position of the Rājā vis-a-vis the deity."[17] The mismanagement became so obvious that the State Government really was forced to act. The Secretary of Law, Shri Dinabandhu Sahu, visited Puri and collected informations. He proposed to introduce a new legislation.

A new Act, the *Puri Shri Jagannath Temple* (*Administration*) *Act, 1952* or "Orissa Act XIV of 1952" was set into force. It should be "an Act to provide for the Administration of Puri Shri Jagannath Temple preventing mismanagement of the Temple and its Endowments by consolidation of the rights and duties of Sevaks, Pujaris and such other persons connected with the Seva, Puja and Management thereof."[18] Under this Act a Special Officer was appointed. His duty was to prepare a record of the rights and duties of the above-mentioned groups of persons. In 1954 L. Panda, the appointed Special Officer submitted his report which from now on will be called *Record of Rights* (RR).[19]

The Record of Rights consisted as prescribed in the respective Rules of 1952 of four different parts:[20]

(i) Record of all Temples.
(ii) Record of all Nītis (rituals, ceremonies, festivals) for the temples which are mentioned in the Part I.
(iii) Record of rights and duties of the priests and other persons "employed for or connected with the Seva Puja and the management of the Temple and its endowments."[21]
(iv) Record of sources of income of the temple and its endowments.

The compilation of the Record of Rights must have been a very difficult task. At the end of his report which was submitted together with the Record L. Panda states: "I have to remark that usages and rules regarding Shri Jagannath Temple and its properties can be compared to a vast ocean and as far as I could, I tried to wade through it, recording as much information as was possible facing many difficulties of various kinds, opposition from certain quarters, non-co-operation from persons who had materials to disclose and the like."[22] Part IV of the Record could not be completed till today.

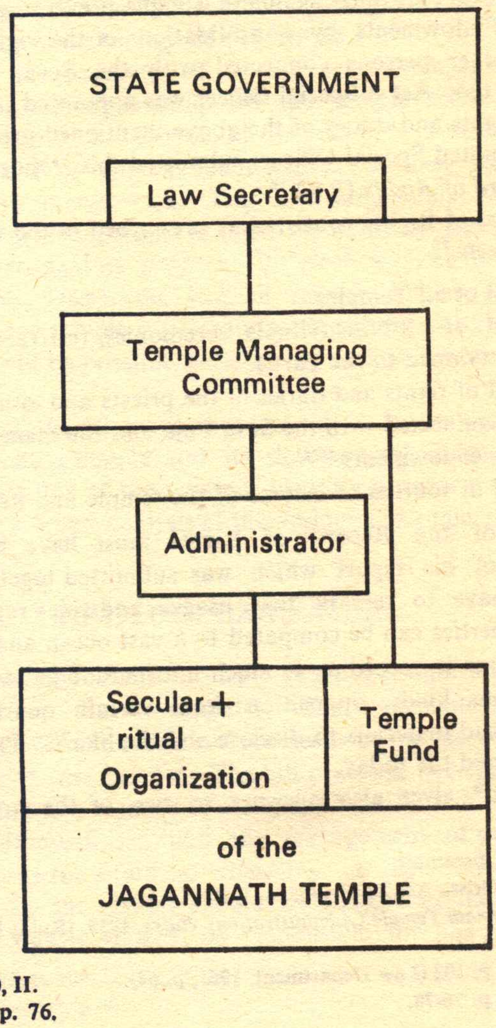
The Report[23] gives also answers to two of the most important questions

[17] *Ibid.*
[18] Act XIV 1952, preamble.
[19] According to Orissa Act XI of 1955, 4, 1, d.
[20] *The Shri Jagannath Temple* (*Administration*) *Rules*, 1952, (Rules 1952). s. 3 i-iv.
[21] Rules 1952, s. 3 iii.
[22] R.R—Report, p. 102 (Law Department, 1961, p. 64).
[23] R.R—Report, p. 76-78.

concerning the position of the temple and the relationship between the Rājā of Puri and the Jagannātha temple. It is clearly shown that the temple is a public and not a private temple. The Rājā of Puri, the former Rājā of Khurda, in whom the superintendence was vested in 1840 "for the time being"[24] acts as a trustee. "The Temple remained in the eyes of the law a public institution endowed by the State Government with the Raja of Khurda as the Trustee with all the obligations and rights of a Trustee."[25]

Soon after the submitting of the Record of Rights a new legislation respect-

Scheme: The Jagannātha Temple at Puri under the Control of the State Government of Orissa.



[24] Act X of 1840, II.
[25] R.R. Report, p. 76.

ing the proposals of the Special Officer L. Panda was prepared and enacted as Orissa Act XI of 1955, the *Shri Jagannath Temple Act, 1954*, "an Act to provide for better Administration and Governance of Shri Jagannath Temple at Puri and its Endowments."[26] According to this Act "the general superintendence of the Temple and its endowments shall vest in the State Government which may pass any orders that may be deemed necessary for the proper maintenance or administration of the Temple or it endowments or in the interest of the general public worshipping in the Temple."[27] By the general superintendence vested in it, the State Government was in the same position as the Mahārājas of Orissa before the advent of the Mughals and it was similar to the situation during the Maratha period and the early years of the British rule over Orissa.[28] The reorganization of the administrative structure of the Jagannātha Temple was very complex. The main institutions as prescribed by the Act were the "Shri Jagannath Temple Managing Committee", the office of the Administrator and the "Shri Jagannath Temple Fund".

The Shri Jagannath Temple Managing Committee[29]

The Committee is the governing board of the temple. The composition of its members has changed during the last years. Formerly there were 11, then 15 and today there are 12 persons members of the Committee.

Table : *The Shri Jagannath Temple Managing Committee*[30]

Sl. No.	Specification of the member	Status in the Committee	Character of membership	Number
1.	Rājā of Puri	chairman	ex-officio	1
2.	Collector of Puri	vice-chairman	ex-officio	1
3.	Administrator of the temple	secretary	ex-officio	1
4.	Commissioner of Endowments	member	ex-officio	1
5.	One member of the Mukti Maṇḍapa	member	nominated	1
6.	Four members of the Sevaks of the temple mentioned in the Record of Rights	member	nominated	4
7.	One person representing the maṭhas or other institutions connected with the Sevā Pūjā or the Nītis of the temple	member	nominated	1
8.	Two persons not belonging to the groups in Sl. Nos. 7 or 6	member	nominated	2
			Total number	12

[26] Orissa Act XI of 1955, preamble.
[27] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 30.1.
[28] Kulke, 1974 c. p. 75f.
[29] Hereafter: Committee.
[30] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 6, 2 a-h.

The most important change since the enactment of the new law was the prescribed membership of the Collector of Puri as vice-chairman. This can be deemed as a further step to strengthen the influence and the power of control of the State Government The Rājā of Puri and his successors hold the position of a chairman of the Committee as a hereditary privilege. The other members are nominated by the government. They should hold their membership for three years.[31] Renomination is possible. The ex-officio members possess their membership and status in the Committee as long as they are holding their respective offices (*Conditio sine qua non*). All the members must confess Hindu religion.[32]

The duties of the Committee can be summarized as follows:[33]

1. "to arrange for the proper performance of Seva Puja and of the daily and periodical Nitis of the Temple in accordance with the Record-of-Rights;
2. to provide facilities for the proper performance of worship by the pilgrims;
3. to ensure the safe custody of the funds, valuable securities and jewelleries and for the preservation and management of the properties vested in the Temple;
4. to ensure maintenance of order and discipline and proper hygenic conditions in the Temple and of proper standard of cleanliness and purity in the offerings made therein;
5. to ensure that funds of the specific and religious endowments are spent according to the wishes, so far as may be known, of the donors;
6. to make provisions for the payment of suitable emoluments to its salaried staff; and
7. to do all such things as may be incidental and conducive to the efficient management of the affairs of Temple and its endowments and the convenience of the pilgrims."

The power of the Committee is restricted in special cases. Without the approval of the State Government no movable property worth more than Rs. 1,000 can be sold or pledged and no immovable property can be leased outf or more than five years or be sold or mortgaged.[34] Further it was prescribed that a report on the administration of the affairs of the temple should be submitted annually by the Committee.[35] The report should be laid before the Legislative Assembly of Orissa by the Government. But till 1974 only three "Annual Report" had been submitted by the Committee. The first report was published in 1965.

[31] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 9.
[32] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 6, 2.
[33] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 15. 1-7.
[34] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 16. 1-2.
[35] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 18. 1-2.

Administrator

The second important institution for better management of the temple according to the prescriptions of the new legislation is the office of the Administrator. He is the "Chief Executive Officer of the Committee".[36] The Administrator is appointed by the State Government from "amongst the persons in their active Service".[37] The Administrator acts as the Secretary of the Committee. Formerly it was decided that he should hold office for a period of three years with a possible reappointment.[38] But since 1966 there is no legal prescription for the duration of the office.[39] During the last years the average was much less than three years for the Administrators to hold this office. The position of the Administrator is very strong. All sevaks and other persons attached to the temple are subject to his control.[40] He has all the necessary powers to govern or to administer a complex institution like the Jagannātha temple. The very detailed prescriptions of the Orissa Act of 1955 cannot be reproduced in total at this place, only the main powers and duties should be mentioned:[41]

Duties and powers of the Administrator of the Jagannātha temple

1. responsibility for the custody of all records and properties of the temple,
2. responsibility for arrangements for proper collections of offerings made in the temple,
3. power to decide disputes between persons or groups of persons attached to the temple relating rights, privileges, obligations,
4. power to require various sevaks and other persons to do their legitimate duties in time in accordance with the Record-of-Rights,
5. special power in cases of emergency,
6. power to control the duties of different maṭhas to supply articles in connection with the rituals in the temple, etc.

The first Administrator also had the duty to prepare a schedule "setting forth the duties, designations and grades of the officers and employees who may, in his opinion, constitute the establishment of the Temple and embody his proposals with regard to the salaries and allowances payable to them, and such schedules shall come into force on approval by the Committee".[42]

[36] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 21. 1.
[37] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 19. 1.
[38] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 19. 1.
[39] Orissa Act IX of 1966, 4.
[40] Orissa Act XI of 1965, 21. A—inserted by Orissa Act 19 of 1961, 7.
[41] See: Orissa Act XI of 1955, 21+22.
[42] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 23. 1.

Any person who does not agree with the orders of the Administrator can lodge an appeal against it before a special Appeal Sub-Committee.[43] This Committee consists of three members. Chairman is the Collector of the District of Puri. The two other members are elected from amongst the non-official members of the Jagannath Temple Managing Committee. But no order or decision of the Administrator or the Appeal Sub-Committee "shall debar any person aggrieved thereby from establishing his right, if any, in a Court of competent jurisdiction."[44]

One of the most important duties the Administrator has is the yearly preparation of a budget estimate for the following year. This budget estimate has to be approved by the Committee and be sanctioned by the State Government. The same procedure is necessary in case there happened to be a change in the figures mentioned in the estimate. This affords a revised budget estimate which has to be approved and sanctioned in the same way. The financial situation of the temple underlies a constant control by the State Government. An auditor appointed by the Government has to examine the accounts of the temple and its endowments. His report will be submitted by the Government to the Committee. In this case the Committee has no other function but to receive the report. And the State Government "may issue such directions thereon as they may deem fit and the Committee shall carry out such directions".[45]

The Shri Jagannath Temple Fund[46]

The third institution to improve the situation of the temple, the Fund, was constituted according to the Orissa Act of 1955. The Fund is administered by the Committee. The total income which is derived in or by the temple excluding the share of the different Sevaks will go to the Fund.
In detail the Fund "shall consist of:

(a) the income derived from movable and immovable properties of the Temple;
(b) any contribution by the State Government either by way of grant or by way of loan;
(c) all fines and penalties imposed under this Act;
(d) all recoveries under this Act;
(e) any other gifts or contributions made by the public, local authorities or institutions.[47]

The Fund should mainly be used for the following purposes:

[43] Orissa Act of 1955, 24. 1-6.
[44] Orissa Act of 1955, 24. 1.
[45] Orissa Act of 1955, 27. 1.
[46] Hereafter: Fund.
[47] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 28. 1 a–e.

(a) maintenance (including repairs and reconstruction), management and administration of the Temple and its properties;
(b) training of Sevaks to perform the religious worship and ceremonies in the Temple;
(c) medical relief, water supply and other sanitary arrangements for the worshippers and the pilgrims and construction of buildings for their accommodation;
(d) culture and propagation of the tenets and philosophy associated with the Temple of Shri Jagannath;
(e) any other work or undertaking for the purposes of the Temple authorized by the State Government, so long as such authorization subsists; and
(f) with the previous sanction of the State Government, for the establishment and maintenance of or the making of any grant or contribution to any leper asylum, poor home, orphanage or similar other institutions.[48]

The right of possession of the temple and its properties is held by the Committee. It is clearly provided that the Committee takes or is in "possession of all movable and immovable properties including the Ratna Bhandar[49] and funds and jewelleries, records, documents and other assets belonging to the Temple".[50] Consequently it is illegal if a person tries to use the properties of the temple for his own personal benefit. Neither the Administrator nor the Rājā of Puri, the Chairman of the Committee, are entitled to do that. The Administrator is controlled by the Committee. He is acting on its behalf as the Chief Executive Officer and thc Secretary. The Rājā of Puri definitely lost his former position as Superintendent of the temple. Although he is the Chairman of the Committee he has no right to force the Committee to act in his interest. The other eleven members of the Committee are directly or indirectly controlled by the State Government.

The three ex-officio members are Government officers of the highest rank in the hierarchy of the Civil Service of Orissa. And not seldom it happens that one or even more of the officers are members of the elite of the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S./I.A.S.)[51] or its stately equivalent the O.A.S.[52] The other seven members are nominated by the State Government and can be dismissed by it any time. The recent position of the Rājā of Puri in connection with the Jagannātha temple has a more ritual character. The ritual importance the Rājā of Puri gains by being the successor of the Gajapatis of Orissa. By this quality he is the first (and the foremost) *Sevaka* of Jagannātha and accordingly he holds the highest rank in the hierarchy of the ritual organization of the temple. And he receives the biggest share of the *Bhoga* as

[48] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 28. 2 a–f.
[49] *Ratna Bhaṇḍāra* means the treasury of the Jagannātha temple.
[50] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 33. 1.
[51] I.A.S.=Indian Administrative Service.
[52] O.A.S.=Orissa Administrative Service.

remuneration for his service[53] in addition to his monthly salary as chairman of the Committee.

The temple is now regarded as a public institution. "The Administrator and every person authorized by him or the Committee while acting under any of the provision of this Act, be deemed to be public servants, within the meaning of section 21 of the Indian Penal Code."[54]

TEMPLE ECONOMY

The economy of the Jagannātha temple appears to be very complex. The religious importance which attracts hundreds of thousands of pilgrims throughout the whole year finally constitutes the reason for the immense and complex institution and the necessary organization. The economical importance of the temple, with thousands of people directly or indirectly depending on the temple and the pilgrimage, for the town will be discussed later. We start with an analysis of the economic situation and activities of the temple administration itself.

The total number of people directly employed within the secular organization counts approximately two hundred. These temple officers form the administrative and control staff. Compared with the ritual organization in which about 1614 people are mentioned in the Record of Rights to receive a share of the Bhoga as remuneration for their services, the staff of the secular organization seems to be very small. But in the sense of economical importance it plays the more important role in the context of this analysis.

The economic activities of the temple usually find their expressions in the categories of receipts, expenditures, and property. We start with the receipt side of the temple-budget and discuss the more important items herein.]

Receipts

In the year 1974/75 the temple received the following income under the main titles:

Table : *Receipts 1974/75—Budget Estimate*[55]

Sl. No.	Head of Account	Amount in Rs.
1.	Cash in hand	—43,896.00
2.	Land Revenue	207,650.00
3.	Other revenue	521,900.00
4.	Miscellaneous sources	603,280.00
5.	Grants and loans	814,782.00
6.	Advances and deposits	150.050.00
7.	*Total*	2,253,766,00

[53] Worth about 125, Rupees per day,

[54] Orissa Act XI of 1955, 35. A.

[55] Budget Estimate, 1974/75, p. 1.

With regard to the temple economy during Maratha and British period it is an astonishing fact that the formerly so important position of the land revenue nearly disappeared in the meantime. Today the total share of the land revenue amounts to nine per cent of the total receipts. The reasons for this development will be discussed below.

Under the title *land revenue* we find a compilation of various subjects which have a connexion with land in a larger sense.

Table: *Specified Receipts*: *Land Revenue 1974/75*[56]

Sl. No.	Head of Account	Amount in Rs.	%
1.	Sale of paddy	49,836.00	24
2.	Sale of coconuts	4,153.00	2
3.	Fisheries	4,153.00	2
4.	Land Rent from mahals and other land	29.071.00	14
5.	Annuities	120.437.00	58
6.	*Total*	207,650.00	100

The temple receives income from landed property not only in terms of cash but also in terms of kind, mainly paddy and coconuts. Sometimes a fixed number of coconuts has to be added to the normal rent in cash. Where the paddy and the coconuts are not used in the temple for the preparation of *Bhoga*. they are sold. By leasing out the right of fishery in the various big tanks, which belong to the temple, a further income can be realized.

But the most important information given in the above table is the prevailing portion of the annuities within the total receipts under the title land revenue. The annuities are regular payments by the State Government of Orissa to the temple. They bear the character of a compensation. Formerly the temple was one of the biggest landlords in India but due to a radical change in the agrarian policy the position of the temple in this aspect has been rectified.

Nearly 60% of the receipts under the title land revenue consist of the annuities by the State Government. Land rent in terms of cash comes up only to 14%. The rent is collected from the landed property which remained untouched by the recent policy. By the "Orissa Estate Abolition (Amendment) Act, 1974" finally the lands owned by the Jagannātha temple were treated like the other bigger estates before. The tenants (*rayats*) on the lands of the temple had to pay the land rent much longer than the rayats e.g. on government land. Increasing difficulties in collecting the rents were influenced by campaigns of political groups. They argued that "when

[56] Budget Estimate 1974/75.

abolition of revenue from *Debottar*[57] or *Pirottar*[58] estates was accepted in principle, the temple authorities had no more right to collect it."[59] Respecting these difficulties the compensation in the form of regular payments as annuities by the government seems to be better for a more rational management of the temple affairs. But within the fraction of the temple functionaries there was a considerable opposition against the introduction of the payments of annuities by the government. A reason for the opposition certainly was the apprehension of an increasing influence and control by the secular authorities in the capital. But as seen in history, one can trace various examples for a very close connection between the State Government on the respective ruling power on one side and the Jagannātha temple on the other. The apprehension of a financial dependence reproduces only an over-estimation of the relative importance of the annuities. Of the total receipts the amount of the annuities does not count for 6%.

In this connection, during the previous years, another important item was the receipt for leasing out stone quarries situated in the estates of the temple. There was an immense demand caused by public construction work for a new port for Orissa at Paradip at the Bay of Bengal and the new National Highway connecting the new port and the hinterland, where the iron ore—the main good to be shipped at this port—is dug out. The lease rentals for 1965 to 1967 were Rs. 691,787 and for 1968 to 1971 Rs. 381,400.[60] During this period the construction work nearly came to an end.

Under the heading *other revenue* a summary of different kinds of receipts is to be found. From the table given below only the more important items will be discussed. The income from Bajemahal means income from leasing out e.g. various rights to collect entrance fees from pilgrims for visiting such places as Guṇḍīcāghar or to open certain shops inside the temple compound. The right to sell entrance tickets to pilgrims at the Guṇḍīcā temple has been leased out for Rs. 27,000 in the year 1968/69.[61] There must have been a considerable profit for the lessee. In the year 1974 this mahal has been leased out on auction basis for the price of Rs. 90,000. The other leased out items are not at all of the same importance. In total there are more than thirty different items under the description Bajemahal. A new introduction into this source of income was the leasing out the license to watch shoes at the Lion's Gate, the main entrance. This resulted in an income of Rs. 5,000 during the year 1968/69.[62]

57 *Debottar*: revenue free estates granted to a Hindu shrine.
58 *Pirottar*: revenue free estates granted to a Muslim shrine.
59 *The Hindu Weekly Review*, June 17, 1968, p. 11.
60 Administration Report 1968-69, p. 1862.
61 Administration Report 1968/69, p. 1869 (appendix III).
62 Administration Report 1968/69, p. 1870.

Table : *Specified Receipts* : *Other Revenue. 1974/75*

Sl. No.	Head of Account	Amount in: Rs.	%[64]
1.	Income from Bajemahal	118,000.00	23
2.	Ananda Bazar rent	8,000.00	2
3.	Deepa sheds	6,000.00	1
4.	Laxmi Bhandar	250,000.00	48
5.	Entrance fee (Kitchen)	5,000.00	1
6.	Entrance fee (Nilādri-Bihāra)	12,000.00	2
7.	Sale of books	15,000.00	3
8.	Sale of photos	80,000.00	15
9.	Miscellaneous	27,900.00	5
10.	Total	521,900,00	100

The system of leasing out various sources of income to other people against a fixed price is a common phenomenon.. And also the procedure of an auction has a longer tradition. The idea behind it is quite rational and economical. Instead of employing additional staff and having all the risks in certain cases the agreed price can be regarded higher than only a compensation for the 'loss' resulted by the renunciation of the temple to act on its own behalf. But in case the administration of the temple is strong enough it would not be unlikely to make certain changes. In fact the direct responsibility for the collecting of entrance fees at Guṇḍica perhaps seems to create an increasing income for the Jagannātha temple.

Within the temple compound there are many smaller shops or sheds where a variety of articles are sold to the pilgrims.

Table : *Shops within the temple compound 1974*[65]

Sl. No.	Description of sold articles	Number of shops[66]
1.	Lamps (Dīpa)	16
2.	Flower-garlands	50-60
3.	Religious photographs etc.	4
4.	Religious books etc.	1
5.	Dried Mahāprasāda	12
6.	Total	83-93

[63] Budget Estimate 1974/75.
[64] Approximation.
[65] Compilation by P.C. Mishra, M.A. (1974).
[66] Shop at this place also means stall, booth etc.

The shops are mainly situated at the Ananda Bazar. The shopkeepers have to pay a rent to the Administrator. As mentioned in the above budget for the year 1974/75, the sum is about Rs. 8,000. But there are no hints for the total value of income by the various shops.

The main item which is to be sold in the temple is the *Mahāprasāda*. Absolutely no figures are available for its total value. The Mahāprasāda according to an old tradition is sold by the cooks or their respective agents. The association of the cooks, the *suār nijog*, counts about 600 family members. It is the strongest and most influential group within the ritual organization of the Jagannātha temple. The cooks employ about 400 servants to help them with their work in the kitchen which is guessed to be one of the largest in the world[67] (see fig. 4). There are more than 300 ovens in the kitchen. Respecting the fact that a couple of thousand of people depend upon the income resulting from the sale of Mahāprasāda to pilgrims, the total value must be very high. And by far it is the most important economic factor. Despite the importance no exact figures can be reproduced. An indication is perhaps the income of the temple which is realized in the Laxmi Bhandar (*Lakṣmī Bhaṇḍāra*), i.e. the temple store which sells foodgrains, sugar and ghee etc. to the cooks. The cooks purchase the necessary articles for the preparation of Mahāprasāda which is meant for the sale at their own costs from the Laxmi Bhandar. The income was about Rs. 250,000.00.[68] This amount can help to get an impression of the size of the total sale.

During the past various attempts to improve the effectiveness of the Laxmi Bhandar have been made by the administration of the temple. At first, all necessary articles were purchased in the local market. Then a tender system was introduced by the Committee. The result was not satisfactory. Only one shopkeeper gained from this procedure. So the Committee considered the chances of a Co-operative store. In 1964 the "Puri Wholesale Co-operative Store' opened a branch within the temple compound. But again the difficulties did not come to an end. The agreement to pay a donation of Rs. 200.00 and a monthly rent of Rs. 100.00 in addition to a "levy of two per cent on sale proceeds of fire-wood and one per cent on the sale of other articles'[69] has never been fulfilled. After the temple administration had found out that the prices in the co-operative store were higher than those on the market, the system was changed again. In 1969, the Administrator opened a wholesale store under the responsibility and management of the temple administration. The staff consisted of ten persons. In the Administration Report of the year 1971 it is mentioned, that the Laxmi Bhandar "has functioned from 1969 to the benefit of both the Temple and the Sebaks resp. Swars".[70] But in the report nothing is said concerning any profit in figures.

It took only two years till the temple administration closed the Laxmi

[67] The Hindu Weekly, June 17, 1968, p. 11.
[68] See above: p. 453; for the year 1974/75 (budget estimate).
[69] Administration Report 1963-68, p. 1597.
[70] Administration Report 1968/69, p. 1864.

Bhandar, because it became evident that there was no profit. And the closing resulted a loss of more than Rs. 13,000.00 due to the damage of some articles. Today again most of the articles are purchased in the market.

Also under the title *other revenue* in the budget 1974/75 a quite remarkable income of about Rs. 17,000.00 is mentioned as entrance fees. The temple administration leases out the rights to collect entrance fee from pilgrims who want to visit the temple kitchen and the *Nīlādri bihār*. This is a very recent institution. It was opened in 1969 as a "permanent cultural exhibition",[71] a sort of "religious museum".[72] "It throws light into Jagannath Dharma and various Nītis connected with the Jagannātha Temple."[73] It functions as a training centre in Veda, Upanisads, Yoga, music and dance. There are eleven staff members. The Nīlādri Bihār yields a net profit of more than Rs. 5,000.00 pei year.

By selling religious books, photos, and pictures an income of about Rs 90,000.00 is counted for in the budget 1974/75. The major part will be by the selling of photos, which have been produced previously at a cost of Rs. 40,0)0.00. Under the title *miscellaneous sources* we find the traditional sources of income for a religious institution. These incomes derive from offerings by the devotees. There are various kinds of offerings, which will be discussed below.

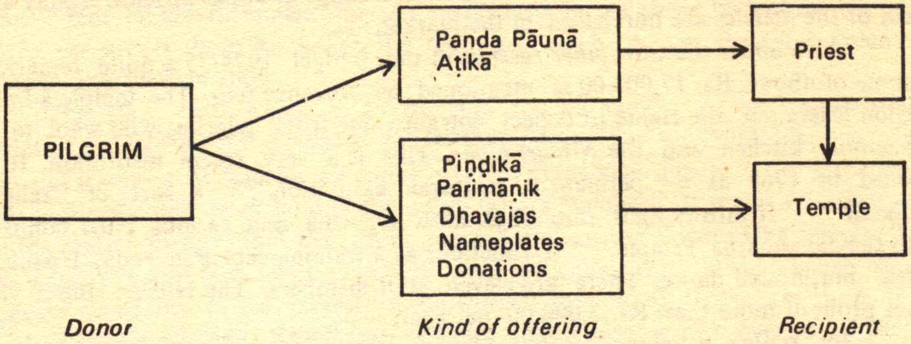
Table : *Specified Receipts: Miscellaneous Sources 1974/75*[74]

Sl. No.	Head of Account	Amount in Rs.	%
1.	Piṇḍikā	28,000.00	5
2.	Parimāṇik	25,000.00	4
3.	Dhvajas	4,000.00	1
4.	Nameplates	21,000.00	3
5.	Donations	50,000.00	8
6.	Interest	65,000:00	11
7.	Bus services	350,000.00	58
8.	Dairy farm	21,000.00	3
9.	Miscellaneous	39,280.00	7
10.	Total	603,280.00	100

The offerings made by the pilgrims can be divided into two groups according to the respective recipient.

[71] Administration Report, 1968-69, p. 1863.
[72] P. Tripathy, 1969, p. 32.
[73] Administration Report, 1968-69, p. 1863.
[74] According to the figures of the budget estimate 1974/75.

Scheme: Offerings by the Pilgrims to Priests and the Temple.



Usually a pilgrim is guided by a Paṇḍā, who also looks after the accommodation etc. of the pilgrims. For their service the Paṇḍās receive donations from the pilgrims, which to some extent have the character of a remuneration. The Paṇḍās in addition to their duties in Puri are also responsible for winning new pilgrims for the temple. The amount of the donations as *Paṇḍā Pāunā* depends partly on a certain pressure by the Paṇḍās besides the willingness of the pilgrims. But a consideration of the Paṇḍā Pāunā and its amount must respect the fact, that the Paṇḍās first pay all expenses for the pilgrims, and afterwards receive a compensation.

Besides the donation as Paṇḍa Pāunā the pilgrims very often make donations for a Bhoga for Jagannātha. This kind of donation is called *Aṭikā* and is received by the Paṇḍās, who should use the donation according to the intention of the donor. It is nearly impossible to find out the exact amount donated to Jagannātha in this way. No information is given in the accounts of temple so far. A competent officer once estimated the amount donated as Aṭikā to be more than one million of Rupees per year.[75] The prices for certain daily or periodical Bhogas lie between Rs. 12.00 and several thousands. From the amount received by the Paṇḍā a certain percentage should be given to cooks who prepare the Bhoga. The major part of the donation remains with the Paṇḍās. Sometimes the whole amount is taken by them. The above cited officer states: "No doubt the Jatri[76] Paṇḍas do take a great care of the Jatris but all the same they get their Pandā Paunā and they can have no absolute right to the trust money which the pilgrim gives in the name of the God.[77] And although the proposal was made to the government to examine and to improve the situation no real change happened concerning the Aṭikā.

More information can be given on the other forms of offerings. "The offer-

[75] R R—Report, p. 63.

[76] *Jātrī*=pilgrim.

[77] R R—Report, p. 63. cf. also JSV, eng. tr. of the ORP, p. 153 which corroborates the statement of the said officer and confirms that around the beginning of the 19th c. the Paṇḍās were *officially* allowed to keep with themselves the major part of the money donated by the pilgrims for the Bhoga of Jagannātha.

ings made by devotees and pilgrims at the feet of the deities and those made in the name of the Lord in other premises of the Temple"[78] are called *piṇḍikā*. The offerings are made in form of cash, jewellery, gold, silver, and clothes like sārīs. Formerly in the case of cash offerings, an open box, called *thālī*, was used. In 1962 the temple administration introduced a radical innovation. The offerings were to be deposited in closed boxes "to check possible misuse".[78] This was understood as a serious attempt to diminish the rights and privileges of different groups of members of the ritual organization. According to the Record-of-Rights various priests or religious functionaries are entitled to receive a fixed percentage of the collection. The closed boxes were used only for a few days till the priests "snatched them away by force and had open Thalis for collection".[80] The disputes could not be settled until 1971. Today the locked boxes are used "without interference in the rights of the Khuntias and Mekaps[81] in their share of the collection".[82]

Table : *Piṇḍikā—Offerings by Devotees*[83] *1960-61—1974-75*

Year	Amount of Offerings Cash Rs.	Gold gr.	Silver gr.	misc.[a] nos.
1960-61	20,474.00	600	9,000	
1961-62	31,662.00	1,000	12,000	2,547[b]
1962-63	34,524.00	900	12,000	
1963-64	18,542.00	630	8,200	1,993
1964-65	20,954.00	660	9,300	2,142
1965-66	20,493.00	730	8,500	2,682
1966-67	15,075,C0	600	6,600	2,122
1967-68	27,986.00	810	7,400	2,648
1968-69	31,083.00	—	—	—
1973-74	26,000.00	—	—	—
1974-75	28,000.00	—	—	—

Remarks : *a*: misc.=other articles like clothes etc.
b: total for 1960-61—1962-63
— no figures available as for 1969-70—1972-73, 1973-74 and 1974-75= budget estimates
all figures : *excluding* shares of the priests

Very often devotees want to have *darśana* in the Jagannātha temple "beyond hours of public free Darshans".[84] To visit the temple for this purpose, the devotees have to purchase tickets. The ticket cost between Rs. 0.50 and Rs. 2. The sale proceeds are designated as *parimāṇik*. The yearly collected amount has increased

78 Administration Report, 1963-68, p. 1597.
79 Administration Report, 1960-63, p. 597.
80 Administration Report, 1960-63, p. 597.
81 Khuṇṭiā, Mehāp=names of the resp. priests.
82 R R, IV, p. 20.
83 Compiled by the author from various sources.
84 Administration Report, 1968-69, p. 1863.

from about Rs. 10,000.00 in 1961-62 to Rs. 25,000—as what has been the estimate for 1974-75.

Another source of income for the temple worth mentioning in this connection, is the collection under the title: *Dhvajas*. As a meritorious act many devotes of Jagannātha give money for a flag to fly at the top of the main temple above the wheel, the symbol of Viṣṇu. The prices for the flags are fixed. They vary from Rs. 1.40 to Rs. 120, or even more depending on the size of the flag. The share of the total amount, which is to be counted as an income for the temple is about 25%. Usually 50% remains with the Paṇḍā, who receives the full amount. Other prescribed percentages will go to different groups of priests or functionaries. The person who climbs up to the top and fixes the flag receives only 5%! Today there are four climbers to do this risky job. They belong to the "*Cūnara Dhvaja Bandha Sevā*". But whereas the other members of the ritual organization usually receive an additional income from other sources the climbers do not have any other source of income. In the temple accounts for 1974-75 an income under this item amounts to Rs. 4000 as an estimate. This would mean that during the last 15 years there was an increase of more than 100%.

The old costum to fix *nameplates* within the temple compound exists still today. The rates for the plates depend on their size. For example a devotee who wants to have a plate with his name fixed at the temple walls or grounds has to pay Rs. 45 for a plate with the size of one foot by one foot. From this amount only Rs. 3[85] will be handed over to the mason. The total income for the temple went up from Rs. 1,300.00 in the year 1953 to Rs. 21,000.00 in the budget estimate for 1974-75.

In addition to the above-mentioned offerings the temple receives *donations* in the form of money orders. In the year 1953 Rs. 10,000.00 were accepted by the Rājā of Puri as Superintendent of the temple in that form.[86]

Table : *Amount of Donations to the*[87] *Jagannātha Temple 1961-62—1974-75*

Year	Amount in Rs.
1961-62	20,080
1962-63	17,175
1963-64	18,543
1964-65	20,959
1965-66	20,493
1966-67	15,075
1967-68	27,986
1968-69	71,332
1972-73	44,343
1973-74	43,000
1974-75	50,000

Remarks : no figures available for 1969-70—1971-72; figures for 1973-74—1974-75 =budget estimates

85 R R, IV, p. II.
86 R R, IV Report, p. 62.
87 Compiled by the author from various sources.

The remarkable increase of the donations in the year 1968-69 has been resulted by particular activities of the temple administration. A special office was opened within the temple compound "in a conspicuous place . . . to draw attention of pilgrims intending to make donations".[88] Circulars were sent to "appropriate quarters"[89] to ask for donations which were like today exempted from the income tax by the Government of India. The result of these efforts was that the amount increased by more than 260% compared to the previous year. In 1972 the State Bank of India, the bank with the largest network of branches all over the country, declared that donations for the Jagannātha temple are accepted everywhere and are "transferred to the account of the Temple administration free of collection charge and banking commission".[90]

During the last years the amount of the donations has dropped down again. But according to informations from reliable sources there is a great chance to increase the amount again. The willingness of many possible donors sometimes is hampered by informations on misuse of funds and difficulties within the organization and administration of the temple.

The donations and other funds are usually kept in a bank as fixed deposits. These deposits serve as a security against loans in general and also as an overdraft loan for the temple administration. The periods for the fixed deposits vary between five and seven years. The average rate of interest ranges from 6 to 7%.

In 1971 the amount of fixed deposits was nearly 800,000.00, yielding an income by interest of about Rs. 56,000.00. In the budget estimate for 1974-75 the respective figure is about Rs. 65,000.00 which leads to the conclusion that the total amount of fixed deposits in bank must have increased up to above Rs. 920,000.00.[91]

The consideration to improve the financial situation of the temple and to do something for the benefit of the pilgrims or to meet their demands, made the temple administration purchase a bus. The *bus-service* under the responsibility of the administration has started in January 1969. A bus was purchased at the cost of Rs. 80,000.00. The gross income in 1969 was about Rs. 108,000.00. In the year 1972 when two buses were operating, the income was about Rs. 141,022.00 against cost of Rs. 12,390.00 for the necessary staff and Rs. 116,656.00 for fuel, repair, road tax, and insurance. That brings the net-income to about Rs. 22,000.00. For 1974-75 the purchase of two new buses was planned. With these additional buses a net-income of about Rs. 82,000.00 was expected. This show that the decision to start the 'Sri Jagannath Bus Service' had a very positive effect on the receipt side of the temple budget.

The secular activity of a religious institution has a long tradition. In medieval South-India temples were running hospitals and schools. They improved the irrigation systems in their lands and functioned as a storage for agricultural products (see B. Stein, 1960 and 1961).

[88] Administration Report, 1968-69, p. 1863.
[89] Administration Report, 1968-69, p. 1863.
[90] *Hindustan Standard*, 2.5.1972, p. 7.
[91] If the rate of interest is near to 7%.

Today, one of the richest religious institution of the world the Veṅkaṭeśvara temple at Tirumala/Tirupati is executing various activities with a secular character. For example more than 120 buses transport the pilgrims to the temple. More than 30 educational institutions are connected with the temple including a university and medical colleges. The Veṅkaṭeśvara temple is also running a dairy farm. The products are used in the temple. There are many secular activities which are resulting in increase of the income. But all these activities must have a social and charitable character. The purposes for which funds of the temple can be used are exactly determined by law.[92] But the situation of the Jagannātha temple cannot easily be compared with the Veṅkaṭeśvara temple. A comparison of the annual income of the most important religious institutions in India in the economic aspect will prove this.

Table : *Annual Income of Selected Hindu Temples*[93] *1971*

Sl. No.	Name of the Temple	Annual Income in Rs.
1.	Tirupati Devasthānam, Tirupati	91,844,300.00
2.	Nathdvārā Temple Group (Rāj.)	1,611,445.00
3.	Kṛṣṇa Temple, Guruvayur	887,045.00
4.	Jagannātha Temple, Puri	800,000.00
5.	Raṅganātha Temple, Śrīraṅgam	539,033.00
6.	Mīnākṣīsundereśvara Devasthānam, Madurai	452,550.00
7.	Badrinātha Temple (U.P.)	415,000.00

The Jagannātha temple resp. the administration of the temple since 1971 also runs a *dairy farm* to produce milk and milk-products for the needs of the temple. The total receipts of the dairy farm for 1974-75 are estimated to be Rs. 21,000.00. After deducting the expenditures the net-income for the period is about Rs. 4,300.00.

To finance the economic activities like the investments for the buses the administration of the temple needs additional funds. Like a secular institution or an economic enterprise of this size the temple asks for a *loan* from a bank, which will prove the rentability before giving the loan. To compensate the current expenditures the administration also needs an overdraft loan. In the budget estimate the following figures are given: estimate for 1974-75.

Overdraft loan against securities[94]	Rs. 300,000.00
Loan from State Bank of India for purchase of two buses	Rs. 200,000.00

[92] The Andhra Pradesh Charitable and Hindu Religious Institutions and Endowments Act 1966; (No. 17 of 1966) § 91, 1-3.

[93] Source: *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Sept. 3, 1972, p. 17.

[94] The fixed deposits serve as securities.

For advances, which have been given by the administration and yet not been recouped, and for deposits a provision is made in the budget estimate for 1974-75 for Rs. 150,050.00.

In addition to all the above-mentioned receipts there is another source of income for the temple. The peculiar character of the Jagannātha temple as an institution with such a great importance in different aspects motivates to make grants. With the following compilation of grants the analysis of the receipts should be concluded.

Table : *Grants to Jagannātha Temple*[95] *1974-75*

Sl. No.	Specification	Amount in Rs.
1.	Grant by the Governor of Orissa for new work	40,000.00
2.	Grant from the Lodging-house Fund[96] for sanitation etc.	15,000.00
3.	Expected grant by the Government of Orissa	3,000.00
4.	Grant by the Government of Orissa to meet the deficit	256,782.00
5.	Total	314,782.00

The fact that the government of Orissa makes a grant to meet the deficit of the temple is an interesting phenomenon. In the history of the temple there are several examples of similar considerations by the ruling powers. The Maratha government used to make good the deficit of the temple by a yearly grant to adjust the accounts. Even the British Government during more than half a century did the same. (See above Kulke, Chapter XVIII). In this context it can be stated that the relation between the secular government of Orissa and the religious institution can to some extent be looked at in a certain tradition.

The description and analysis of the economic aspects of the Jagannātha temple should be completed by the expenditures of temple.

Expenditures

The analysis of the expenditures as given below cannot demand any completeness. As mentioned above in the case of the receipts the lack of information about the economic activities of the ritual organization especially of the cooks confines the

[95] Estimates.

[96] The Lodging-house Fund is financed mainly by a terminal tax on passengers coming to Puri by train or bus and by license fees and eventual fines paid by the licensed lodging-houses in Puri.

examination of the expenditures to those which arise by the activities of the secular organization. The expenditures for the articles which are needed for the preparation of the Mahāprasāda are by far higher than the expenditures of the temple administration. But again the analysis must remain confined to the temple administration. The following figures are given in the budget estimate for 1974-75:

Table : *Expenditures of Jagannātha Temple*[97] *1974-75*

Sl. No.	Specification	Amount in Rs.
1.	Administration	12,800.00
2.	Establishment	260,000.00
3.	Allowances	52,000.00
4.	Contingencies	132,700.00
5.	Works	96,500.00
6.	Nītis[98]	626,000.00
7.	Miscellaneous charges	1,250,460,00
	Total	2,430,460.00

In this context expenditures for the *administration* are payments to the members of the Managing Committee who are entitled to receive an allowance. From the total of Rs. 12,800.00 the chairman of the Committee, the Rājā of Puri, gets Rs. 12,000.00. This is paid as a monthly salary to him. In addition to his salary he receives a prescribed share of the *koṭhābhoga*[99] worth Rs. 125.00 per day. (The Rājā's share is also called *Rājāmahāprasāda.*)

The *establishment* of the Jagannātha temple consists of more than 220 persons as secular staff. They are working in the different departments of the temple administration in a broader sense. Their salaries, wages or allowances are resulting in the following expenditures:

Table : *Expenditures for Establishment*[100] *1974-75*

Sl. No.	Specification	Amount in Rs.
1.	Head office	58,000.00
2.	Temple Police and control staff	84,200.00

(Contd.)

[97] Budget estimated.

[98] Nītis=worship, ritual.

[99] From the *koṣṭhabhoga* or the Mahāprasāda offered in the sanctum (*koṣṭha*) the members of the ritual organization receive a share as *khei* which can be seen as a traditional form of remuneration.

[100] Budget estimates.

1	2	3
3.	Sanitary	18,200.00
4.	Tahsil[101]	32,000.00
5.	Nīlādri Bihāra	1,200.00
6.	Garden	2,100.00
7.	Lakṣmī Bhaṇḍāra	1,200.00
8.	Dairy Farm	4,300.00
9,	Transport	31,200.00
10.	Donation and publicity	6,360.00
11.	Other staff at : Narendra, Dolabedi and Guṇḍīca Mandira	16,000.00
	Works establishment	5,240.00
12.	Total	260,000.00

As an important item under the title *allowances* in the budget estimate for 1974-75 can be regarded Rs. 40,000 00 as aid to Sebaks.[102] This amount should be paid to those members of the ritual organization who do not receive a sufficient remuneration as a share of *koṭhābogha*. The remaining amount of Rs. 12,000.00 will be used for travelling allowances, rewards etc. for temple officers. The total amount as allowances in the budget estimate is Rs. 52,000.00.

Expenditures as *contingencies* are shown in the table below:

Table : *Expenditures for Contingencies*[103] *1974-75*

Sl. No.	Specification	Amount in Rs.
1.	Furniture	2,000.00
2.	Cycle, clock, typewriter etc.	2,000.00
3.	Stationery, forms	5,000.00
4.	Postage	1,200.00
5.	Telephone	2,500.00
6.	Electric charges	25,000.00
7.	Miscellaneous charges	45,000.00
8.	Printing of books, photos	50,000.00
9.	Total	132,700.00

From the total expenditures less than ten per cent arise in connection with the office work of the temple administration. Nearly twenty per cent are for electric

101 Tahsil staff: responsible for the collection of revenue.

102 Sebaks=priests, religious functionaries,

103 Budget estimates.

charges. The temple has to pay for all electric charges for current consumption of the whole Jagannātha temple and its administration. But as shown above under receipts, the administration collects the charges partly from the shopkeeper within the temple compound. Under the item *miscellaneous charges* provisions are made for the refund of *khei* to Rājā of Puri and some other minor refunds. Nearly forty per cent of the contingencies are calculated for expenditures for the printing of books and especially pictures. Rs. 40,000.00 arise as expenditures for religious pictures which should be sold to the devotees later on. As shown above the expected income resulted by the sale is expected to be around Rs. 80,000.00.

From the total expenditures in the above-mentioned compilation Rs. 96,500.00 are termed as *works*. These expenditures are meant for necessary repairs of the temple and the connected institutions. Nearly fifty per cent of the total amount will be used for repairs of the temple structure. But Rs. 45,000.00 as the estimate in the budget are not sufficient for necessary repairs of the temple. Since 1974 the Jagannātha temple has been "declared as a protected monument of national importance".[104] This will mean that the temple administration can expect grants by the Central Government of India.

The expenditures above-mentioned as *Nītis* are very important. They can also be described as 'traditional' expenditures. The temple administration has to pay for the preparation of the *koṭhābhoga* or the 'official' Mahāprasāda. The Koṭhābhoga is prepared in the temple kitchen by the cooks who belong to the ritual organization of the temple. The temple administration pays for the necessary articles like rice, ghee, vegetables etc. and also for the work of the cooks. The Koṭhābhoga will be distributed amongst the members of the ritual organization. The shares received by the Sebaks are prescribed exactly in the Record-of-Right. Their amounts differ very much from each other. As mentioned above, the shares of the Koṭhābhoga have the character of a remuneration for the services rendered by the Sebaks. And in accordance to the hierarchy of the ritual organization they are graduated. The highest income of this kind is received by the Rājā of Puri as the highest Sebak of Jagannātha.[105] Very often the Sebaks do not have any other income in the form of cash. They have the chance to sell their shares of the Koṭhābhoga to the pilgrims in the temple. By this they can receive a monetary income.

From the total amount of expenditures for the Nītis of Rs. 626,000.00 nearly eighty per cent[106] are used for the preparation of the Koṭhābhoga. Other expenditures under this designation arise in connection with the various festival in the cult of Jagannātha. The famous Ratha Yātrā[107] which attracts the highest number of pilgrims results in an expenditure of Rs. 80,000.00 in the budget of the temple administration. This money is used for the purchase of necessary articles and the

104 Hindustan Standard, 12th March 1974, p. 1 (Calcutta).

105 The share of Koṭhābhoga received by the Rājā of Puri is estimated to a value of Rs. 125 per day, as already stated above (p. 450, f.n. 53).

106 Or nearly Rs. 500,000.

107 "Car festival".

construction work. The temple administration has to buy wood for the cars in addition to the timber which is still given free of cost by the former Feudatory Rājā of Daspalla. The transport from a nearby river to Puri has to be paid by the temple administration. Also in addition to the voluntary services by various persons, like peasants of the lands of the temple, carpenters and painters are to be paid for their services.

At this place it should be remarked that the temple receives an income after the festival by selling the wood of the cars. The sale is not always done by the temple officers. Like in many other cases the right to sell the wood has been leased out to somebody during rhe previous years. The lease amount was about Rs. 3,500.00 in 1962/63.[108] In 1968/69 the sale proceeds have been mere Rs. 1,100.00[109] when the car timber was sold by the temple officers directly.

It would not give a complete picture of the expenditures connected with the Ratha Yātrā without our mentioning the activities of other institutions. The temple administration only pays for a small share of the total costs for all the necessary arrangements for the festival. The Public Health Department of the State Government of Orissa and the Police Department are responsible for a proper execution of the festival too in some aspects. The road and rail traffic is checked by Health officers. Passengers have to be vaccinated against cholera, a disease which in former times spread during the festival over vast areas. For the security special police arrangements are necessary. The expenditures for these activities by the government officer cannot be described due to lack of information. But they can be guessed to be much higher than those Rs. 80,000.00 spent by the temple administration for the festival.

More than fifty per cent of all expenditures in the budget estimate are designated as *miscellaneous charges*.

Table : *Expenditures for Miscellaneous Charges*[110] *1974-75*

Sl. No.	Specification	Amount in Rs.
1.	Dairy farm	13,000.00
2.	Law charges	10,000.00
3.	Cultural and publicity	16,000.00
4.	Motor vehicles	480,000.00
5.	Laxmi Bhandar	225,000.00
5.	Refund of loans	250,000.00
7.	Interest on overdraft loan	25,000.00
8.	Repayment of loan to S.B.I.[111] with interest	110,000.00
9.	Miscellaneous items	121,460.00
10.	Total	1,250,460.00

108 Administration Report, 1960-63, p. 606.

109 Administration Report, 1968-69, p. 1869,

110 Budget estimates.

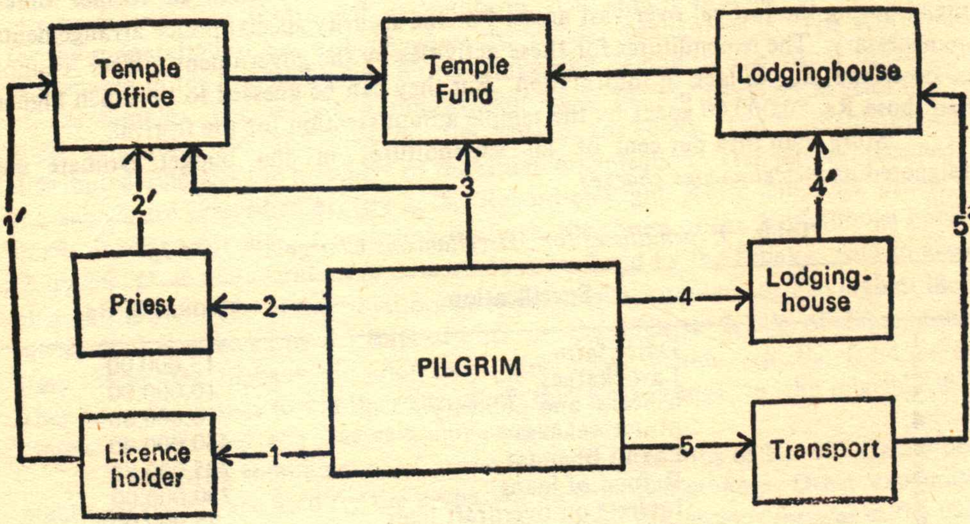
111 S.B.I.=State Bank of India.

The above table shows that respective expenditures arise in connection with the operating of the administration and the various economic activities.

The religious institution, the Jagannātha temple, in the economic aspect is acting similar to a secular institution. But one difference to secular institutions can be seen in the general intention behind all the relevant activities. The temple is an institution without the normal profit orientation of an enterprise. The charitable character cannot be denied. But, for the benefit of the temple and the devotees, the administration has the duty to minimize the inefficiency in certain activities. The income which arises for the temple has to be increased and funds to be used for the improvement to meet the needs of the pilgrims and for the accomplishment of the charitable duties. But also with respect to the Jagannātha temple "scrupulous care should be exercised that the ever-expanding activities of the Temple resulting undoubtedly in enhanced income and prestige should not leave any right or wrong impression in the mind of the devotees that the temple is run with a commercial or profit-making slant".[112]

APPENDIX

Scheme: Flow of expenditures, offerings etc. by pilgrims yielding income for the Shri Jagannath Temple Fund.



Explanations:

1 entrance fee etc.
2 donations, offerings
3 donations, offerings, grants
4 accommodation
5 transport (railway, bus)

1′ license fee
2′ excl. priest's share
4′ license fees, fines
5′ terminal tax

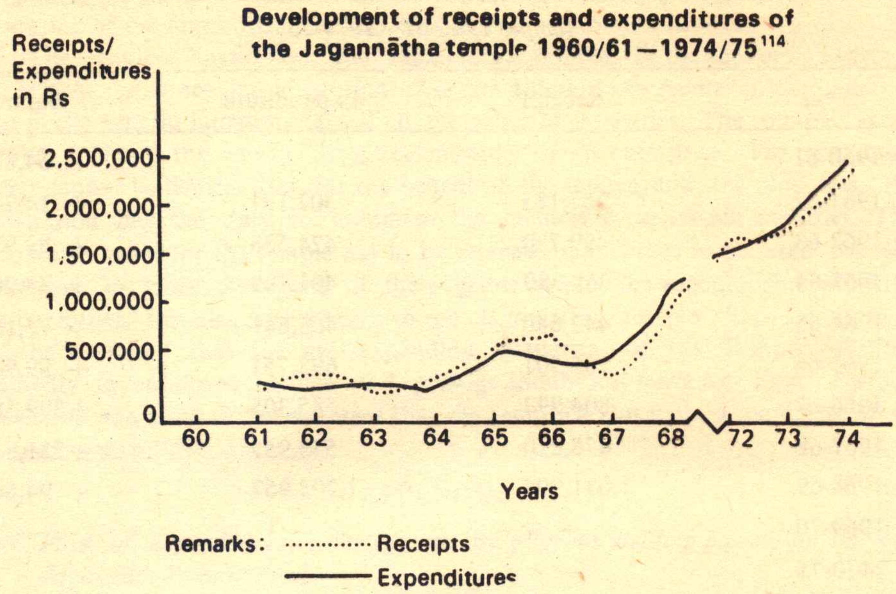
[112] H.R.E.C. (Hindu Religious Endowments Commission)—Report, 1962, p. 162. The suspicion has been expressed in the remarks of the Commission on the Veṇkaṭeśvara temple at Tirupati/Tirumala.

Table : *Budgetary position of receipts and expenditures*[113] *of the Jagannātha temple 1960-61—1974-75*

Year	Receipt	Expenditure	Balance
1960-61			+ 64,852
1961-62	257,183	307,191	+ 14,744
1962-63	499,720	424,533	+ 89,931
1963-64	354,380	401,109	+ 43,202
1964-65	442,640	408,681	+ 77,161
1965-66	705,501	692,751	+ 89,901
1966-67	804,992	585,305	+309,588
1967-68	478,210	555,959	+231,838
1968-69	1,071,997	1,208,967	+ 94,868
1969-70	—	—	—
1970-71	—	—	—
1971-72	—	—	—
1972-73	1,781,571	1,751,989	+ 20,336
1973-74	1,842,440	1,906,672	— 43,896
1974-75	2,297,662	2,430,460	−176,694

Remarks : all figures in rupees
Balance=closing balance
1969-70—1971-72 : no figures available

[113] As compiled by the author from various Administration Reports and other relevant and reliable sources.



[114] The years mentioned in the figure actually mean the periods like in the above table: 60 e.g. means 1960-61 etc.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLES IN CONTEMPORARY ORISSA

H.v. Stietencron

There are at present 931 temples, dedicated to Lord Jagannātha in one of his various forms, and registered as *independent* religious institutions in Orissa (map 8). This number does not include the numerous Jagannātha images installed in minor shrines belonging to other temples or in semi-monastic institutions (*maṭhas*) and pilgrims' rest-houses.

The god is worshipped either in correspondence with the main temple at Puri in a triple image consisting of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, often with the addition of Sudarśana Cakra. In these cases his temple is invariably known as Jagannātha temple.

Or he is worshipped singly, i.e. the main image resembles in shape and colour only the one god Jagannātha. Although additional images of his triadic aspect may be installed in these temples either in side-shrines or in the temple hall, they are never named Jagannātha temples. Their presiding deity is known as Dadhivāmana (Oriya: *Dadhibāmana*), Patitapāvana (Oriya : *Patitapābana*) or Tṛtīya Deva (Oriya: *Trutiyā Deba*), each of these names betraying a slightly different aspect of the god.

Dadhivāmana[1] possibly represents the Sanskritized form of the original tribal name of the Wooden God who at a later stage of his development was identified with Viṣṇu—Puruṣottama and who finally adopted the title Jagannātha. Dadhivāmana temples, therefore, reflect an early stage of the god's development. He had not yet been subject to a concept which demanded his integration into a triad of gods. Such integration became possible only after his identification with Kṛṣṇa, but this identification had not yet taken place. He had also not yet reached the earlier dualistic stage of his development in which he had been identified with the god Puruṣottama sporting with his consort. He was still in the earliest phase of his gradual Hinduization which consisted in the addition of eyes and crude arms to his original post-like

[1] See v. Stietencron chapter 3.

form. If, at this stage, the god was considered as Narasiṃha emanating from a pillar, as has been proposed by A. Eschmann, we could assume that he was originally alone: Narasiṃha was also alone—without brother or sister or consort—when he broke out of the pillar to destroy the demon. But a Śakti may possibly have been added because of the ritual requirements in the Tantric sphere to which he belonged in Orissa. If, as appears also possible, the Narasiṃha-phase of this god's development was preceded by a still earlier stage in which he was identified with Bhairava, it is also likely that a female partner was soon associated with him in Puri, namely the goddess Vimalā. The Wooden God may have assimilated successively the nature of Bhairava and Narasiṃha. He became a Hindu god without deviating too much from his original shape. He also changed his name into a Sanskritized form, probably without deviating too much from its original sound.[2]

Historically, we know of a Dadhivāmana temple already in the middle of the 12th century[3] when the Puruṣottama/Jagannātha temple of Puri was not yet completed. Since that time the tradition of worshipping the wooden god Dadhivāmana/Dadhibāmana has continued up to the present day. He is not different from Jagannātha. He is simply worshipped in a form which has remained unaffected by the alterations forced upon the god in the royal courts of Orissa (ch. 10). A reminiscence of Dadhivāmana seems to be retained even in the cult of Jagannātha at Puri. Whenever the three statues of the Jagannātha triad separate, as for instance in the car festival (*rathayātrā*) when each deity has its own chariot, the image of Jagannātha is referred to as *Vāmana*. People do not know why, but it is tradition to call him so. They do not associate the word with the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu (*vāmana*), but rather with Kṛṣṇa as a child, because Jagannātha is Kṛṣṇa. Originally the word appears to be an abbreviation of Dadhivāmana.

Patitapābana (*Patitapāvana*) "The Purifier of the Fallen-Ones", is an aspect of Jagannātha which originated as late as the 18th century. The name refers primarily to a painting inside the main (eastern) gate of the Jagannātha temple precincts. This painting faces east and is visible from outside the gate. It shows Jagannātha alone, without the two other members of the triad. He is there to be seen by those who are not allowed into the temple; the impure ones whom he, mercifully, is ready to purify if they strive for purification.

We have two slightly different accounts of the origin of this image.[4] Both connect the image with Rājā Rāmacandradeva II of Khurda, who was taken prisoner by Taqi Khān in 1730 A.D. The king who remained imprisoned in Cuttack for about 6 months is said to have fallen in love with the Nawāb's daughter. His alleged love affair with the Moslem girl, or a rumour about his conversion to Islam[5], induced the

[2] v. Stietencron, 1975, p. 54.

[3] See v. Stietencron chapter 3.

[4] M.P. III, p. 77f and an english extract of another version of Mādalā Pāñjī annexed to a letter of the collector of Puri to the commissioner. See JTC, VI, p. 1436. (H. Kulke, 1975, chapter VIII, 1) and above G.N. Dash, chapter XIX (p. 362, f.n. 16) who, however, points out that *Patitapābana* is mentioned in an earlier literary work of 17th century.

[5] On this rather doubtful tradition see H. Kulke, loc. cit., whre further references are quoted.

priests of Puri to declare the king as outcaste. He was "fallen" (*patita*) from caste and as such was no more allowed to enter the temple until fully purified from the stains of his contact with non-Hindus. But since he was still king, the image of Patitapābana was painted in order to give him a chance to see the god from outside.

This account, though possibly exaggerating the humiliation of Rāmacandra-deva II by his priests, makes it clear that Jagannātha was no more approachable for everybody in the first half of the 18th century. Previously, this god's tribal origin had secured free access even to the lowest of the low. He was praised by the famous Oriya poets of the 16th and 17th centuries particularly for granting relief and salvation to the poor, the simple, and the depressed ones. He was still accessible without caste distinction in the time of Caitanya and his immediate followers. But in the 18th century this was no more so. The continuous and dangerous presence of Muslims in Orissa had induced the Hindus to isolate themselves and to lay stress on orthodoxy. The god began to be cut off from the majority of his devotees They could see him only from outside the temple in his Patitapābana aspect. And they erected temples for this form of the god in their own villages.

The worship of *Trutīyā Deba* (*Tṛtīya Deva*) the "Third God" represents another way for the rural population of selecting their own favourite god out of the official Jagannātha triad of Puri. The "Third God" is again Jagannātha in his characteristic wooden shape. It is obvious that the Trutīyā Deba does not originate directly from those ancient indigenous traditions which are still preserved in the Dadhivāmana worship. As the name suggests, this god is singled out of the already existing triple deity of Puri. But like Patitapāvana, he is recognized as the only one of the triad who really belongs to the low class people. Balarāma and Subadhrā are not their own gods, nor are Śiva (Bhuvaneśvara) and Durgā (Virajā) who are inherent in these two additional gods.[6] Only Jagannātha really belongs to the region and loves his people even if their social status is low. Trutīyā Deba is thus very close to Patitapābana. The only difference lies in the latter's name which is slightly more sophisticated, since the whole drama of socio-religious inequality is inherent in it. Trutīyā Deba is a more simple name but the god is the same.

The following diagram shows the number of temples dedicated to the god Jagannātha in his various forms as described above. The names of the god are given in their Oriya spelling. Against each name are listed the number of temples according to districts in alphabetical order. For the actual location of these temples the reader is referred to maps 7 and 8 in the appendix.

[6] Balarāma—Saṃkarṣaṇa was taken to present Śiva in the Pāñcarātra system and he is still considered to represent Śiva among the priests of Puri today. Subhadrā, also equated with Ekānaṃśā was well known as a Form of Durgā-Katyāyaṇī—at least since the time of the Harivaṃśa. She is today worshipped with the mantra of Bhuvaneśvarī Durgā (For more details see above Chapter. 10).

	Jagan-nātha	Dadhi-bāmana	Patita-pābana	Trutīyā Deba	Total
Balasore	26	18	—	—	44
Phulbani	6	8	1	—	15
Bolangir	34 (+1)+	19	—	—	54
Cuttack	40 (+2)	70 (+2)	11	4	129
Dhenkanal	11	14	4	3	32
Ganjam	132 (+1)	36	3	—	172
Kalahandi	24 (+3)	9	—	—	36
Keonjhar	2	24	—	—	26
Koraput	3	—	—	—	3
Mayurbhanj	3	5	—	—	8
Puri	31	79	41	16 (+2)	169
Sambalpur	155 (+6)	58 (+2)	—	—	221
Sundargarh	22	—	—	—	22
Identified	489	340	60	23	
Not Identified	13	4	—	2	
Total	502	344	60	25	931
Total single god			429		

(+ = not identified)

This diagram shows, as would be expected, that imitations of the famous Jagannātha temple at Puri are the most numerous. But it may be noted that by far the majority of them are situated in the Sambalpur and Ganjam districts. There may be more than one reason for this striking fact. The dominant position of the Puri temple may have discouraged attempts at imitation in its vicinity: people would rather go and see the original god as long as it was within reach by local transport with an acceptable amount of effort and time. But since the number of Jagannātha temples does not increase with the distance from Puri in all directions, nor corresponds fully with the density of population, there must be other reasons for the special emphasis in Ganjam and Sambalpur.

As for Ganjam, there are strong historical ties with Jagannātha. The Puri images were often the object of raids by the Moslems who hoped to seize these politically, economically and spiritually important backbones of the Hindu resistance in Orissa. Usually the priests were warned in time and managed to escape with the images across the Chilka lake to the Banpur region or into Ganjam. This happened repeatedly, so that Southern Orissa was the actual home of the Puri gods on several occasions.[7]

[7] The MP records as many as ten such escapes of the Puri gods in the period between Pratāparudradeva and Rāmacandradeva II (1496-1736). Often they could return soon, but sometimes the exile extended over a longer period. At the end of the reign of Rāmacandradeva II, e.g., the gods were installed for more than two years at Māradā near Aṭhgarh in Ganjam.

With Sambalpur the case is different. We have, in the first chapter, referred to an influence from the upper Mahānadī valley in the Jagannātha cult. We also know that a few early temples of this god existed since the time of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (early 13th century) in the upper Mahānadi valley on the pilgrims' road which connected coastal Orissa with Central India. But the intensive spread of Jagannātha temples in this area may be mainly due to the Marāṭhās who established their supremacy first and most firmly in that area. They inaugurated a period of Hindu revivalism which produced a large number of literary works and architectural monuments. After many years of constant struggle they conquered also most of the coastal Orissa. Although Orissa remained at first (1751-59) nominally in the possession of the Nawābs of Bengal, it was finally completely liberated from Muslim dominion and remained a relatively peaceful Marāṭhā province until the British started their conquest in 1803. The Marāṭhās' image of "Hindu liberators from Muslim dominion" was emphasized by their promotion of the Jagannātha cult. The Marāṭhā rulers were themselves Vaiṣṇavas and certainly did so out of religious conviction. But they also realized the economic and political importance of the Jagannātha cult as described by H. Kulke in chapter 18.

It should be noted on the other hand, that there are some regions in Orissa which appear almost totally untouched by the Jagannātha cult. They are mainly Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar in the north, Phulbani in the western hills, and Koraput in the south. Roughly, the whole area from 300 m above sea level upwards is untouched by the cult. It has spread only in the lower regions. Within these, many of the former feudatory princes have introduced Jagannātha temples in their capitals. But the main spread of Jagannātha temples seems to have occurred on the village level, apparently without legitimatory function for the rulers, but reflecting the religious feelings of the local landlords in the Marāṭhā and British periods.

Whereas in view of the great fame of the Puri temple there is nothing peculiar in the spread of Jagannātha temples to other parts of the country, the number of temples dedicated to the worship of the single Wooden God is an unexpected and striking fact. There are altogether 429 temples of the single god in one or the other of his three forms. Out of these, the major part belongs to Dadhibāmana, in whose name I could register 344 temples in my survey. Most of them are in the Puri, Cuttack, Ganjam and Sambalpur districts, the centre of the cult being in the rural midlands of the western Puri district.

While the large number of Jagannātha temples in the Sambalpur and Ganjam districts seem to indicate a particular popularity of the god amongst the Zamindars of Western and Southern Orissa, it appears from the distribution of Dadhibāmana that the cult of the single Wooden God was rather centred in a strip of land covering most of the Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack districts. This is confirmed by the distribution of the two other forms of the single god. Patitapābana's greatest density is in the Puri district, stretching partly into the deltaic regions of Cuttack. Trutīyā Deba occurs also mainly in the Puri district, the greatest density being in an area between

Khandpara and Ranpur with Bolgarh at its centre. This is an ecological setting which befits well the less sophisticated nature of this form of the god.

Map No. 7 shows the distribution of the single Wooden God in all his three aspects combined. It clearly indicates that the cult has its stronghold at present in the Puri and Cuttack districts, from where it extends north into Keonjhar and Balasore, and south into Ganjam. This corresponds largely to the area where vestiges of Ekapāda Bhairava worship are most numerous.[8] But a considerable number of temples dedicated to Dadhivāmana are also in Sambalpur and Bolangir, i.e. in the former Dakṣiṇa Kosala. This fact seems to suggest a common cultural heritage in the two areas which is all the more striking because it refers to Dadhivāmana, the earliest form of the god. Was there in the two areas a common religious tradition reflecting the first stage of the Hinduization of the Wooden God?

According to the 1961 census reports on the tribal communities of Orissa there are Saora settlements in precisely those parts of the Sambalpur district where Dadhivāmana temples are most frequent. Saora communities are also living in some of the adjacent areas of Madhya Pradesh. The Khonds among whom a ritual renewal of wooden posts is still practised today[9] are also living in this area. These tribal communities have rather strong historical ties with ancient Dakṣiṇa Kosala or Chattisgarh. According to the account preserved in the Mādalā Pāñjī[10], it was among the Saoras of Dakṣiṇa Kosala where Yayāti Keśarī found a few people who still knew the ancient practices and rituals of preparing and installing the wooden images. Yayāti was determined to revive the Jagannātha cult which had been extinct for a long time. He had images of the wooden gods carved from a tree which was brought from the Sonepur district of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. And he installed the Saoras as servants of the Lord in the Puri temple.

Since this account mentions the '*mūrtis*' (. . .*mūrtimāne māṭi khāi chinna bhinna hoichanti. . .*) of the Jagannātha groups of gods, it reflects a very late stage in the god's development. The text was probably written after King Rāmacandra of Khurda had re-established the Jagannātha cult in 1586-87[11] and the whole account may well refer to this important event. Its mythological transfer into the hoary past and its connection with the famous founder of the Somavaṃśī empire of Orissa are common techniques of securing authority and legitimation for an unprecedented event or innovatory action. It is thereby linked to tradition and sanctioned as a repetition of what has happened before. We are, therefore, not sure about the authenticity of the Yayāti tradition. But ties of the Jagannātha cult with the upper Mahānadī valley may have existed before Rāmacandra.

Unfortunately our survey of Jagannātha and Dadhivāmana temples is restricted to the borders of the present Orissa State. An extension of the survey

[8] See v. Stietencron chapter 6.
[9] See the chapter on prototype of the Navakalevara ritual by A. Eschmann above, chapter 14.
[10] MP, pp. 5-6.
[11] See Kulke, chapter 17.

into Madhya Pradesh would have shown whether Dadhivāmana temples extended further west and whether their location indicates any connection with the Saora or Khond tribes. An investigation among the tribals of this area is also an important task not yet undertaken. Both tasks, if taken up in future, might influence and possibly clarify our picture of the evolution of the god.

At present we must be content with pointing out two factors which may have contributed to the popularity of Dadhivāmana, the early form of the Wooden God in Western Orissa. One factor may be the relationship of this god to religious traditions of the tribal and semi-tribal population of the area. The other factor may date back to the 15th century, when the so-called "five companions" raised early Oriya literature to a first splendid height. This was a time of intense devotion to Jagannātha. But the god was stripped by the Oriya poets of some of the many additions and paraphernalia of a royal cult. The barriers of exclusiveness which had been raised around the deity by kings and priests were broken down. Jagannātha, to the Oriya poets, was not only a god of the elite. He was rediscovered as what he had originally been: a god of the poor, a friend of the miserable and the wretched, the low-caste and the tribal.

This message of the poets and religious reformers did not suceeed in stopping the Brahmanization of the Jagannātha cult in Puri. But it spread far into the hinterland and may well have revived the popularity of the Single Wooden God.

CHAPTER XXV

JAGANNĀTHA: THE AGELESS DEITY OF THE HINDUS*

G.C. Tripathi

The peculiar iconography of the wooden images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā with their thick and massive heads and the short arm stumps emerging out of the middle of the head; devoid, however, totally of the legs, betray its tribal origin and character even to a layman. Long after the total integration of the Jagannātha figures into Hinduism, their iconography persistently reminded the people of their origin and when the texts propagating the glory and the holiness of this religious place were composed, the tribal origin of the figures was neither concealed nor suppressed, perhaps because it could not possibly be suppressed or overlooked, being too prominent and obvious.

But, on the other hand, the Hindus of the upper class who had now taken to the worship of these Deities, never felt quite comfortable about admitting the fact that they just took them over from the aboriginals and transformed the whole into the worship of Viṣṇu in his aspect of Jagannātha, the Lord of the Universe. A necessity was always felt to justify the adoption of these tribal figures into the greater Hinduistic tradition. Such justifications and explanations are best offered in the religious field by introducing some supernatural or divine element expressing the will of the Deity Herself.

During the period when the wooden image or images of Jagannātha were accepted in the Hinduistic fold, the most popular Viṣṇu images in Orissa were those of Mādhava, who was also known as Nīlamādhava since these statues were carved out of the black chlorite—black or blue being the bodily hue of Viṣṇu. Mādhava is a standing form of Viṣṇu with four arms (cf. Figs. 49, 50) in which he holds (beginning from the upper left) a conch, a mace, a lotus (in Orissa, however, this lower right

*This article has also appeared in the Silver Jublee Volume (XXV, March-June 1976) of the J. of the Oriental Institute of Baroda (cf. pp. 272-85) under the title "The Evolution of the Concept of Jagannātha as a Deity." Only minor change have been done in its present form.

mostly displays the *varada-mudrā*) and a discus respectively.[1] A number of such statues belonging to the 8th to 10th centuries have been found and exacavated in the valley of the river Prācī not far from Puri.[2] These Mādhavas of Prācī were so popular and important that the poet Balarāmadāsa (1475-1548A.C.) writing as late as in the 16th century invites in his work *Vaṭa Avakāśa* twelve of such Mādhavas to the court of Jagannātha which he holds under the shade of the Kalpavṛkṣa (a vaṭa tree) in the Puri temple.

In the beginning of the present millenium, therefore, when the worshippers of Jagannātha felt the need and the necessity to explain to themselves and to otners this strange form and the wooden character of their Deity, they naturally thought first of Nīlamādhava which was the most common form of Viṣṇu in those days. They claimed and propagated that their Jagannātha had not all along been so. He was, in fact, originally a Nīlamādhava of stone which stood under the shade of a tree and was worshipped by the chief of the *Śabara* race. But when a Brahmin emissary of the king Indradyumna of Mālvā who wanted to have a *darśana* of the Lord, discovered Him once, He vanished and a divine voice (or a dream) gave the king to understand that He would now no more be visible to the people in his Nīlamādhava form which was appropriate only for the golden age of the humanity (kṛtayuga) but would instead assume a new shape more suitable to the prevailing time, to be worshipped as a Deity made of wood.[3]

Why the wooden statues of Jagannātha etc. have exactly these peculiar and uncommon features, has also been explained either as the will of Viṣṇu who himself appears as a carpenter to fashion the images or as a result of the uncalled for curiosity of Guṇḍīcā, the legendary queen of Indradymna, who opened the doors of the carpenter's workshop after the lapse of just 14 days whereas they were to remain shut up for three weeks; an act which offended the divine carpenter so much that he disappeared leaving the work unfinished.

It is quite obvious that in this legend the element of Nīlamādhava has been

[1] cf. H. Daniel Smith, *Vaiṣṇava Iconography*, Madras 1969, P. 164 f.
mādhavo gadayā sārdhaṃ cakraśaṅkhāmbujāyudhaḥ (§ 400)
and
savyādhaḥ paṅkajaṃ yasya pāñcajanyaṃ tathopari/
dakṣiṇordhvaṃ yasya cakraṃ gadā cādho vyavasthitā/
ādymūrtes tu bhedo'yaṃ mādhaveti prakīrtyate/ / (§402)
cf. further *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* (Tirupati 1972), Ch. 11 śl. 160-62.

[2] cf. K.N. Mahapatra, *Purāṇic Literature of Orissa*, in Orissa Hist. Res. Journal, XI (1962) 1, P. 26. For a different view, however, see Ch. 1 by H. v. Stietencron who contends that none of the Mādhava image of the Prācī valley is older than 10th century. On the importance of the river Prācī for the cultural development of Orissa, see *Prāci nadīra aitihāhisika bibhaba* (in Oriya) by Dr. R.C. Panda, Bhubaneswar 1969.

[3] The story called 'Indradyumna Legend' has been critically examined in all its versions (both Sanskrit and Oriya) by R. Geib in his excellent monography, *Indradyumna-Legende: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Jagannātha-Kultes*, Wiesbaden 1975 (Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, Bd. 7).

brought in as a sort of apology born out of a certain lack of self-confidence in worshipping the strange looking wooden statues. That the *Śabaras* had been worshipping the original Jagannātha in a forest, might be true. But it is quite inconsequent to claim that it was the beautiful stone statue of Nīlamādhava fashioned according to the principles of Hindu iconography, since they are known not to possess any such images (cf. ch. 4 and 5 by Eschmann above).

The effort to explain the strange form and the unusual substance (wood) of Jagannātha—which at no stage seem to have just been taken for granted—is the beginning of the speculations, not only about the 'origin' of Jagannātha but also about his 'true nature'. Leaving aside here the question, how this wooden statue was identified exactly with Viṣṇu and none else on which much has been said above (cf. ch. 5 and 10), we may recall that Jagannātha has very often been characterised as the *Buddha* incarnation of Viśṇu in the Orissan literary tradition. Already Sāralādāsa (first half of the 15th c.) refers to this identification several times in his Oriya Mahābhārata: [4]

1. *samsāra janaṅku tāribā niminte/*
   baudharūpe bijaya karichanti jagannāthe// Madhyaparva
2. *bolai jagannātha nīlagiribāsī/*
   baudharūpare nīlakandare chanti isi// Madhyaparva
3. *dvāpara juga śeṣare deba jagannātha/*
   baudharūpare bije karibe je etha// Sabhāpara
4. *balabhadra subhadrā e kṛṣṇa tini rūpa/*
   baudharūpare hele emanta svarūpa// Vanaparva
5. *jaya nīlādribihāri he jagannātha/*
   baudharūpe kalijuge mahimā bikhyāta//
6. *kalijuge rahibāku kichi dina icchā/*
   baudha abatāre niśce bihāribū// Muṣaḷiparva

This tradition persisted and flourished in the works of *Pañcasakhā* (the five associates of Caitanya in Puri, beginning of 16th c.) and others in the 16th century and was again revived in the 19th century by the sect of Mahimā Dharma (See. A. Eschmann, ch. 20). In the dancing hall (*nāṭamandira*) of the Jagannātha temple one finds the figures of all the incarnations of Viṣṇu carved beautifully on a wall where the place of the 9th, or the Buddha incarnation is occupied by Jagannātha Himself.[5]

Such associations with Buddha led many scholars in the 19th century,

[4] These and other quotations from the Oriya Kāvyas in this article have been taken from an unpublished monography named "*Devotional References to Jagannātha in the old Oriya Literature*" by Shri K.N. Mahapatra, Retd. Supdt. of Archaeology, Orissa which he very kindly prepared for the Orissa Research Project. The author expresses his deep gratitude to Mr. Mahapatra for his valuable help.

[5] For a pictorial representation of these incarnations, see K.C. Mishra, 1971, Plate No. 18.

especially Hunter[6] and Cunningham,[7] to conclude that Jagannātha has originally been a Buddhist deity. Cunningham even goes to the extent of postulating that the figures of Jagannātha etc. are but a three-dimensional representation of the Buddhist sign of *Triratna*. If, however, one closely compares the symbol of *Triratna* with the statue of Jagannātha, it immediately strikes that Cunningham—who had probably never seen the original statues of Jagannātha—was misled by the *pictorial representations* of the deities with both arms stretched upwards, as they are commonly sold in Puri bazar but which does not correspond to the actual shape of the images in the temple,[8] not to the position of the arms at least. Though the theory has been recently revived vigorously by H.K. Mahatab,[9] the modern researches do not seem to substantiate it.

In my opinion, the association of Jagannātha with Buddha is not due to the fact that Jagannātha *has* originally *been* Buddha or Triratna etc. but again due to the necessity to explain the nature of this extra-ordinary and strange figure, once it had already been identified with Viṣṇu. Once the figure *was* Viṣṇu, the question which naturally came up next, was, which aspect or incarnation of Viṣṇu this wooden figure after all represented? The Buddha incarnation came here handy, as it stood outside the pale of Brahmanism but still loosely connected with it and further, the iconography of the different forms of Buddha was not so well known to the Hindus that they would have hesitated to accept this identity. Besides, this was the incarnation of Viṣṇu which could have been most easily dislodged for the sake of Jagannātha from the classical scheme of the incarnations since it was not so firmly established in the Hinduism.

Yet Buddha was not the only form of Viṣṇu which Jagannātha was identified with. There are sufficient evidences in the cult practices to show that at least in a certain phase of his development, Jagannātha has really been considered as identical with Nṛsiṃha the Man-Lion (cf. ch. 10). The *Puruṣottama-māhātmya* of Skanda-Purāṇa, for example, views Nṛsiṃha as a *combined form* of all the three deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā (Adhy. 28, śl. 8-40). Even to this day, on the occasion of the renewal of the wooden images (the festival of *navakalevara*) when the wood for fashioning the images is cut in the forest, the *vanayāga* is conducted mainly with the Nṛsiṃha Mantras and even the consecration ceremony of the images, later, is uniformally performed with the 32-syllabic *Mantrarāja-Nṛsimha-Mantra*.[10]

6 The views of Sir W.W. Hunter have been quoted and thoroughly discussed by L.S.S.O' Malley in the chapter "*The Worship of Jagannātha*" forming part of District Gazetteer, PURI (rev. ed. by Mansfield Patna 1929) see pp. 98-104.

7 See mainly his work *Bhilsa Topes, A Buddhist Monument of Central India*, London 1854 (reprint Varanasi 1966), pp. 231 ff and the interesting plate No. XXXII (Fig. 10-23).

8 This fact never became so clear to me as on the occasion of a lecture on the iconography of the Jagannātha images delivered with slides in 1974 in the South Asia Institute of the Heidelberg University by my friend Dr. Starza Mejewsky, London. I want to thank him here for the convincing evidence, that he put before us with the help of the transparencies.

9 Mahtab, 1959/60, vol. II, pp. 519 ff.

10 For further details, cf. G.C. Tripathi, *Das Navakalevara-Ritual in Jagannātha-Temple von Puri*, in Z.D.M.G. (Supp. II) 1974, pp. 410-18, and above Ch. 13.

It was the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, however, which was to succeed in the end; partially also due to the reason that the cult of Kṛṣṇa became increasingly popular in the beginning of 11th and 12th centuries not only in the South but also in Bengal and Orissa owing to the tremendous influence of Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Latest by 1250 A.C. there stood three statues in the temple of Puri which were identified with Kṛṣṇa, his elder brother Balarāma and the sister Subhadrā. In a copper plate inscription of Rājarājadeva II (1170-90 A.C.) issued towards the end of the 12th century, however, the temple is still mentioned as a palace built for Puruṣottama and Lakṣmī by the mighty Coḍagaṅgadeva (1077-1146 A. C.) which shows that there were probably only two deities at this time in the temple, one having a male and the other a female form.[11]

Till the time of Sāralādāsa the identification of Jagannātha with Kṛṣṇa must have become so very popular that he was inspired to evolve an interesting story about the *material* identification of the wooden image of Jagannātha with the (dead) body of Kṛṣṇa. Deviating from the classical tradition, Sāralādāsa narrates that the body of Kṛṣṇa could not be burnt on the funeral pyre, after he was shot dead by an aboriginal (Śabara) hunter. The body was thrown into the sea near Dvārakā, it came floating to Puri (round Cape Comarin) and remained in the custody of the Śabara for some time to become later mysteriously a tree out of which a statue was carved in the form of Buddha,[12] this being the incarnation of Viṣṇu which follows immediately on that of Kṛṣṇa.

Sāralādāsa thus ingeniously combines *two* different traditions regarding the nature of Jagannātha—the one declaring him to be Buddha and the other to be Kṛṣṇa. The *substance* of the wooden statue of Jagannātha is Kṛṣṇa himself whereas its *form* is that of Buddha.

Most of the fundamental works on the mode of the worship of Jagannātha have been composed a little after Sāralādāsa, i.e. towards the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.[13] These works build up the procedure of Pūjā either on the 10-syllabic or the 18-syllabic Gopāla-mantra in whicb Kṛṣṇa is depicted as the beloved of the Gopīs (*gopījanavallabha*).[14] Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva, the powerful

11 The relevant portion of the inscription is as follows:

Prāsādaṃ puruṣottamasya nṛpatiḥ ko nāma kartuṃ kṣamaḥ|
tasyetyādyanṛpair upekṣitam imam cakre'tha gaṅgeśvaraḥ| |
lakṣmījanmagṛhaṃ payonidhir ásau sambhāvitasya sthir|
no dhāmni śvaśurasya pūjyata iti kṣīrābdhivāsād dhruvam| |
nirviṇṇaḥ puruṣottamaḥ pramuditas tad vāsalābhād ramā'|
pyetad bhartṛgṛhaṃ varaṃ pitṛgṛhāt prāpya pramodānvitā| |

The inscription was first discussed as bearing upon the date of the construction of the temple by M.M. Chakravarty, 1898.

12 cf. Geib, *op. cit*., pp. 137-144.

13 The first of these works is the *Gopālārcanavidhi* traditionally ascribed to Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva (1564-97) and most probably composed on his behest.

14 The Mantras are as follows:

(a) *gopījanavallabhāya svāhā* (10-syllabic)

(b) *klīm kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopījanavallabhāya svāhā* (18-syllabic)

monarch of Orissa (1464-1497 A. C.), himself worshipped Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa with the 10-syllabic Mantra as is attested by a reference in a contemporary Oriya work[15] and the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva describing the amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and other cowmaids was regularly recited before the deities in the night.[16] Jagannātha *is* now Kṛṣṇa.[17]

The Pūjā manuals of Jagannātha enjoin that a meditation on the Deity (Kṛṣṇa) is to be done against the setting of beautiful Vṛndāvanā situated on the bank of Yamunā. The Deity is sitting in an eight-petalled lotus on a golden pavement under the shade of Kalpavṛkṣa in Vṛndāvana.[18] This, of course, simultaneously makes the place Vṛndāvana in North India the main abode of the Deity and the temple in Puri or the Blue Mountain (*nīlācala*), as it is commonly designated in the literary tradition of Orissa, only a subsequent and subsidiary spot of divine manifestation. The beginning of the 16th century witnessed a reaction on this predominance of Vṛndāvana. The five Oriya associates of Caitanya (*pañcasakhā*) who were also great philosophers, declared the Blue Mountain to be the "eternal place", the *nityasthala*

[15] The work in question is *Cakaḍā Pothī o Cakaḍā Bhasāṇa* (also known as *Cāyanī Cakaḍā*) which seeks to narrate the traditional history of Orissa from the earliest times (ed. by Sudhākar Pattanayak and publ. in Cuttack 1959). Puruṣottamadeva has been described in it as "*gopījanavallabha-padapaṅkajamadhukaravīra*" (H.K. Mahatab, 1959/60, vol. I, p. 322).

The popularity of *daśākṣara-mantra* is attested by a further reference by Rāya Divākara Miśra, the court poet of Puruṣottamadeva (and the person who wrote most of the works which later were ascribed to the Gajapati, e.g. *Abhinava-gītagovinda*; see V. Raghavan in *Journal of Kalinga Historical Society*, vol. II, 1, 19ff.) in the last *sarga* of his work *Bhāratāmṛtam* (end of sarg 32):

tattoṣāya daśārṇavena manunā gopālam ārādhyatā, etc.

[16] Pratāparudradeva (1497-1534) in an Oriya inscription appearing at the Jaya-Vijaya door of the temple (i.e. in the dancing hall) orders the use of exclusively the *Gītagovinda* for the purpose of singing and dancing before the Deities and expressly forbids the use of any other text. The order was incised in the year 1500 A.C. The inscription was first read by R.L. Mitra and published in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol, II. A better reading was later supplied by M.M. Chakravarty, 1893, p. 96 f, and a still better by K.B. Tripathi, 1962, 300-01; cf. also K.N, Mahapatra, 1973, pp. 88f. A different view has recently been advanced by G.N. Dash, 1976, acc. to whom the Gītagovinda meant in the inscription is *Abhinavagītagovinda* of Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva.

[17] The total and perfect identity of Jagannātha with Kṛṣṇa of the Dvāpara-era is expressed in a legend originating in this period which says that once a maiden went around plucking brinjals in her field while singing *Gītagovinda*. Jagannātha, who is extremely fond of the songs of Gītagovinda, followed her closely so that his clothes got torn through the thorns of brinjal plants. Next morning the servants of the Temple noticed that the clothes of the Lord were completely tattered. When the mystery was revealed, the king Pratāparudradeva had to prohibit the recitation of Gītagovinda outside the sphere of temple worship.

[18] cf., for example, the following from the *Gopālārcanapaddhati* of Vāsudeva (preserved in Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar under the number Dh. 179; a paper transcript available in South Asia Institute of Heidelberg):

ramye vṛndāvane kanakasthalīṃ vicintya tatra
kalpadrumatale ratnakuṭṭimamadhye yogapīṭhaṃ
vicintya tatrāṣṭadalāruṇapaṅkajopari devatāṃ
pītavastrāṃ indranīlaprabhāṃ . . . cintayet / Folio 40 a

of Kṛṣṇa. Jagannātha to them was an eternal Entity which has been there since the beginning of the creation and which would remain there for all times to come. "Vṛndāvana, Mathurā, Dvārakā and Ayodhyā etc. are the places which have originated from the Nīlācala and contain hence only a part of the glory of Puri", says Balarāmadāsā in his *Vedānatsāraguptagītā*:[19]:

e nīḷagiri nitya sama	*teṇu ṣrīkṛṣṇa nitya dhāma/*
e nīlagiri nitya dui	*abhinna abheda atai/*
gopa mathurā dvārāvatī	*śrīkṛṣṇa ajodhyāra pati/*
emāne nityasthaḷu jāta	*abhinna na kara ho pārtha//*

The Puruṣottama-māhātmya according to Viṣṇurahasya[20] which, in all probability, has been composed in the first half of the 16th century, also considers Nīlācala as the eternal dhāma of Viṣṇu from where the Bhaktas do not have to come back to the mundane regions once they arrive at it:

yad gatvā na nivartante yat kāṅkṣanti maharṣayaḥ/
tan nityam dhāma nīlākhyam bhūdhare nyastavān vibhuḥ//

Adhy. 2, śl. 19

This is an obvious efforts to identity the Nīlācala with the '*parama-dhāma*' of Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the Bhagavadgītā (15.6):

yad gatvā na nivartante tad dhāma paramam mama/

The author goes even a step further and connects the Jagannātha temple with the blissful "highest step/place", the *paramam padam* of Viṣṇu[21] often referred to in the Ṛgveda (cf. especially RV 1.22.20):

vedeṣu yad vadantīha "tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam"/
tat padam tad vijānīha yan nīlācalamastake//

Pur. Māh. (Viṣṇurahasya) II.20

The etymology of the word *nīlācala* itself seems to confirm its eternal character to the author of the Puruśottama-māhātmya. The place is *acala*, immovable or eternal,

[19] K.N. Mahapatra, *op.cit.* (Devotional References . . .), typed manuscript, pp. 13 f.

[20] This is a Sanskrit work in 10 Adhyāyas which aims at propagating the glory of the Wooden Deities mainly among the learned Brahmins of Orissa by bringing the Deitiesin to contact with the Vedic and Tantric traditions. There are three manuscripts of this work which are preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; Asiatic Society, Calcutta and in the India Office Library, London. I quote from the MS presrved in the Orissa State Museum (No. P. 19). Prof. U. Schneider of the Freiburg University is presently engaged in bringing out a critical edition of this work combined with a critical study of the text.

[21] For the concept of the Jagannātha Temple as the 'highest step' of Viṣṇu, see U. Schneider, 1974, pp. 390-409.

and *nīla* means that it is a place where "all the beings *get merged* in this *unchangeable*": *nir-vikāre layam yānti...*, *ni* (*r*)+*i*+*la* (*ya*); *kadāpi na calati-acala*) II.16)! The place consists of Consciousness and Bliss (*cidānandamaya*) and Jagannātha is identical with the highest Ātman, which can be realised by the great Ṛṣis only in the highest form of meditation (*nirvikalpakasamādhi*, II. 21,22).

The upvaluation of Jagannātha is, in fact, a natural consequence of the upvaluation of Nīlācala. The Jagannātha of 16th century is no more Kṛṣṇa for many of his devotees, but Viṣṇu Himself from whom Kṛṣṇa has been born just as the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa, i.e. Vṛndāvana, is born of the eternal Nīlācala. Jagannātha is, in other words, not an incarnation but the Incarnator Himself.

To Balarāmadāsa one of the *pañcasakhās* and the author of the Oriya Rāmāyaṇa, He is the person who also assumes the form of Rāma to destory the wicked. Lord Jagannātha once takes Balarāmadāsa—so narrates the poet himself—in the night after the temple is closed for the nocturnal rest of the deities to Laṅkā to show him around there and returns before dawn. But since Balarāmadāsa forgets to place back the golden water vessel of the Lord at its proper place, he is caught the next morning but is greatly honoured, of course, when the truth is discovered.[22]

The relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Jagannātha is now completely changed and the Oriya poet Kārttikadāsa writing a little later in the same (16th) century tells us that it was Jagannātha who became the son of Devakī in the Dvāpara age, not the other way round:

jagannātha hoilāka debakīra bāḷa
—Rkmmiṇībibhā, II.28

That Jagannātha is the *avatārin* from whom all the ten *avatāra*-s have emanated, is propagated vigorously in the 17th century also by the poets like Dīnakṛṣṇadāsa in his *Rasakallola* and especially by Divākaradāsa in his *Jagannāthacaritāmṛta* who declares Kṛṣṇa to be only the 16th part (one *kalā*) of Lord Jagannātha.[23] "Many millions of *avatāra*-s", says he, "emerge out of the body of Jagannātha and get merged into Him again who is the highest Brahman Himself." He remains unchanged and unaffected by these incarnations since He is the Substance which lies beyond the field of incarnations:

parama brahma jagannātha abatāra pare samsthita|
koṭi koṭi je abatāra jagannātha aṅgū bāhara|
pṛthvīro bhāra uśvasantī leuṭi śriaṅge misanti|
—Adhy. 4.41, 42 & 23.121

22 K.N. Mahapatra, *op.cit.* (Devotional References . . .), typed manuscript, p. 13.

23 cf.

śrījagannātha ṣoḷa kaḷā
ethū kaḷā-e nandabāḷa|
kaḷā (=Jagannātha !) *ke ṣoḷa kaḷā hoi*
gheṇi janmile gopa jāi|
—Adhy. 18, pada 29-30

In an interesting article published in the Jagannātha Temple Bulletin in the beginning of the year 1969 (Jan., 29th, p. 3) an Oriya scholar expressed the opinion that the unusual shape of Jagannātha is due to the fact that it is a *cambined form* of all the incarnations put together. "Just as seven colours put together produce the white, so also all the ten avatāras brought together assume a shape which is that of Jagannātha."[24]

It is of significance to note here that the superiority of Jagannātha and Nīlācala over Kṛṣṇa and Vṛndāvana is propagated not only by the Oriya poets of Orissa but also by some 'northerners' who should have less reasons to be so enthusiastic about the kṣetra. Such is, for example, the case with Bhūpati Paṇḍita, a Brahmin from Uttara Pradesh, who settled down in Puri towards the end of 17th century, learned Oriya and composed the famous Oriya kāvya *Premapañcāmṛta.* He in his work makes Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, stay at Puruṣottamakṣetra for three years and constantly worship Lord Jagannātha till the Lord is pleased and grants him the boon that pleased with his devotion, he would be born as his son towards the end of the Dvāpara age:

āmbhara āmbhe paṭāntara āmbhe hoibu ta kumara|
dvāpara juga heba śeṣa āmbhe hoibu tora śiṣa|
—Premapañcāmṛta (Prācī Samiti ed.) P. 96

Hand in hand with the development of the concept of Jagannātha as a deity proceeds also the upvaluation of the wooden image. Both the form and the substance of it seem to have disturbed the upper strata of the Hinduistic society from the very beginning. We have already referred to the efforts of Sāralādāsa to identify the wood of the image of Jagannātha with the unburnt body of Kṛṣṇa. He also explains why Jagannātha does not possess any arms, legs, ears and nose etc. These are namely those portions of the body of Kṛṣṇa which were burnt out on the funeral pyre whereas the central part of the body and the head remained unburnt.

The Puruṣottama-māhātmya of Skanda-Purāṇa (composed around 1300 A.C.) speaks of a divine tree born out of a hair from the body of Viṣṇu on Śvetadvīpa which goes into the making of the image of Jagannātha.[25] This seems to be inspired from the older descriptions of the *viśvarūpa* of Viṣṇu according to which the trees are the hair on the body of the cosmic form of Viṣṇu.[26] Such references may also be

[24] *"sehi anudhyānare cintā kale jaṇā jiba, je śāstrokta bhagabānaṅkara daśabidha abatāraku sammiśraṇa kale sehi sammiśrita rūpara ehi maulika abasthā hī śrījagannātha svarūpa . . ."*

[25] cf. Adhyāya 18, śl 6-14, esp. 12cd–14
śvetadvīpe viśvamūrtir dṛṣṭo yo viṣṇur avyayaḥ|
tadaṅgaskhalitaṃ romaṃ tarutvam upapadyate| |
aṃśāvatāraḥ sthāsnur yaḥ pṛthivyām parameṣṭhinaḥ|
tadrūpāvataraṃ yāti bhagavān bhaktavatsalaḥ| |

[26] cf., for example, *Bhāgavata-Pur.*, II.1.33 (Gītā Press Ed.)
nadyo'sya nāḍyo'tha tanūruhāṇi
mahīruhā viśvatanor nṛpendra|

interpreted to suggest that there was not yet perhaps the rite of *Navakalevara* (ch. 13) and that the wood out of which Jagannātha was fashioned, was considered to be absolute and eternal. This would explain, at least partially, the term *dārubrahma* which is applied to the statues of Jagannātha right since the beginning—not only in the Sanskrit but also in the Oriya sources beginning with Sāralādāsa. This most popular and the famous *dhyāna* (meditation verse) of the statues of Jagannātha which is spoken by the Arcakas and the pilgrims alike and is found as the *maṅgalācaraṇa* in many texts on the Pūjā of Jagannātha, refers to the statues collectively as *Brahmadāru*, viz.

nīlādrau śaṅkhamadhye śatadalakamale ratnasiṃhāsanastham
sarvālaṅkārayuktaṃ navaghanaruciraṃ śobhitaṃ cāgrajena/
bhadrāyā vāmabhāge rathacaraṇayutaṃ brahmarudrendravandyam
vedānāṃ sāram īśaṃ svajanaparivṛtaṃ brahmadāru smarāmi//

The *Mukticintāmaṇi*, an anthology of references to the glory of Jagannātha[27] (around 1500 A.C.), quotes *Bṛhadviṣṇupurāṇa* as saying that "the glow which shines like a streak of lightning in the space of the heart of the Yogins, is visible on the Blue Mountain in the shape of a wood" :

yogināṃ hi hṛdākāśe vidyudvarṇaḥ prakāśate/
sa eva dārurūpeṇa bhāti nīlācale mahaḥ//

If one were to interpret the psychological need which lies behind such identifications, one would immediately notice that this arose out of a certain insecurity or uncertainty, i.e. out of the feeling that these unusual wooden figures may not commonly be accepted and regarded as deities. One, therefore, always operated with superlatives and tried to bring the wood in connection with what was the highest, the suprememost in the philosophy—the Brahman, though Viṣṇuism, in fact, does not accept the idea of Brahman and the Vedāntic Mukti.

The same tendency is visible, I would say, in designating the chief of these wooden deities as *Puruṣottama* or *Jagannātha* which was rather ingenious, it must be conceded, on the part of the people who first took up to the worship of these images. No other Viṣṇuite deity has the high sounding name "the Lord of the universe" and in the course of further philosophical speculations, it is obvious, that the god was to gain upper hand over such deities as *Badarīnātha*, *Varadarāja*, *Śeṣaśāyin*, *Madanagopāla*, *Pāṇḍuraṅga* or *Veṅkaṭeśvara* in the mind of his devotees simply due to the magic of the word itself; after all no other god is called the *jagat-nātha*! Thank to the title 'puruṣottama' it was, besides, possible to connect this god with the highest divine principle of the Universe, since It lies, as the Bhagavadgītā says, beyond the limits of

27 Edited by Sadāśiva Miśra and printed in Jayantī Press, Calcutta, 1896. There are several manuscripts of this work in the Orissa State Museum of Bhubaneswar.

the perishable bodies and also the imperishable souls, which are the two types of *puruṣa* in the Viṣṇuite-Sāṃkhya philosophy:

> *dvāvimạu puruṣau loke kṣaraś cākṣara eva ca/*
> *kṣaraḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni kūṭastho' kṣara ucyate//*
> *uttamaḥ puruṣas tv anyaḥ paramātmety udāhṛtaḥ/*
> *yo lokatrayam āviśya bibharty avyaya īśvaraḥ//*
> *yasmāt kṣaram atīto' ham akṣarād api cōttamaḥ/*
> *ato'smi loke vede ca prathitaḥ puruṣottamaḥ//*
>
> —Bhagavadgītā 15. 16—18.

One also did not spare the efforts to explain the word *dāru* grammatically in such a manner as to exhibit the philosophical importance of these images and the necessity to fashion them exactly out of wood. The Puruṣottama-Māhātmya of Skanda-Pur., for example, explains *dāru* as consisting of the rwo roots: *do=avakhaṇḍane*, to cut up, and *rā=dāne*, to give. Jagannātha is made of *dāru* because a dāru [image]: *dyati saṃsāraduḥkhāni dadāti sukham avyayam* (Adhy. 4, śl.73), i.e. cuts up the miseries of this world and imparts the eternal bliss (cf. also Adhya. 28 śl 40, *khaṇḍanāt sarva-duḥkhānām akhaṇḍānandadānataḥ/svabhāvād dārur eṣo hi. . . .*") The Puruṣottama-māhātmya acc. to Viṣṇurahasya also explains the word in almost the same terms, only preferring the use of the root *dṛ*=to split, break etc. for the derivation of the first half of the word *dāru* (*dāraṇāt sarvaduḥkhānām akhaṇḍānandadānataḥ//* Adhy. 3, śl. 144; *dṛṇāti iti dār, rāti iti ru* (*ḥ*) auṇādika; for the disappearance of the first *r* cf. Pāṇini viii.3.14). The Māhātmya, however, very prudently says before that the Lord of the Universe is, in reali y, neither of stone nor of wood; he assumes these forms just to delude the world:

> *nāhaṃ dārumayas tāta nendranīlamayo hy aham/*
> *lokānāṃ mohanārthāya tādṛgbhūto bhavāmy aham//*
>
> ——Adhy. 3. śl. 143

In other words, there is no need of giving preference to a stone image over a wooden image, since God is neither one nor the other. But if at all one has to decide, one should decide in favour of a wooden image, because of the clear advantages laid down in the etymology of the word itself.

The best, the most plausible and the most acceptable explanation of the as much queer as strange shape of these wooden statues came from the quarters of those who were influenced by the philosophy of the Pañcasakhās: These people made a nice virtue of the necessity and since the Jagannātha figures in this peculiar form are unique in the whole of India, they declared that this is exactly the *sva-bhāva* "the original state" or the *sva-rūpa* "the original form of Viṣṇu. The Pur. Māh. acc. to Viṣṇurahasya refers often to this *svarūpa* of the highest Paramātman, consisting of

bliss, which permanently shines there in the highest abode (*paramam padam*) of Viṣṇu (identified with the temple in Puri):

paramātmā parānanda-svarūpeṇāsti tatra (parame pade) vai|
——Adhy. 2, śl. 21cd

Kavīndra Upendra Bhañja Deva, the greatest of the Oriya poets, writing in the second half of the 18th century, describes the images of Jagannātha etc. as *shapeless, devoid of form* being the *svarūpa* of Viṣṇu.[28] He finds it quite natural that Jagannātha has no arms, legs, ears or nose etc. and that his head and belley also do not correspond to the reality. It need not be and it should not be; since God is shapeless, *arūpa.* Jagannātha, to him, represents the *nirguṇa* (non-qualified) form of God. His shape shows that God can best be worshipped as a shapeless symbol!

It is a different type of self-confidence that reflects from the sayings of this poet. He is no more apologetic about the curious figures of Jagannātha and does not invent a story to explain it, but leaning upon the tradition of Vedānta as represented in the *Śūnyasaṃhitā* (by Acyutānandadāsa, the youngest of the Pañcasakhās) etc. feels convinced that there cannot be a better representation of God, the Shapeless Shapes and forms are transitory, whereas the shapelessness is eternal.

Upendra Bhañja stands, in a certain manner, at the end of a development which starts with more or less helpless apologies for the form and the substance of a deity which, in the first instance, looks so strange and out of place in the pantheon of Hindu gods. The development of the concept of Jagannātha is also a history of the development of the philosophical speculations in Orissa. The extra-ordinary shape of Jagannātha has been of great advantage to this figure because it was free to accept in this form almost any philosophical interpretation. He and the other figures standing on the 'ratnavedī' in the sanctum have been associated with the different mātrās of the mystic syllable *Oṃ*, the monosyllabic symbol of the Highest God (*a*=Balarāma, *u*=Subhadrā, *m*=Jagannātha, *ardhamātra*=Sudarśana, *nāda*=Bhūdevī or Sarasvatī and *bindu*=Lakṣmī). Peterson (Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII) even tried to show graphically how the shape of Jagannātha and Balabhadra as well as of Subhadrā in the middle could have developed out of the symbols of two 'Oṃ-s' placed back to back[29]. K.C. Mishra in his work "The Cult of Jagannātha" (p. 171 f.) reproduces the figures of the different parts of the *Oṃ* in Oriya script as they belong to the four Deities (Balabhadra, Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Sudarśana) from a palmleaf manuscript

28 cf. *Subhadrā-pariṇaya* (Chanda I, pada 7):
svarūpa e nāsā karṇa hasta pāda hina
also K.N. Mahapatra, *op. cit.*, typed manuscript, p. 67.

29 Reproduced by K.C. Mishra, 1971, plate No. 61. The figure shows again, as in the case of A. Cunningham, that Peterson had not seen the actual images of Jagannātha. He takes the *candra* (crescent) of the *candrabindu* (i.e. ̐, the uppermost part of the symbol *oṃ*) as leading to the arms of Jagannātha and the Balabhadra, which he thinks are in upright position.

titled *Sayantra-śūnyasaṃhitā* and again a long article has been published in the Bulletin of the Jagannātha Temple (Vol. I, 1969, No. 1—8) to establish the identity of these figures with *praṇava.* Acyuta on the other hand, in his *Śūnyasaṃhitā* connects Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana with the four Vedas commencing from the Ṛgveda;[30] the same figures are found associated with the four Vyūhas (Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha) of the Pāñcarātra system of thought in the Pūjāpaddhatis of the Temple and for the Vedāntists these four figures represent the four states of an individuum, the *viśva, taijasa, prājña* and *śānta* or *turīya*, i.e. the body, the subtle body, the individual soul and the highest soul; or, alternatively, the four states of consciousness: *jāgrat* (wake), *svapna* (dream), *suṣupti* (sleep) and *turīya* (the ultimate state of pure consciousness). Still others consider Subhadrā as the *māyā* or *avidyā* standing between the Absolute (Jagannātha) and the individual soul or the universe (Balarāma).[31]

There has been no end to such associations and identifications in all the ages. I remember that in 1971, when I was in Bhubaneswar, the Pragativādī Dala, a political party, fought the state elections with an emblem showing a plough and a wheel, symbolising obviously the agricultural and industrial advancement which the party promised to its voters; but these were interpreted by the founder of the party at a meeting in Puri as the symbols of Balarāma and Jagannātha (the *hala* being the weapon of Balarāma and the *cakra* that of Viṣṇu) who were thus invoked to be the presiding deities of this party!

[30] This association is, however, much older and is found mentioned already in the *Pur. Māh* (Skd. P.); cf.

ṛgvedarūpī haladhṛk sāmavedo nṛkesarī//
yajurmūrtis tv iyam bhadrā cakram ātharvaṇaṃ smṛtam/ 28. 44 cd, 45 ab

Also some later works propagate this view. cf., e.g. *Nīlādrimahodaya*, a work on the glory and the rituals of the Temple, written about 1750 A.C. (published by the Raja of Sonepur, Cuttack 1928). Brahmā praises the newly constructed four wooden images of the Jagannātha Temple with the verses taken from their respective Vedas:

viṣṇuṃ dṛṣṭvā sa hṛṣṭātmā romāñcitavapurdharaḥ/
sāmavedena tuṣṭāva stotrair anyair anekoṣaḥ//
tathaiva baladevaṃ ca namaskṛtya pitāmahaḥ
ṛgvedenātha tuṣṭāva, tato bhadrāṃ prajāpatiḥ//
yajurvedena santoṣya, tataś cakraṃ sudarśanam/
mādhavaṃ ca dharāṃ lakṣmīṃ ātharvaṇarcā stuvan//

—Adhy. 5 (p. 51)

There does not however seem to be any ritual or philosophical justification for this association and it looks that the images have been brought into relation with the four Vedas just according to the order of their position on the platform, from left to right. For an unsatisfactory attempt to explain this association by means of "references" to these Deities in their respective Vedas, (e.g. "Jagannātha is referred to in '*tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam*' which appears in Sāmaveda 2.1022"!) see *Jag. Temple Bulletin*, Vol. I No. 8, p. 1. The verse is originally from the Ṛgveda, I.22.20.

[31] "... *eṭhāre yogamāyā subhadrārūpare jīva caitanya madhyare adhiṣṭhitā achanti/jīva vā brahmāṇḍasvarūpa bhuvanādhipati baladeva, caitanya vā paraṃ brahma svarūpa mūlapuruṣa vā jagannātha madhyare nirliptā śakti yogamāyā avasthita*.../Jag. Temp. Bull., I.8., p.1.

And Jagannātha admits all such explanations. He allows all and accepts all,[32] yet remaining aloof from it. He is all of it but at the same time, none of it. He is like a clear mirror in which everybody finds himself reflected and confirmed, but which remains untouched, unspoiled and uneffected by all. Generations after generations have tried to solve his mystery, but he looks as if sarcastically smiling at the vain efforts of the mortals who try to unveil his 'mystery,' perhaps because He has no mystery to hide. He is only that, what the people have made Him to be from time to time.[33]

Manifesting that it is not the outwardly form of the deity that matters, but her intrinsic philosophical character, He majestically stands there on His throne graciously smiling down to his devotees: stands as a unique symbol of the great flexibility and dynamics of Hinduism, of its capacity to absorb, integrate and remodel, of its tolerance and magnanimity.

[32] cf. *Pur. Māh* (Skd. P.):
yena te manasastuṣṭis tena bhaktyā samācara/29.47cd
sarvarūpamayo hy eṣa sarvamantramayaḥ prabhuḥ/29.48ab

[33] cf. *Pur. Māh* (Skd. P.):
dharmigrāhi pramāṇena yādṛgdṛṣṭaḥ sa eva saḥ/23.67ab
āradhyate yathā yena tathā tasyā phalapradaḥ/29.48cd
yasya yāvāṃstu viśvāsas tasya siddhis tu tādṛśī/29.50cd

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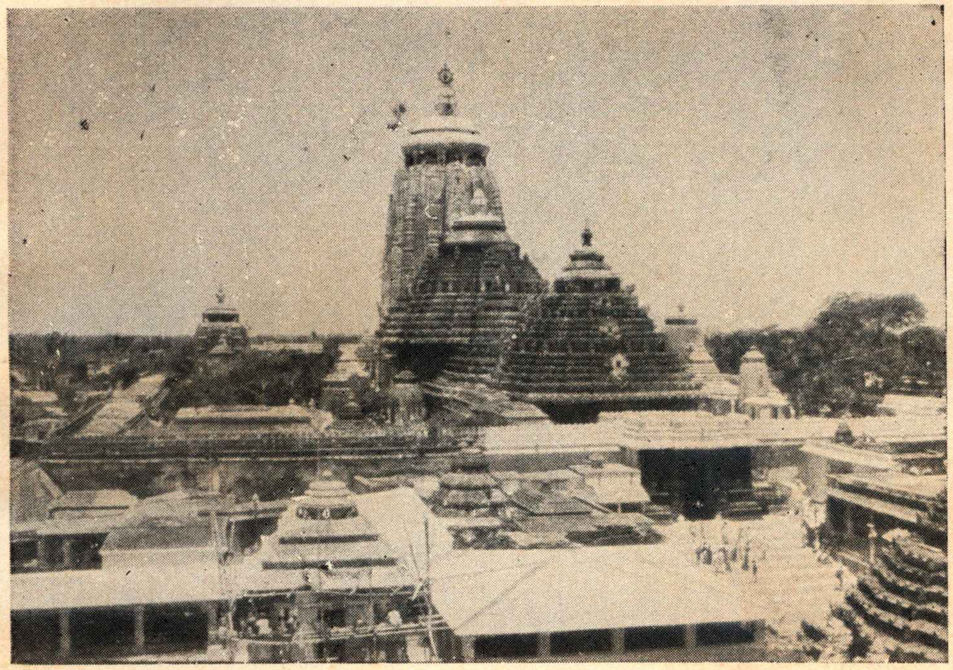
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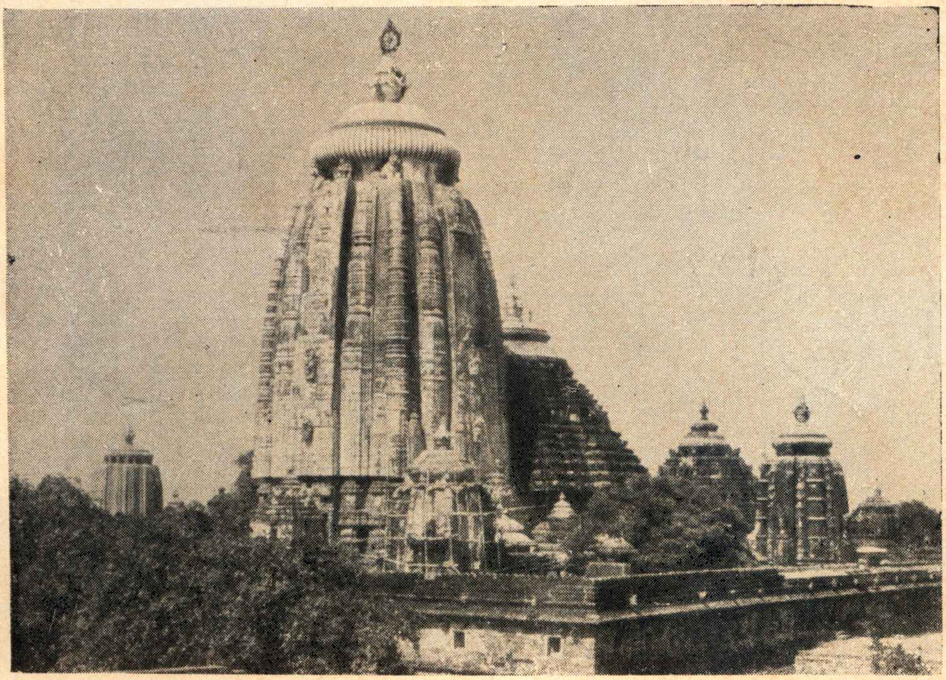
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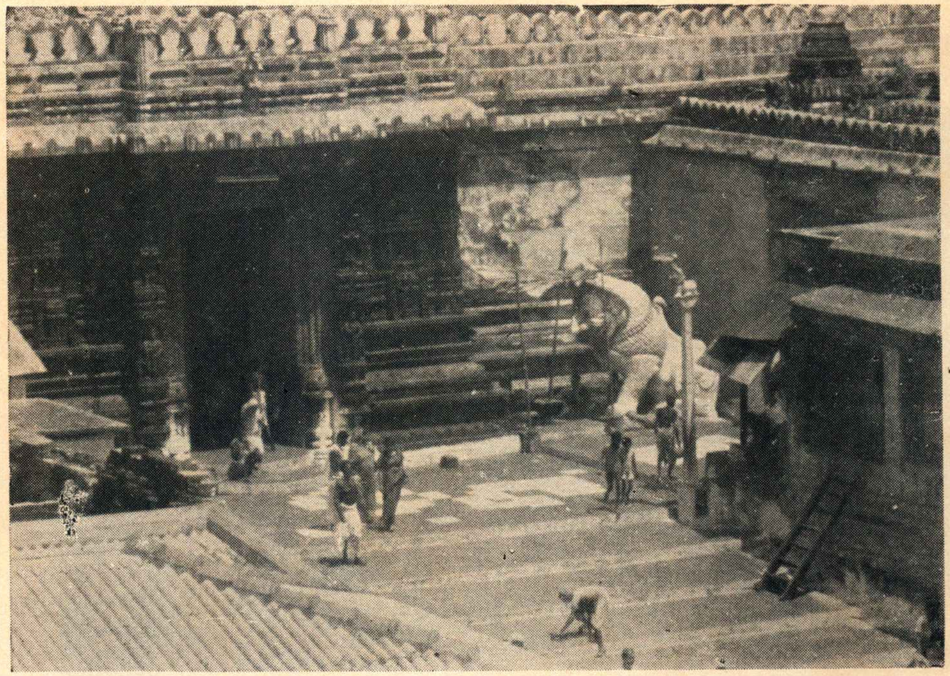
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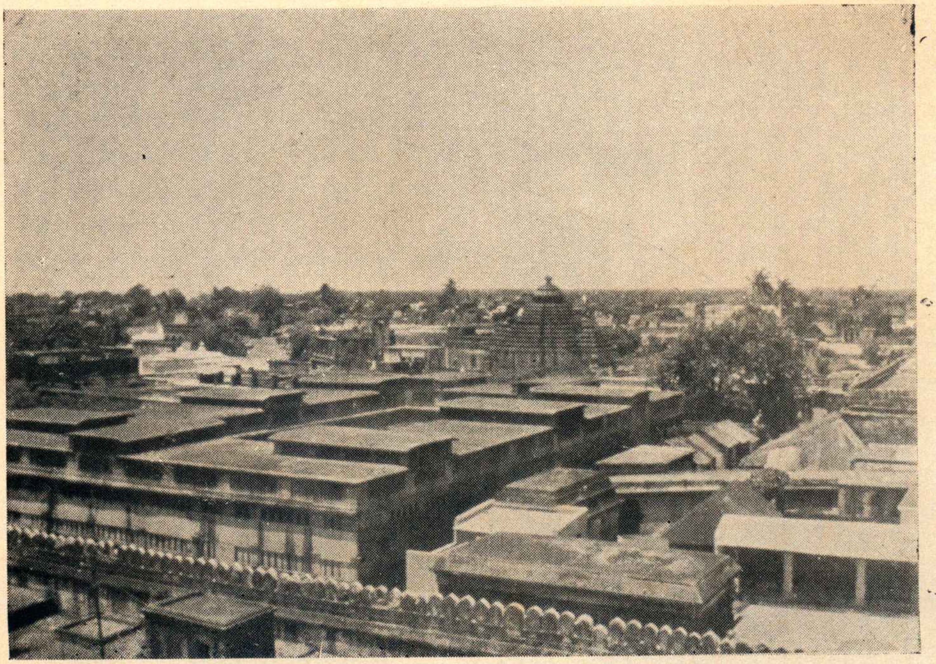
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1. Puri. The Jagannath temple from the east.
2. A view from the southwest.



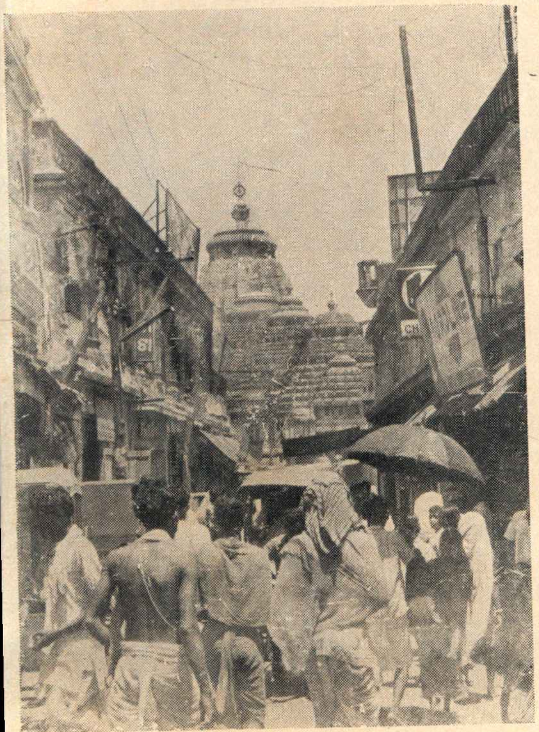
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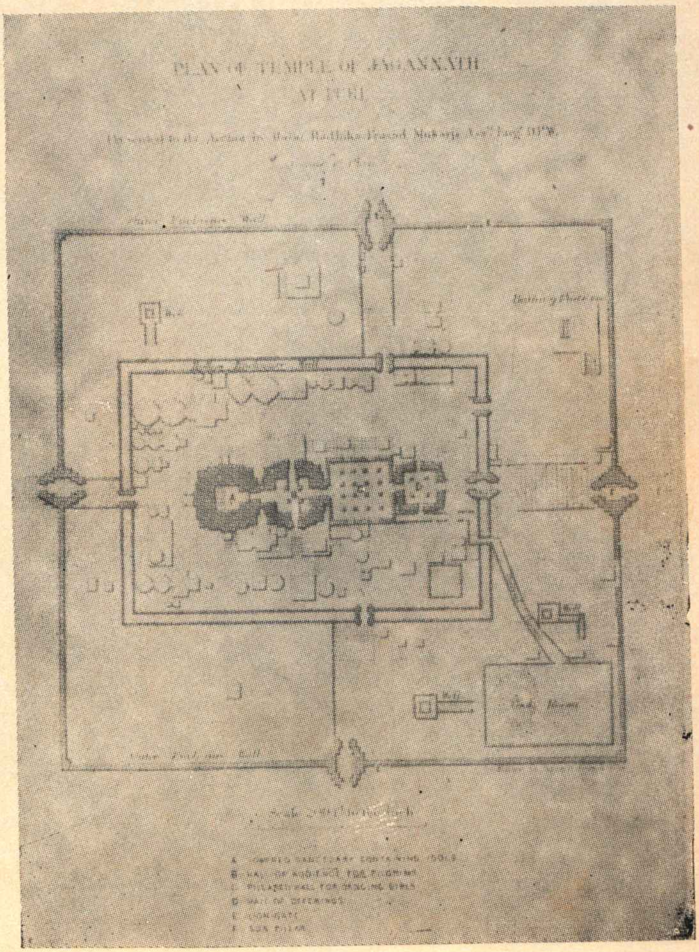
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3. The main eastern entrance to the inner compound (*Kurmabedha*).
4. A view of the temple kitchen in the southeastern corner of the outer compound.

5.



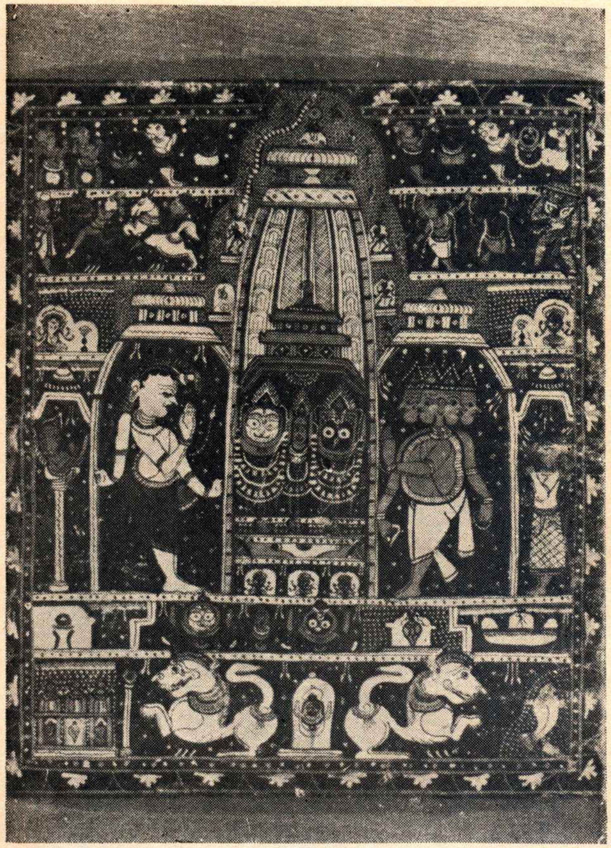
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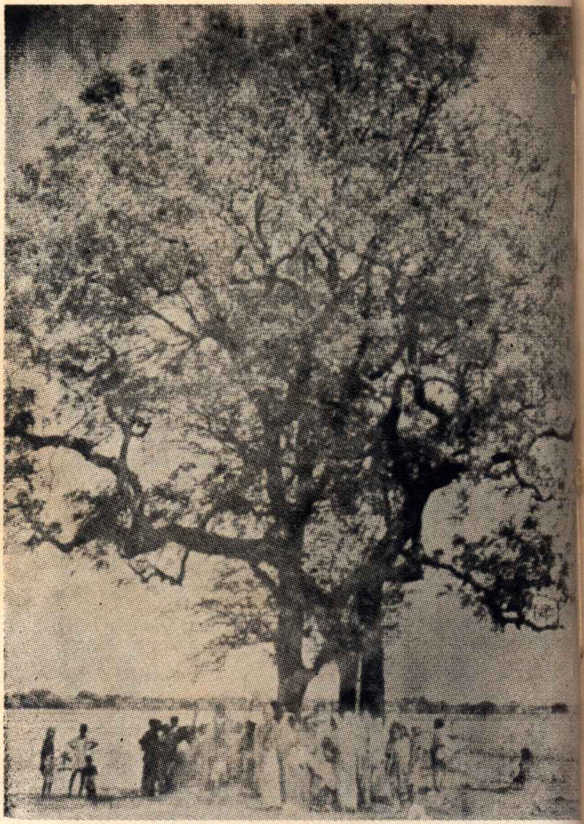
5. The busiest shopping street terminating at the "lion's gate" (*simhadvara*) of the temple.

6. Plan of the temple (reproduced from Hunter, 1872).

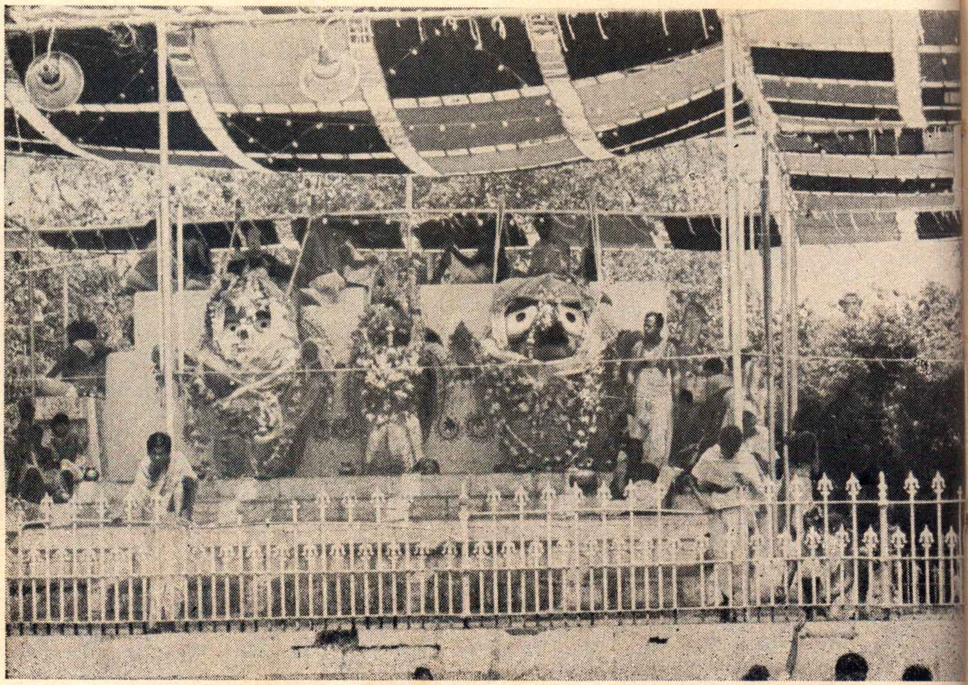
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8



7. A modern conceptual painting on cloth (*patta citra*) of the temple and its deities ment for the pilgrims (1971).

8. The Jagannath triad on the bathing platform (*snana vedi*) at the time of bathing festival (*snana yatra*) on the fulmoon day of the month Jyeshtha (May|June)

9. The Nima tree chosen as the *daru* to fashion the image of Jagannath.

10. The beginning of the cutting The tree is being cleared of the surrounding bushes etc.

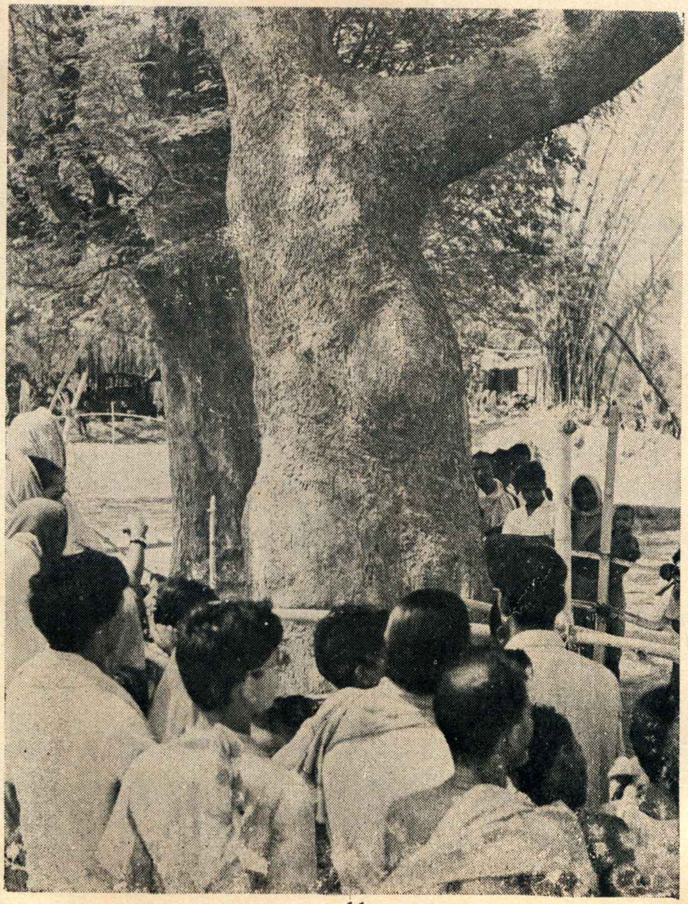
11. A close view of the *daru* of Jagannath with the newly constructed Shabara huts in the background.

12. The mark of the disc (*cakra*) on the *daru* of Jagannath.

13. The mark of the conch (*sanka*) on the *daru* of Jagannath.

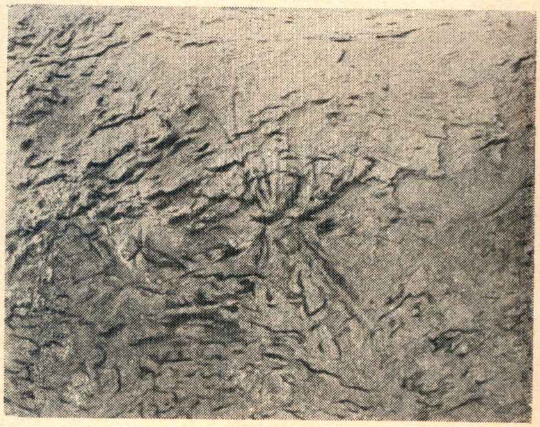


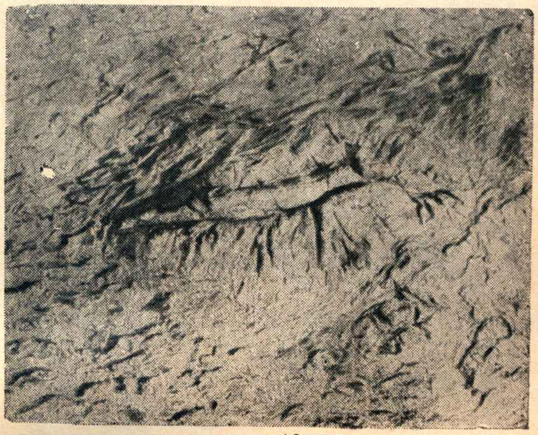
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14



14. The forest sacrifice (*vana yaga*) being performed by Vedic Brahmins. At the extreme right is the present Rajaguru of the Raja of Puri (K.C. Rajaguru).

15. The carpenter ("Vishvakarma") has started felling the tree with an iron axe.

16. The *daru* has fallen on the ground.

15

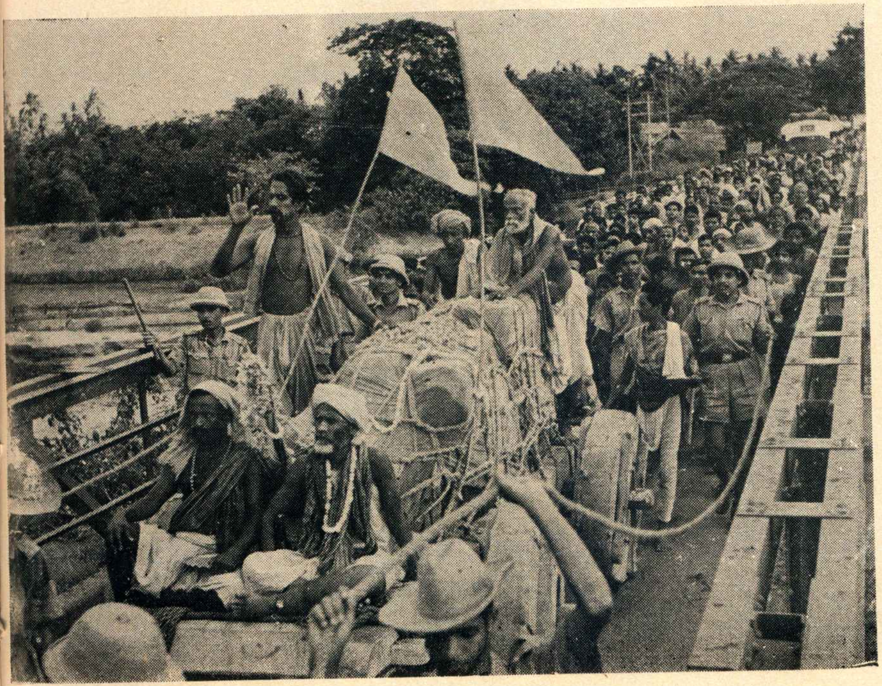


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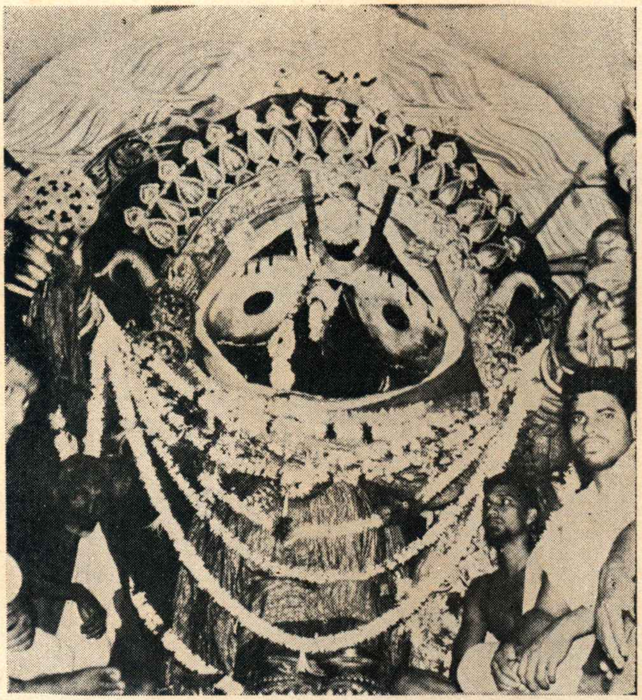




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17. The cart with the *daru* of Jagannath, fully wrapped in silken cloth.

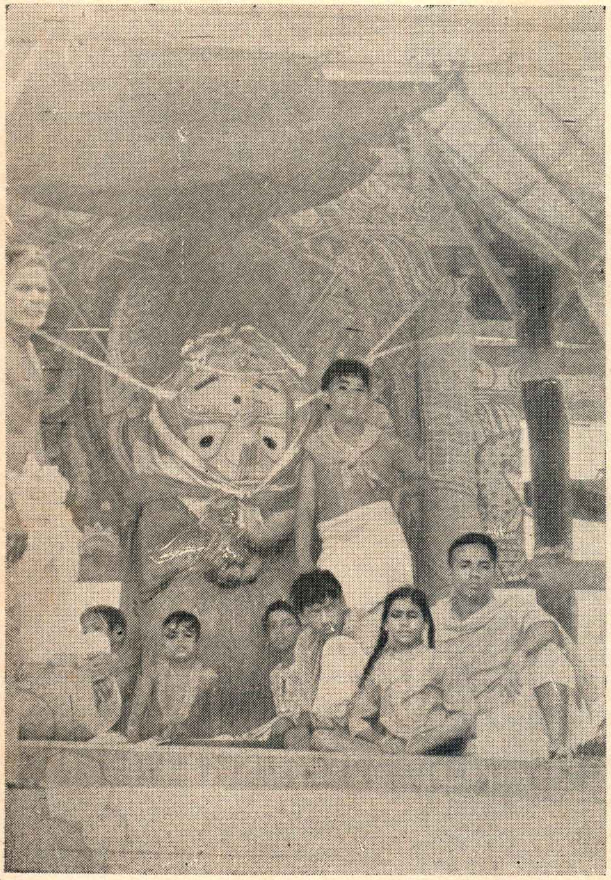
18. The cart carrying the *daru* of Jagannath being pulled by the people to the temple. The person standing with the right hand raised is the Daita Pati (Vishvavasu).



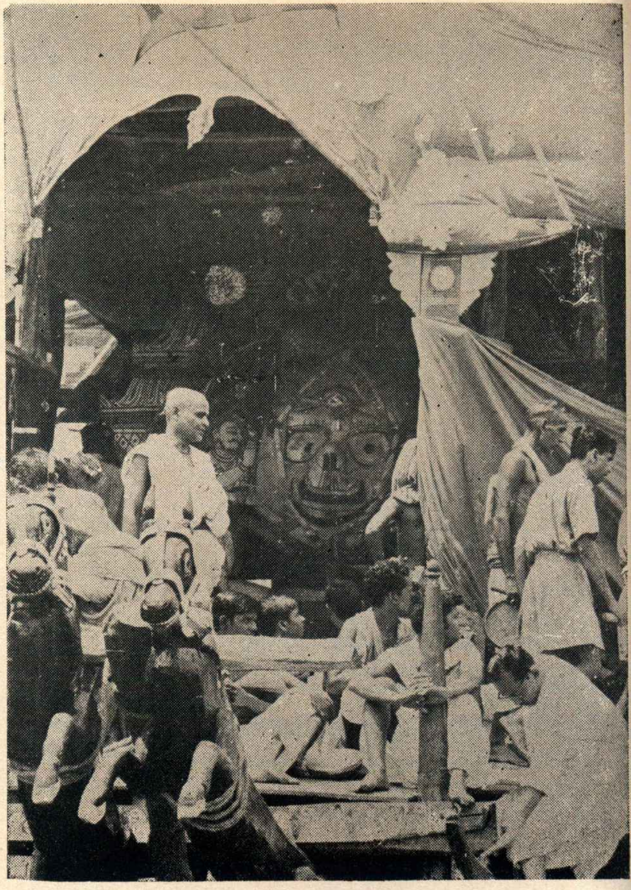
19. Jagannath on the car in his golden dress (*suna besa*) after returning from Gundica.

20. Balabhadra before being drawn to Gundica.

21. Subhadra. On her left Sudarshana.



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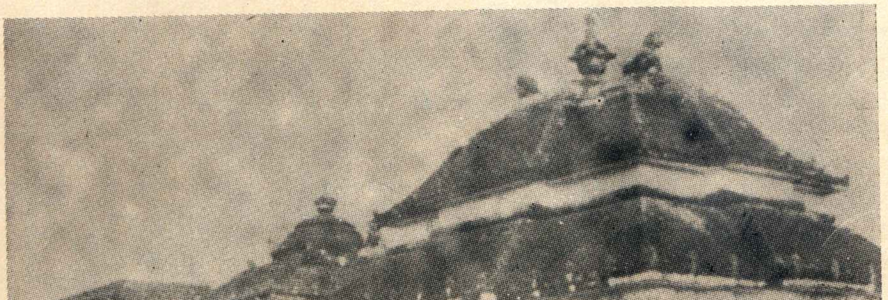


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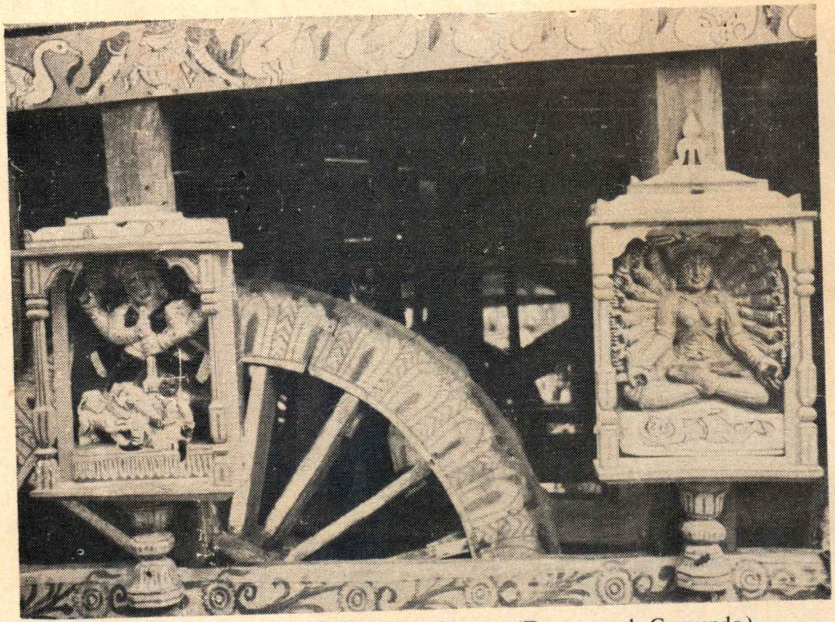
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22. Sudarshana being brought out of the Gundica temple as the first deity to be taken on the car for the return journey.
23. The inner compound of the Gundica temple from the north-west.



23

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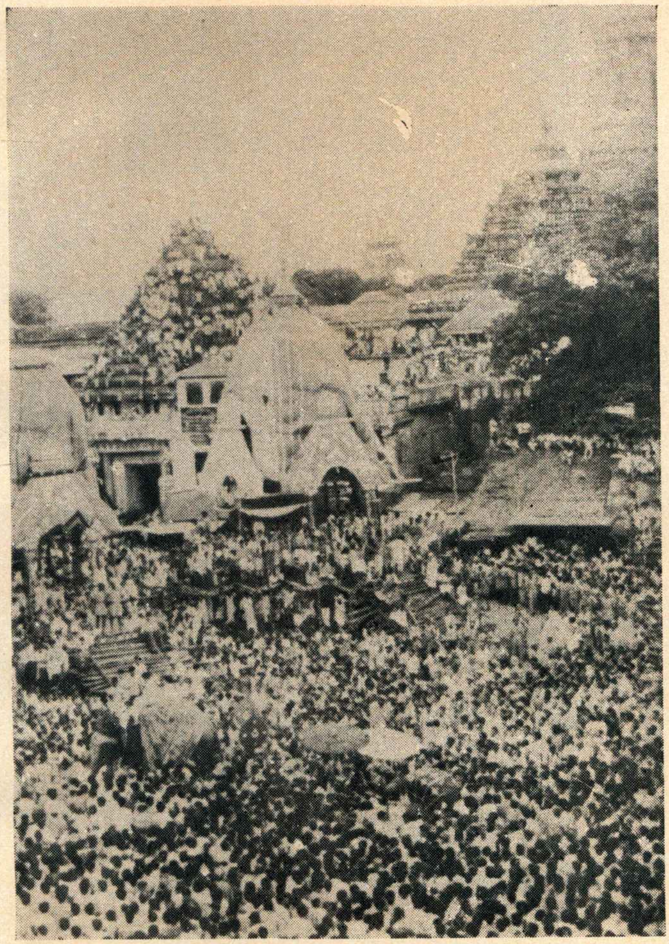
24. Two *parshva devatas* on Subhadra's car (Durga and Camunda).

25. The beginning of the car festival: Lord Jagannath is being brought out of his temple (*pahundi bijai*).

25



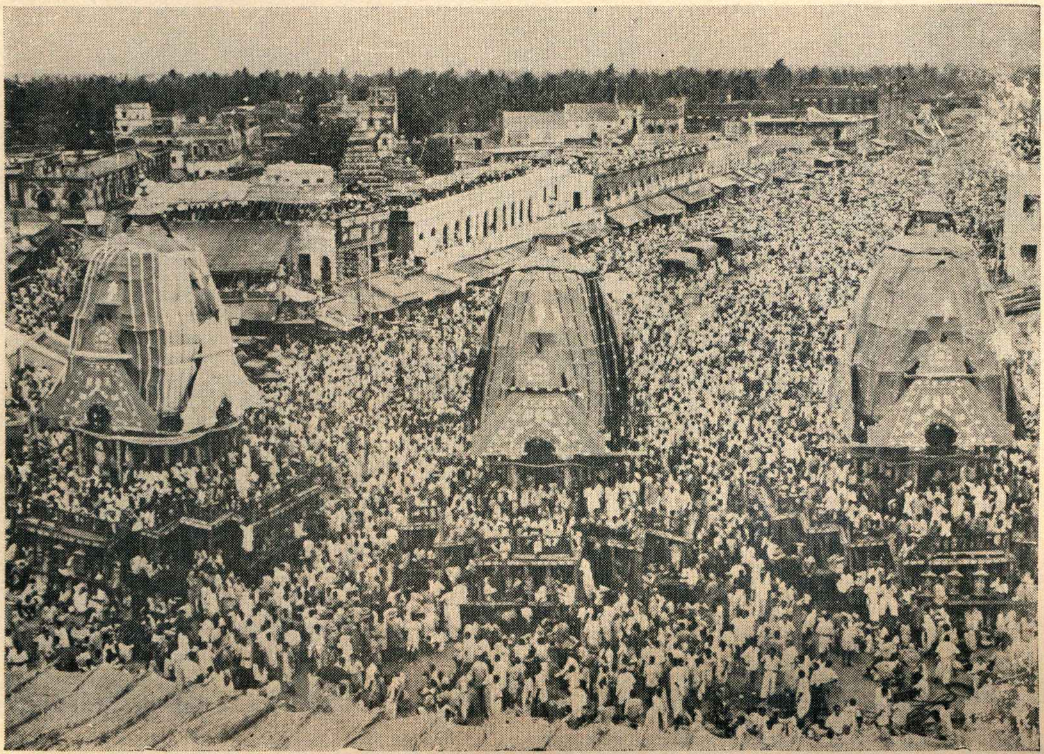
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26. The three cars in the "Great street" (*bada danda*) ready to be pulled to Gundica.

27. The Raja of Puri, in his capacity of the first servitor of the Lord being carried in a palanquin to the cars in order to sweep and clean them (1971).

26



28. The late Raja of Puri cleans the front portion of the chariot of Jagannath with a golden broom (*pahamra*) (1969).

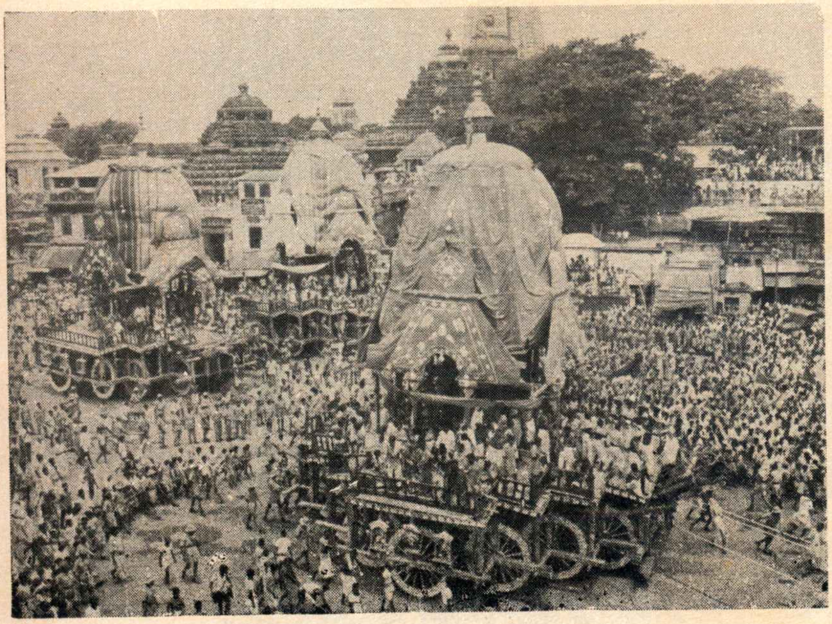


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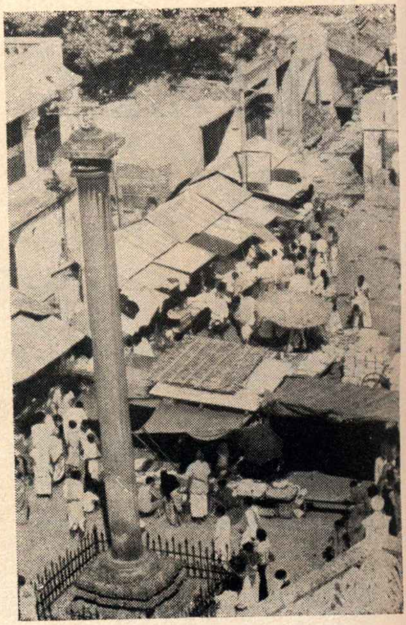


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29. The present Raja of Puri sprinkles the car of Jagannath (1974).

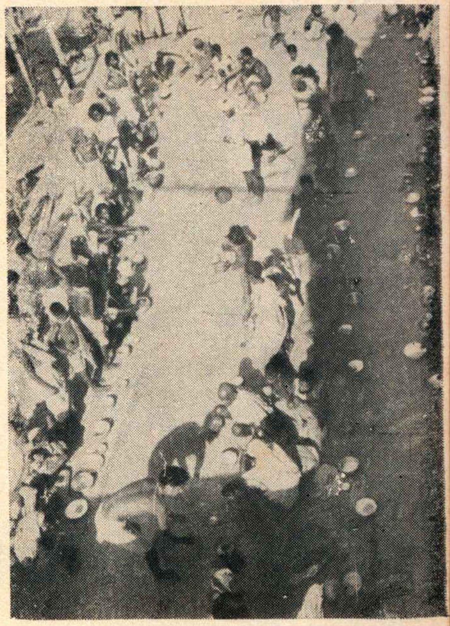
30. Balabhadra's car being drawn towards Gundica as the first one of the three.

31. Small shops in front of the 'lion's gate'. In the centre the Arunstambha-pillar.

33



34



32. A view of the "Great Street" during the car festival.

33. Pilgrims from Bengal (Gaudiya Vaishnavas) in front of Jagannath's car.

34. Beggars being fed by charitable organisations of the temple in front of the "lion's gate".

35.
Money changer in front of the Gundica temple, who changes bigger coins into smaller coins against a certain commission which varies from 5-15%.

36.
Priests on Jagannath's car accepting offerings of the common public for the deity on payment of a certain *dakshina*.

37.
Konark (c. 1250 A.D.). King Narasimha 1 (1238-1264) worshipping Jagannath, Durga and a Shivalingam (National Museum at New Delhi).

35

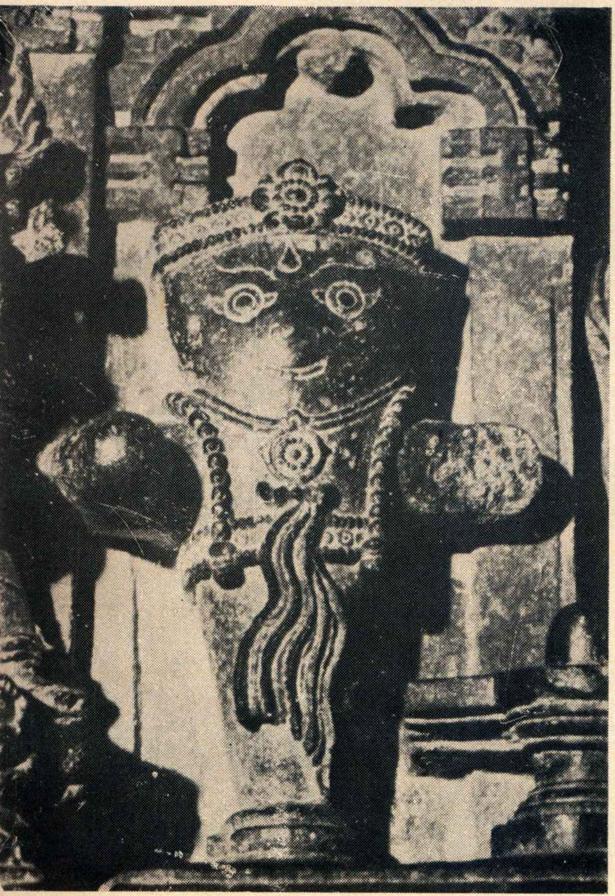


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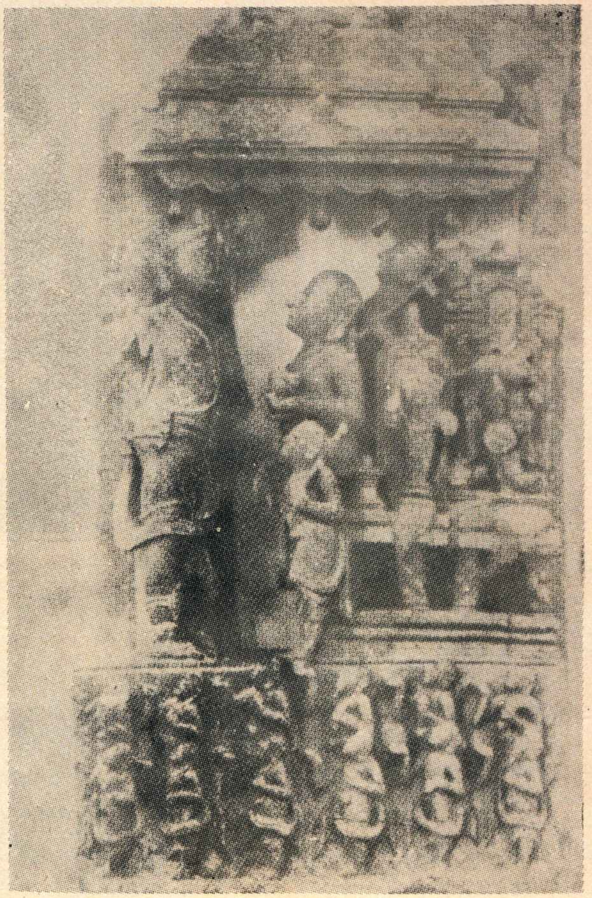


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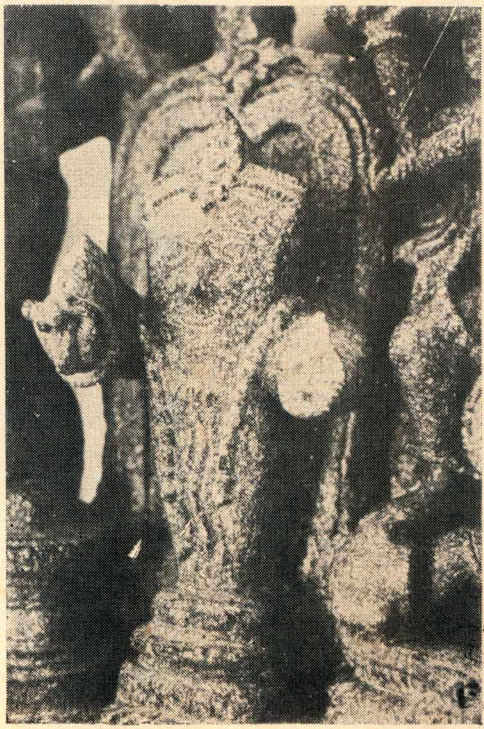


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38. Jagannath (detail of fig. 37).

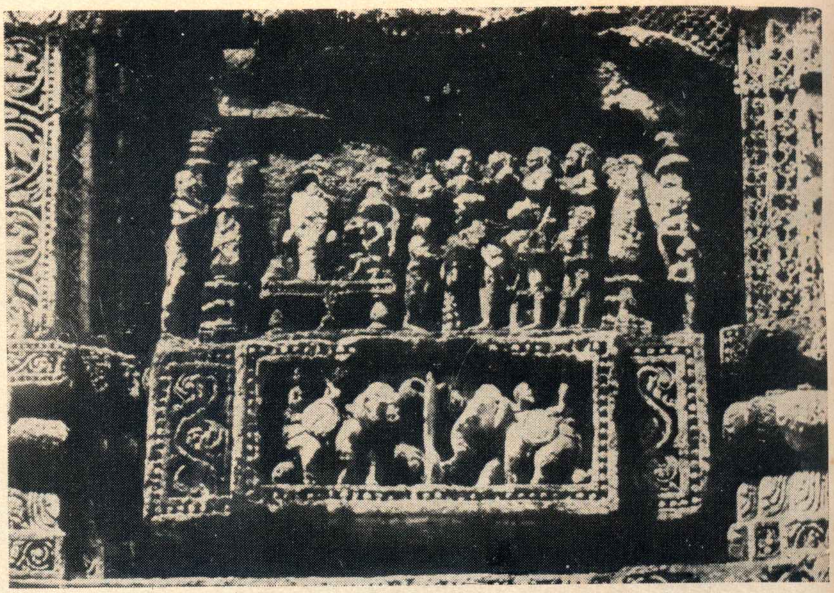
39. Konarak. King Narasimha worshipping Jagannath, Durga and a Shivalingam (Konarak Museum).

40. Jagannath (detail of fig. 39).

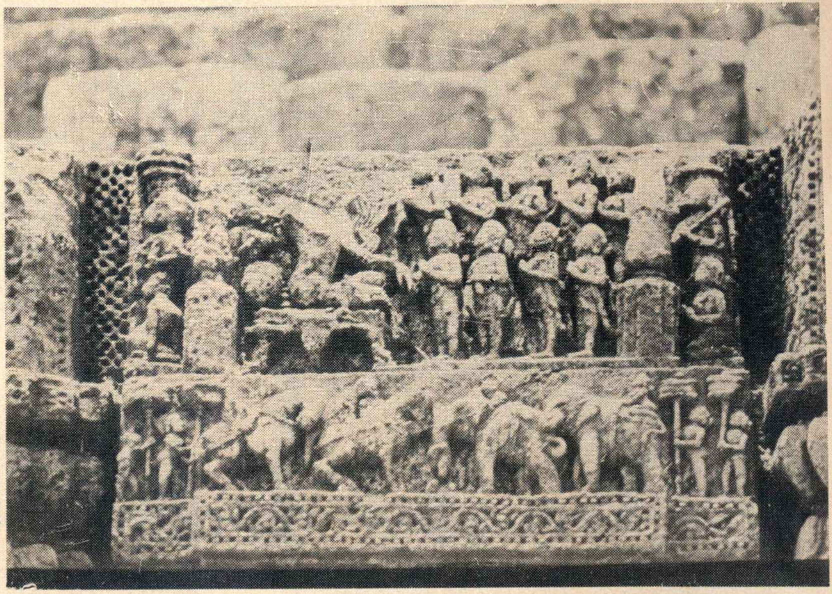


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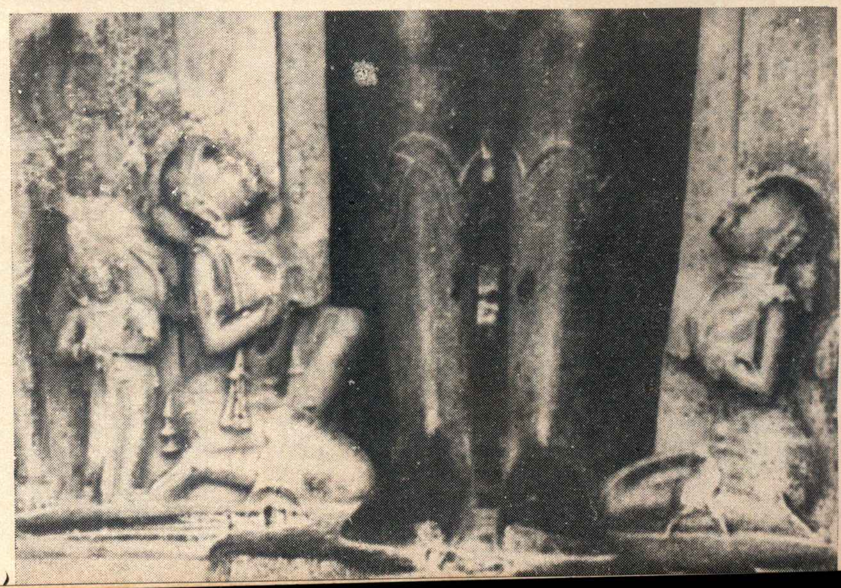


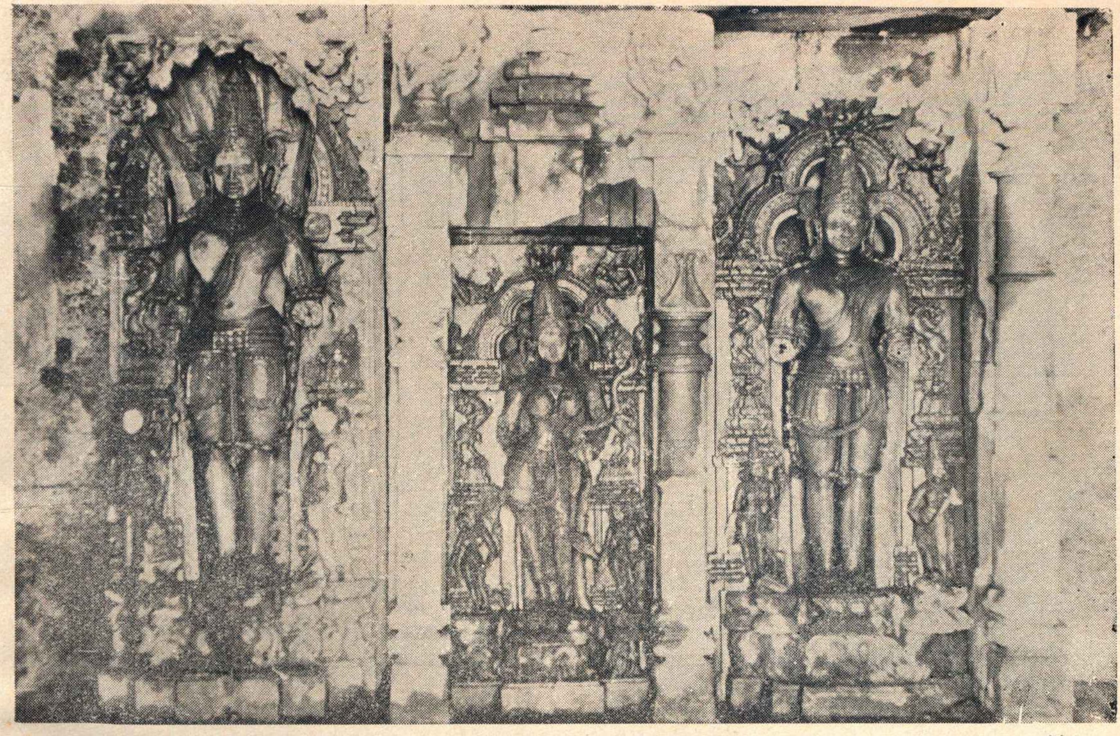
41. Konarak. King Narasimha worshipping Jagannath, Durga and a Shivalingam.

42. Konarak. King Narasimha receiving courtiers.

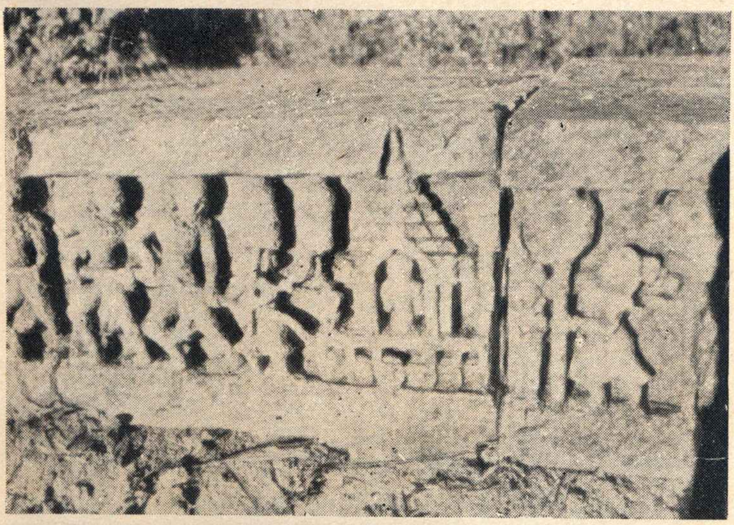
43. Konarak. King Narasimha and his Guru worshipping the sun god Surya.

43





44

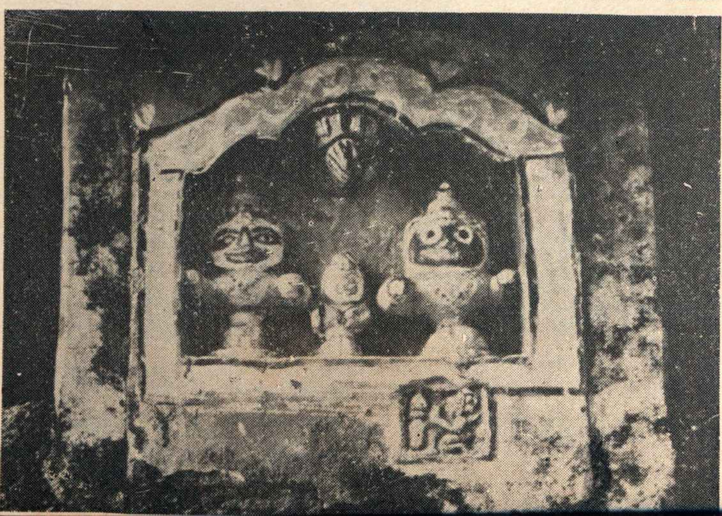


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44. In the premises of the Lingaraja temple, Bhubaneswar. (late Ganga period) Balarama/Samkarshana, Subhadra/Ekanamsha, Krishna/Vasudeva.

45. Dhanmandal, North Orissa (late Ganga period). The car festival (Orissa State Museum).

46. Lingaraja temple, eastern Gopuram, Bhubaneswar. The Puri Triad. Note the worship of Sudarshana separately below the main deities and its close similarity with the wooden post in fig. 69.



46

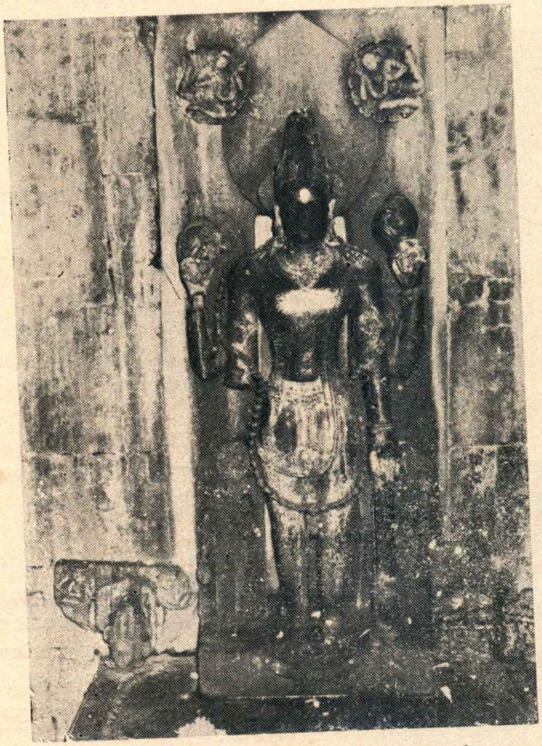
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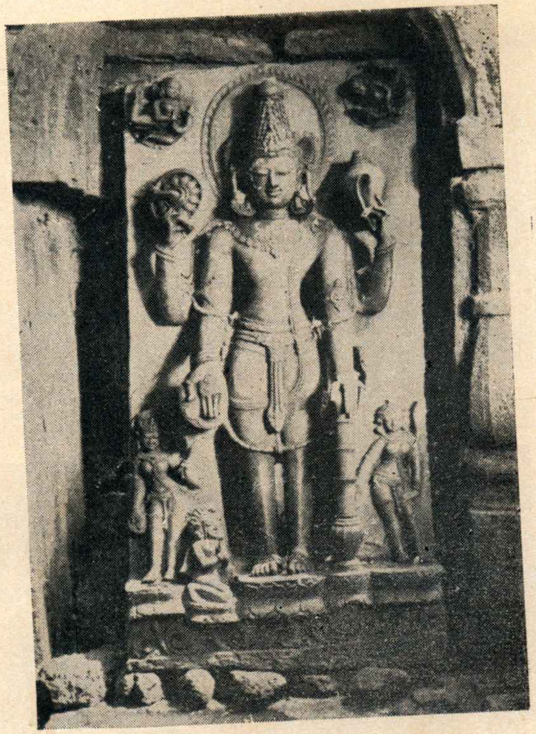
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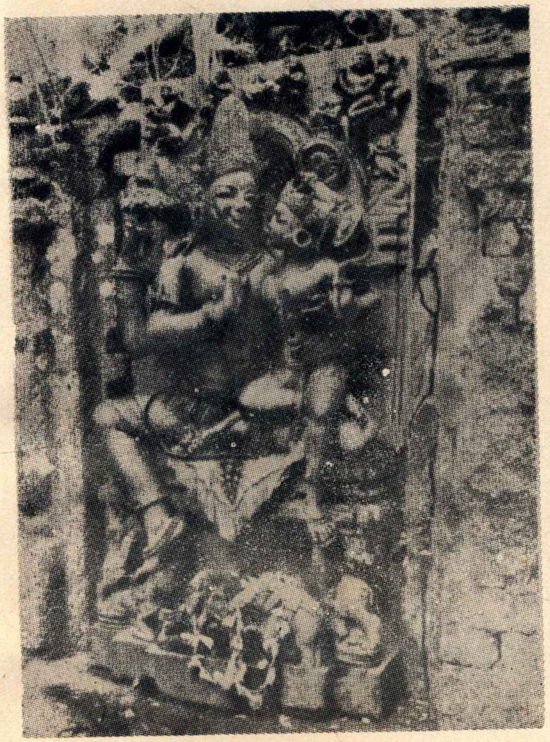


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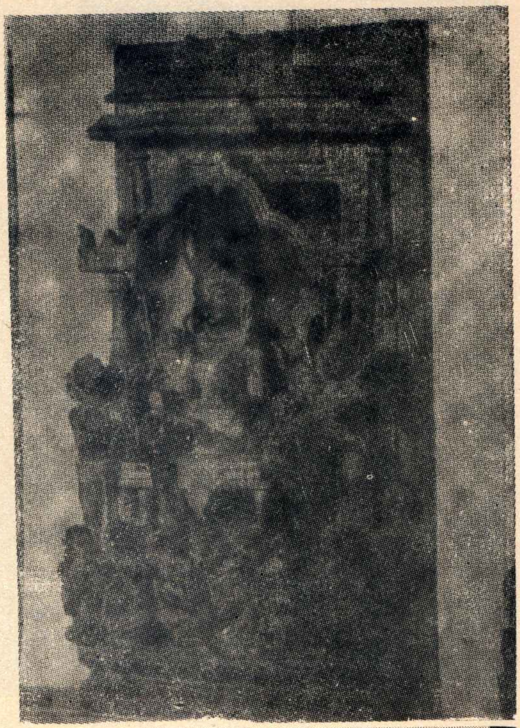


47. Kapalamocana temple, Puri, below the present surrounding ground level.
48. Kakatpur, the main image of the goddess Man gala who plays a very important role in the ceremony of Navakalevara.
49. Nilamadhava. Main cult image in the Nilama dhava temple at Gandharadi, ca. 900 A D.
50. Nilamadhava. Main cult image in the Nilama dhava temple at Chaurasi (Puri Distr.) Somavamshi period, 10th/11th cent. A.D.

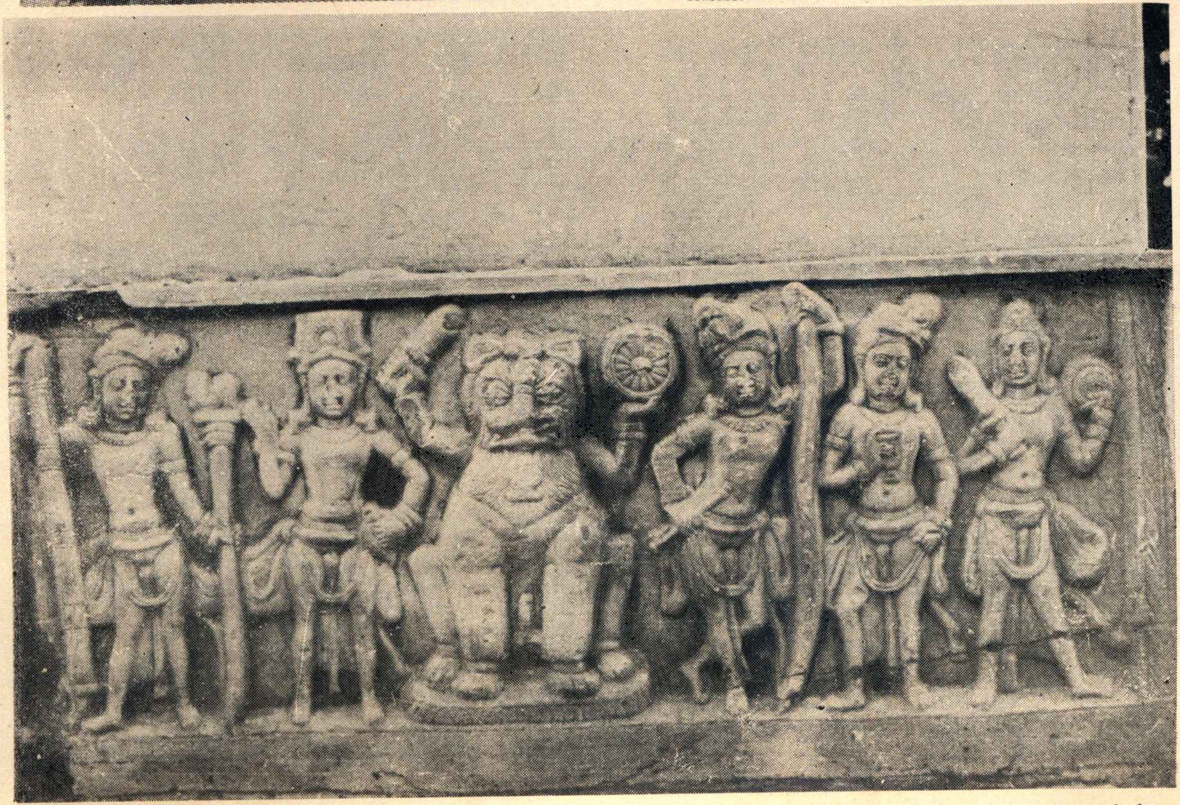
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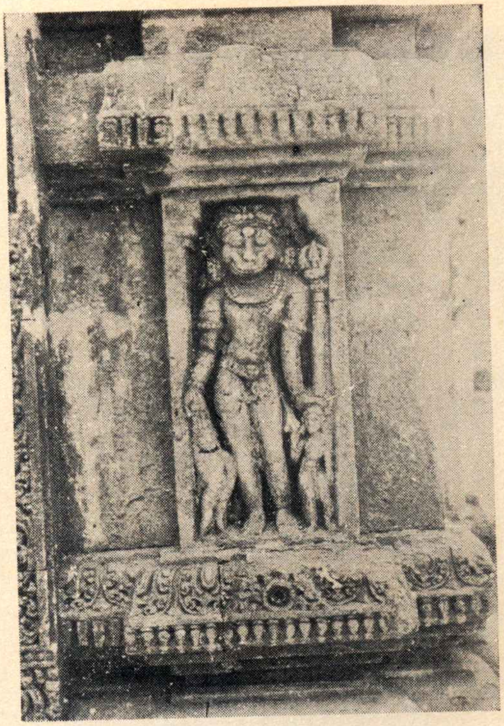
51. Lakshmi-Narayana. Main cult image in the ruined Lakshmi-Narayana shrine near Chaurasi. Ganga period, 12th/13th cent.

52. Konarak, King Narasimha I on a swing waited upon by servants and maids.

53. Narasimha panel from Kondamotu (Guntur). From left to right Manmatha or Kama, two armed Visnu, Narasimha, Krshna, Samkarasana, Anirudha. Early 4th century A.D.



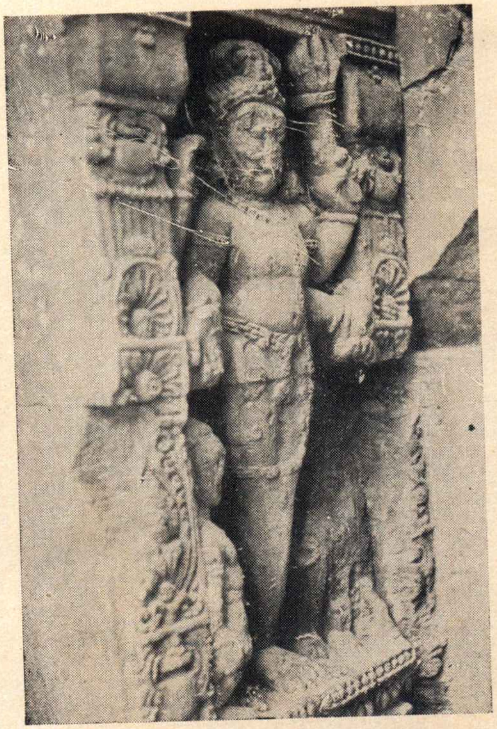
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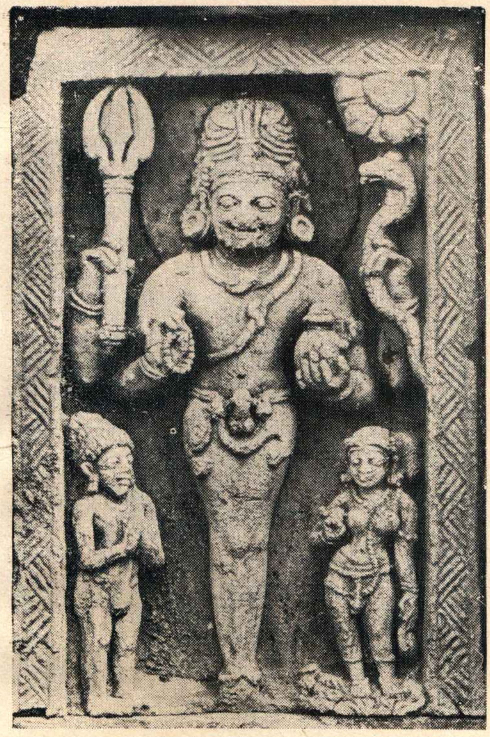


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54. Narasimha sculpture on the Uttareshvara temple, Bhubaneswar.
55. Sculpture of Simhanatha on the Simhanatha temple, Ca. 900 A.D.
56. Narasimha: popular iconography on a woodon panel worshipped at the Kailas mountain, Dhenkanal District.
57. Ekapada Bhairava, Shishireshvara temple, Bhubaneswar, late 8th cent.



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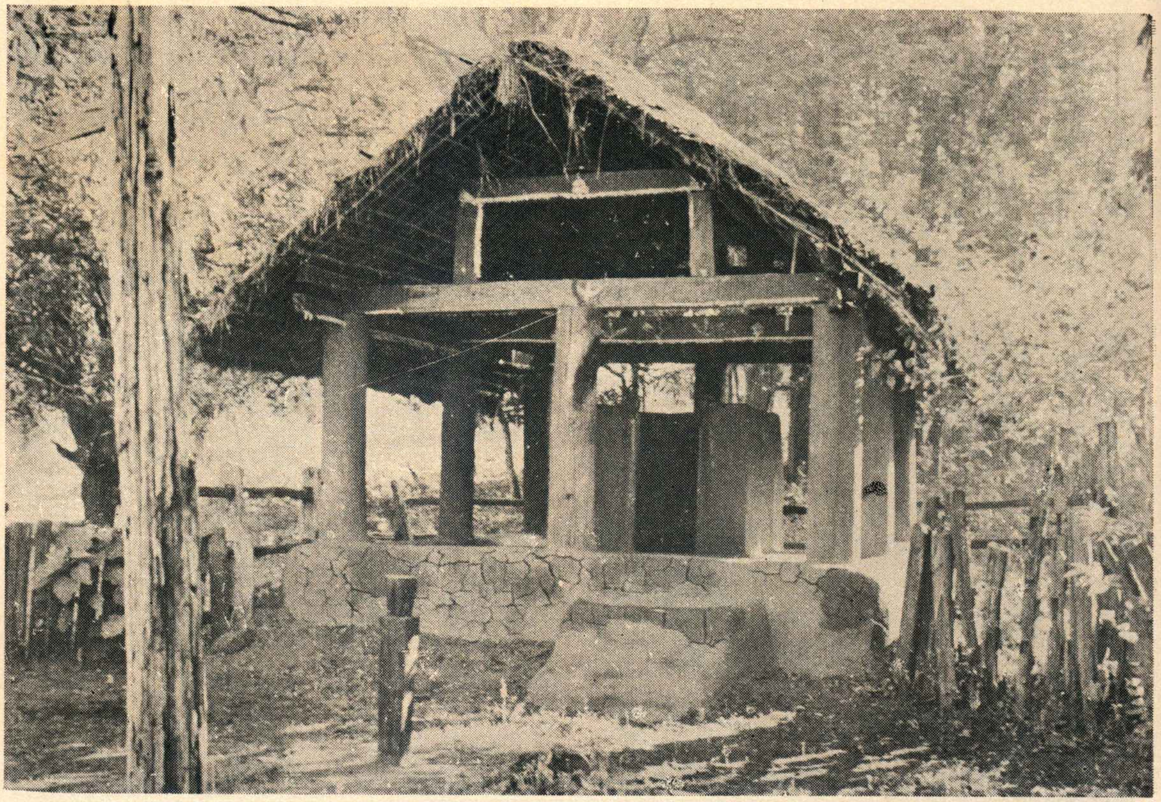
58. Ekapada Bhairava, Someshvara temple, Mukhalingam, 9th cent.

59. Khond temple in the Phulbani District.



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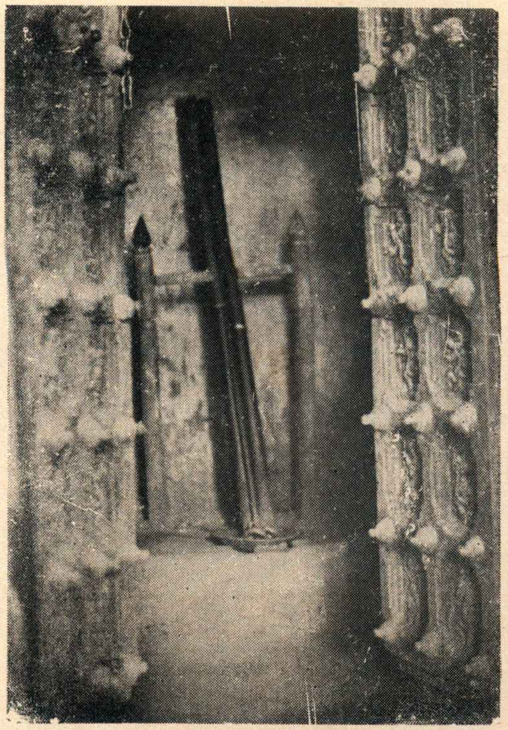
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60. Khond temple, empty, with wooden post in its premises, Bhandini Thakurani (Phulbani District).

61. Badis standing inside the Dumal temple (near Sonepur).

62. Worship of two wooden posts representing Khambheshvari (Gopalprasad).

63. Sacrificial post in front of the Khambeshvari temple at Aska.



62



63





63a

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63a. Khambheshvari in the Khambheshvari temple in Aska.

64. Human medium possessed by the deity (Daspalla).



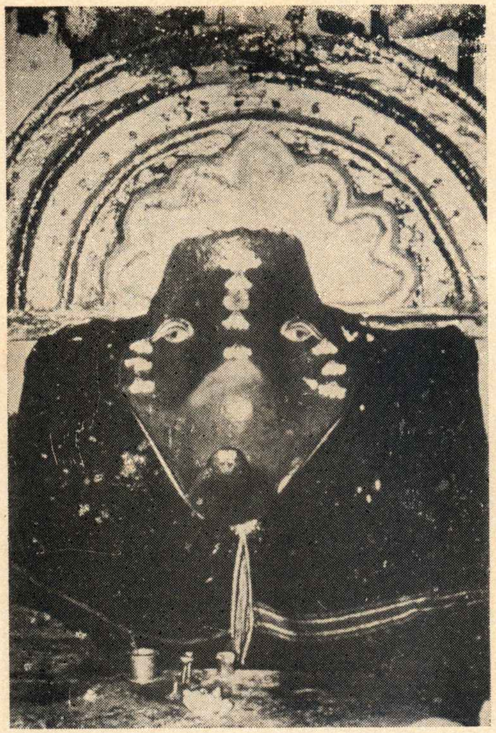
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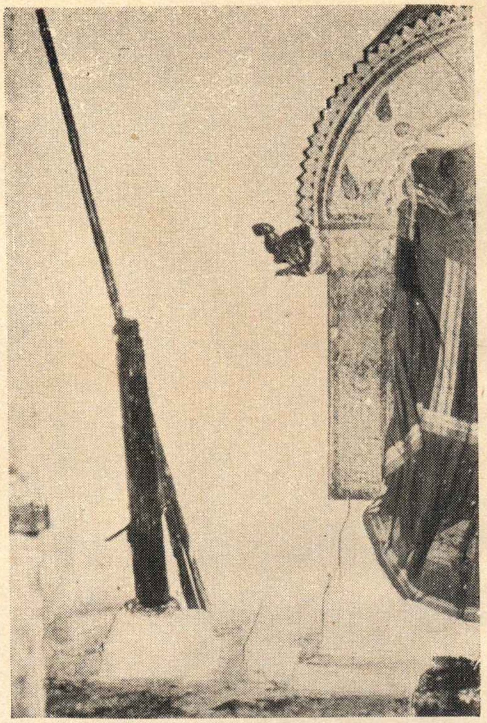
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65. Svayambhu lingam (Bainda, District Phulbani).
66. Narasimhanatha in the Narasimhanatha temple, Padampur.

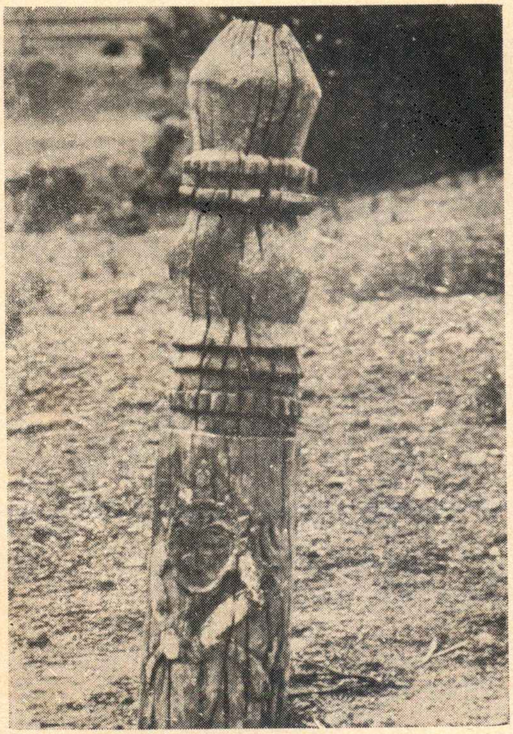
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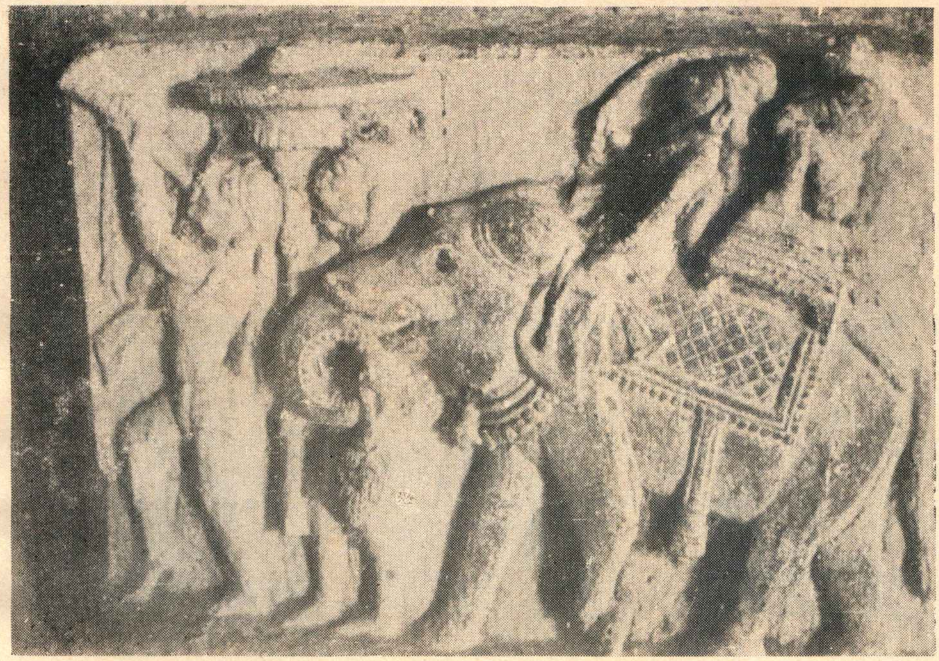


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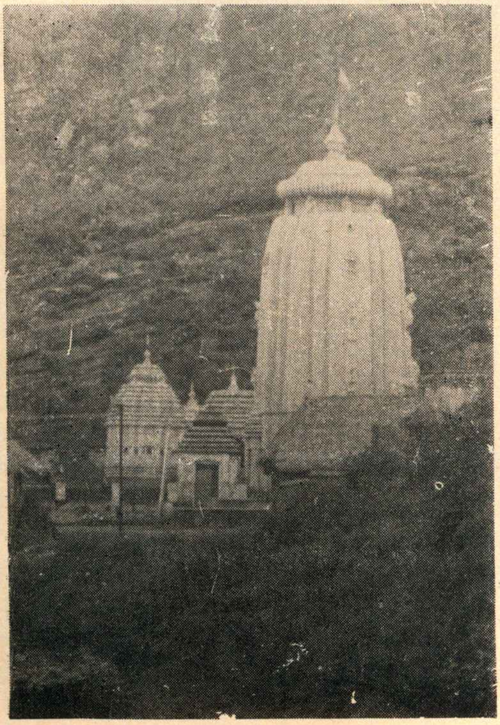


67. Samalai in the Samalai temple at Baragarh (District Sambalpur).
68. Wooden post representing Baunthi Devi within the Samalai temple in Sonepur.
69. Kambhesvari post near Gandharadi.
70. Detail of fig. 69.

72



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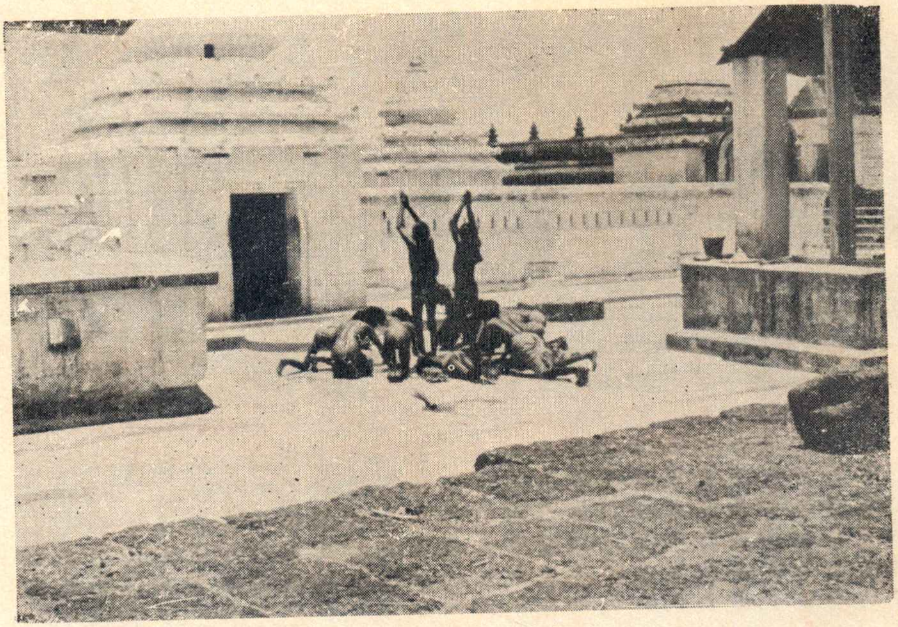
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71. Maninagesvari on the Maninaga hill near Ranpur. In front the original iconical stone symbol and in the back the anthropomorphic representation of the goddess.

72. A memorial stone of a Ranpur Raja with two royal symbols (*chatra and kahali*) granted to him by the Khurda Raja.

73. Nayagarh. Jagannath temple. Early 20th century.



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74. Joranda. Members of the Mahima Dharma in front of the Gaddi Mandira.

